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SIGLA

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum* (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
ASSEMANI, BO	Josephus Simonius ASSEMANUS, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Roma 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (rep. Hildesheim 1975)
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
BHG	François HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Bruxelles 1957[3])
BHO	Paul PEETERS, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Bruxelles 1910)
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BRIGHTMAN	Frank Edward BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* I: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCG	*Corpus Christianorum,* Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum,* Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrČt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	*Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis* (Città del Vaticano 1957-1958)
COD	*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna 1973[3])
ConcFl	*Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores* voll. I-XI (Roma 1940-1976)
CPG	Mauritius GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout 1974 ss.)
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantine* (Bonn 1828-1897)
ČtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Ross.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
DENZ., ROC	Henricus DENZINGER, *Ritus Orientalium* . . . I, II (Wirceburgi 1863-1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique (Paris 1912 ss)
DMITR	Aleksei DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka,* I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus DENZINGER et Adolphus SCHÖNMETZER *Enchiridion . . . symbolorum* (Freiburg im Br. 1965[33])
EOr	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	*Fonti della Codificazione Canonica Orientale* (Città del Vaticano 1930 ss.)
FUNK	Franciscus Xaverius FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn 1905)
GAL	Carl BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* I (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL[2]	*Idem* I-II (Leiden, 1943-1949)
GALS	*Idem,* Supplementbände I-III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAL	Georg GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur,* coll. ST 118, 133, 146, 147, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Berlin 1897 ss.)
GOAR	Jacobus GOAR, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum* (Venezia 1730[2] repr. Graz 1960)

GRUMEL, Reg	Venance GRUMEL, *Régestes des Actes du Patriarcal de Constantinople* (Paris 1932-47)
GSL	Anton BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922)
HOr	*Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden-Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JSSt	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LOC	Eusèbe RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 2 vol. (Francofurti 1847²)
LQF	*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, deinde *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F.* (1957 ss.)
LTK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1957² ss.)
MAI, SVNC	Angelo MAI, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* 9 voll. (Romae 1825-1838)
MANSI	Johannes Dominicus MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Firenze 1759 ss.)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensa Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
PAULY-WISSOWA	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pedalion	*Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς ... τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησίας (ἐν Ἀθήναις* 1908)
PG	Jacobus Paulus MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris 1903 ss)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca*, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
PSRL	Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christendum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REByz	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	*Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth*
RENAUDOT, HP	Eusèbe RENAUDOT, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum* (Paris 1713)
RHALLIS-POTLIS	G. A. RHALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων (ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1852-1859)
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (Paris 1864-1906)
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris 1941 ss.)
ST	*Studi e Testi* (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SynOr	Jean-Baptiste CHABOT, *Synodicon Oriental ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens* (Paris 1902)
TKDA	Trudy Kievskoy Duchovnoj Akademii
TODRL	Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigilae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskj Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ŽMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščenija
ZNTS	Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenka

ROBERT TAFT, S.J.

The Authenticity of the Chrysostom Anaphora Revisited. Determining the Authorship of Liturgical Texts by Computer (*)

In memory of Louis Ligier, S.J.
Lons-le-Saunier (Jura) 13.VIII.1911 –
Rome 22.XII.1989

Seventy years ago, on January 18, 1920, at this Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, then still at its original seat, the Palazzo della

(*) This article was begun in July-August 1988 while the author was a Summer Fellow in Byzantine Studies at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington D.C. I wish to express my gratitude to the Trustees for Harvard University who awarded me this fellowship, and to the Director and staff of DO, as well as to the community of Summer Fellows, for their unfailing kindness and cooperation.
An abbreviated version of this paper was delivered at the International Congress of the Societas Liturgica, York, England, August 14-19, 1989.

Abbreviations

ALDAMA = J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (Documents, études, et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 10, Paris 1965).
AP = The no longer extant Antiochene Greek Liturgy of the Apostles, presumed Urtext of CHR and APSyr.
ApConst = *The Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. M. METZGER, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, t. I: livres I-II (SC 320, Paris 1985); t. II: Livres III-VI (SC 329, Paris 1986); t. III: livres VII-VIII (SC 336, Paris 1987).
APSyr = The Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (I).
ApTrad = *The Apostolic Tradition*, see BOTTE.
AS = *Anaphorae Syriacae, quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt*, cura Pontificii Instituti Studiorum Orientalium editae et latinae versae (Rome 1939–).

Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali in the sixteenth-century Casa di Raffaello or Ospizio dei Convertendi on the Via della Con-

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BAS = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil.

BECK = H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1959).

BOTTE = B. BOTTE, *La Tradition apostolique de S. Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (LQF 39, Münster 1963).

CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* = E. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* (OCA 202, Rome 1976).

CHR = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

DORESSE-LANNE = J. DORESSE, E. LANNE, *Un témoin archaique de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 47, Louvain 1960).

ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* = H. ENGBERDING, *Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltexte einander gegenüberstellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet*, OC 34 = ser. 3 vol. 12 (1938) 213-247.

HE = *Historia ecclesiastica.*

JANERAS = S. JANERAS, *L'original grec del fragment copte de Lovaina núm. 27 en l'Anàfora de Barcelona, Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* III (Barcelona 1984) 13-25.

JAS = The Greek Liturgy of St. James, ed. B.-CH. MERCIER, *La Liturgie de S. Jacques. Edition critique, avec traduction latine* (PO 26.2, Paris 1946) 115-256.

KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* = G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine syrienne de l'anaphore byzantine de saint Jean Chrysostome*, OS 7 (1962) 3-68.

MK = The Alexandrian Greek Anaphora of St. Mark.

MOP = The Syriac Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

NES = The Syriac Anaphora of Nestorius.

PE = A. HÄNGGI, I. PAHL, *Prex eucharistica* (Spicilegium Friburgense 12, Fribourg 1968).

QUASTEN I, II, III = J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Utrecht/Antwerp 1975).

RAES, *L'authenticité de CHR* = A. RAES, *L'authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome*, OCP 24 (1958) 5-16.

RAHMANI, *Fasti* = *I fasti della Chiesa patriarcale antiochena.* Conferenza d'inaugurazione tenuta in nome dell'Istituto Pontificio Orientale li 18 gennaio MXMXX da Ignazio Efrem II Rahmani, Patriarca Antiocheno dei Siri, con la pubblicazione in Appendice di varii antichissimi documenti inediti (Rome 1920).

SH = Subsidia hagiographica.

ST 145 = R. TONNEAU, R. DEVREESSE, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (ST 145, Vatican 1949).

SyrJAS = The Syro-Jacobite recension of JAS in Syriac.

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* computerized data-base of Greek literature to ca. 600 AD.

ciliazione leading up to St. Peter's Square(1), Mar Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmani († 1929), learned Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, delivered a solemn inaugural conference entitled *I fasti della Chiesa patriarcale antiochena*(2). During this now famous lecture, His Beatitude announced the imminent publication, in the appendix to his conference text, of "alcuni documenti liturgici" discovered by him in hitherto unknown Syriac codices(3). Among the documents adverted to with such aggravating vagueness, were some sixth-century Syriac translations of "Greco-Byzantine liturgies" representing, Rahmani said, the liturgy as it was celebrated at Constantinople in that period(4). Little wonder that the eminent audience of *Principi, Eccellenze, Signori*, including nine Princes of the Church(5), which His Beatitude deferentially addressed in his opening words, failed to realize the import of what they were hearing.

But in the publication of his conference-*cum*-appendices that same year, Rahmani, abandoning his earlier imprecision, stated forthrightly:

> For the benefit of those who are searching for the authentic text of the eucharistic Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, we give here some pas-

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VAN HAELST = J. VAN HAELST, *Une nouvelle reconstitution du papyrus liturgique de Dêr-Balizeh, Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 45 (1969) 444-455.

WAGNER = G. WAGNER, *Der Ursprung der Chrysostomusliturgie* (LQF 59, Münster 1973).

(1) On this palace, where the Pontificio Istituto Orientale was located from 1917 until 1922, see S. ZILYS, *La sede della S. Congregazione: il Palazzo dei Convertendi*, in: *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel cinquantesimo della fondazione (1917-1967)* (Rome 1969) 65-71 (cf. 69), with further bibliography, p. 71. This reference and that in the following note I owe to my colleague V. Poggi, S.J.

(2) *Relatio officialis anni academici MXMXIX-XX*, in: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, *Nuntia de rebus Instituti* (Rome 1920) 31. For an appreciation of Rahmani's scholarly achievements, see the obituary by A. RÜCKER in OC ser. 3 vol. 3-4 (1928-1929) 279-82.

(3) RAHMANI, *Fasti* 26.

(4) *Ibid.* 35.

(5) In attendance were Cardinals Billot, Gasquet, Frühwirth, Giorgi, Lega, Marini, Vannutelli, Van Rossum, and Vico. Cf. RAHMANI, *Fasti* 5 and note 1.

sages of the Syriac Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles according to the ms British Museum Add. 17.128, fol. 1 ff.(6).

With this affirmation the scholarly patriarch modestly, and seemingly unawares, pulled the pin on what hindsight shows to have been an academic hand grenade. For Rahmani's discovery, a landmark like M. J. Doresse's finding in Cairo of the Louvain fragments, four parchment folia containing the anaphora of Egyptian UrBAS in Coptic(7), or Macomber's discovery of the Mar Eš'aya Ḥudrā containing the oldest text of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari(8), would radically change the entire *status quaestionis* of the debate concerning the Urtext and authenticity of the Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (CHR).

The advent of the computer-age has shifted this *status quaestionis* once again. The manipulation of Greek liturgical texts by computer has opened vast new horizons for liturgiology. This report concerns the application of computer scanning to a single, precise issue in the history of the liturgies of Late Antiquity: the authentication of texts. This article will study the problems involved in testing supposed authorship, the methods adequate for solving them, and how computers have revolutionized the latter. I shall illustrate all this via one sample-text, the presanctus of CHR, the Greek text of which is presented below, in parallel columns, with a Latin translation of the corresponding text from the related Syriac Anaphora of the Apostles (APSyr) to which Rahmani referred in his conference of 1920.

I. The state of the question

First, some preliminaries must be dispensed with. Though a review of the entire CHR authenticity dossier is beyond the scope of this article, a summary of the state of the question is necessary to set the problem in focus.

(6) RAHMANI, *Fasti* xxx; cf. ID., *Les liturgies orientales et occidentales étudiées séparément et comparées entre elles* (Beirut 1929) 388.

(7) See DORESSE-LANNE.

(8) W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OCP 32 (1966) 335-371.

Why the question arises at all is the result of three well-known facts of liturgical history:

1. The uniform silence of all early sources for the liturgy of Constantinople or for the life of John Chrysostom: not one of them attributes a liturgical formulary to the saint of that name.
2. Leontius of Byzantium's reference to a "Liturgy of the Apostles."
3. Rahmani's discovery of a Syriac anaphora of the same name very similar in text to CHR.

1. *The Attribution of an Anaphora to Chrysostom*:

Throughout the ms tradition of CHR, prayer titles unwaveringly attribute this Constantinopolitan liturgical formulary to St. John Chrysostom. These titles are a later development, however: the earliest Byzantine euchology ms, *Barberini Gr. 336*, dates only from the second half of the eighth century. Furthermore, the sobriquet "Chrysostom," used in all extant titles of CHR as proper to St. John, was once a common Byzantine epithet often applied to others. Sozomen (ca. 439-450), for instance, uses it of Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais, a contemporary of our Chrysostom(9). And it is widely used of St. John only by the mid-sixth century, when we find it in Greek, Latin, and Syriac sources(10). But ever thereafter, Chrysostom continues to be called "John of Constantinople," and it is disputed when the sobriquet "Chrysostom" finally comes to be generally accepted as a surname proper to him alone(11), though I know of no texts after the sixth century that use it of anyone else.

(9) HE VIII, 10, PG 67:1541.

(10) Greek: DOROTHEOS ABBOT (ca. 540-560), *Doctrina 12*, 3, PG 88:1752; PS.-LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM (end 6th c.; cf. BECK, 374), *De sectis* 4, 3, PG 86.1:1221; Latin: FACUNDUS (ca. 547), *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* IV. 2, PL 67:615; VIGILIUS (553), *Const. de tribus capitulis = Ep. 83*, 217, CSEL 35:291; CASSIODORUS (563), *De inst. divinarum litterarum* 8, PL 70:1121; and the Syriac chronicle or HE II, 5; IV, 12, attributed to ZACHARIAS RHETOR, bishop of Mitylene, which extends to 569 AD: E. W. BROOKS (ed.), *Historia eccles. Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (CSCO 83/87, scr. Syri, ser. 3, t. 5, Paris 1919, 1924) 143, 196 (versio 99, 136).

(11) See C. BAUR, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire litté-*

Be that as it may, though the oldest ms of CHR, *Barberini Gr. 336*[12], and all subsequent ones without exception, attribute CHR to him[13], all supposedly earlier attributions of an anaphora to Chrysostom are either spurious or based on spuria[14]. No authentic historical source anterior to the ms tradition claims Chrysostom's authorship of any eucharistic formulary. As Khouri-Sarkis has pointed out[15], not one of the numerous fifth-century Byzantine historians or chroniclers; nor even the biographers of Chrysostom, Palladius (ca. 408) in his *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*[16], and Theodore, bishop of Tremithus on Cyprus (ca. 680), in his *On the Life and Exile of St. John Chrysostom*[17]; attribute a liturgical formulary to St. John.

This is all the more surprising because all independent external witnesses to the Constantinopolitan eucharist are unanimous in assigning authorship of a liturgy to St. Basil. This striking contrast necessitates moderating the skepticism with which the argument from silence is customarily greeted — especially when one recalls that in some instances we are dealing with polemical writings which use the liturgical formularies as proof-texts, and would have been quite ready to bolster their authority by ascribing to them, rightly or wrongly, apostolic or patristic authorship. So if they attribute a

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raire (Louvain/Paris 1907) 58-60; L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik* (TU 9.1, Leipzig 1893) 63-65.

(12) Brightman 315.10-11.

(13) Raes' argument (*L'authenticité de CHR* 7-8) that the presence of Chrysostom's name in the titles of only some prayers in the earliest mss indicates the authorship only of those texts, not of the whole anaphora, has long since been disproven. See R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (OCA 200, 2nd ed. Rome 1978) 360-64.

(14) See F. J. Leroy, *Proclus, «de traditione Missae»: un faux de C. Palaeocappa*, OCP 28 (1962) 288-99; Id., *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* (ST 247, Vatican 1967) 350-51.

(15) Khouri-Sarkis, *L'origine* 6.

(16) P. R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), *Palladii Dialogus de vita S. Johannis Chrysostomi* (Cambridge Mass. 1928) = PG 47:5-82. On the *Vitae* of Chrysostom, cf. BHG 870-873m; F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur la vie et la translation de S. Jean Chrysostome* (SH 60, Brussels 1977).

(17) PG 47:LI-LXXXVIII = CPG 7989; cf. BHG 872-872d; Id. *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* (SH 6, Brussels 1977) 7-68; Beck 463.

liturgy to Basil, why not to Chrysostom? — unless there was no such attribution tradition.

2. *Leontius of Byzantium (ca. 543)*:

In this context, Leontius of Byzantium's reference to two (possibly) Constantinopolitan anaphoras, one of St. Basil, the other of the apostles (and not of Chrysostom), has become a *crux interpretum*. Around 543([18]), in his *Adversus Nestorianos et Eutychianos* III, 19, Leontius goes after Theodore of Mopsuestia († 428)([19]) for various high ecclesial crimes, among them the fact that, not content with the liturgical formularies handed on by the fathers in the faith, to wit the Anaphora of the Apostles and the Anaphora of Basil the Great, he had to go and compose a heretical one of his own:

> He also had the effrontery to perpetuate another evil, not second to those we have mentioned. For he improvised another anaphora different from that handed on by the fathers, not respecting that of the apostles nor that of Basil the Great composed in the same spirit. . .([20]).

Leontius, born in Constantinople, it seems, towards the end of the fifth century, and later a monk in the New Laura in Palestine, was a strict Chalcedonian([21]). Hence his opposition to Theodore, whose anaphora he goes on to indict as heretical. That issue is of no concern to us here. The point is, Leontius *does not mention CHR*, and that fact has been taken as evidence that Leontius did not

([18]) BECK 373.

([19]) DE MEESTER, *Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome, XPYCOCTOMIKA. Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del Comitato per il XV° Centenario della sua morte* (Rome 1905) 254, mistakenly directs this attack against Nestorius. See H. LIETZMANN, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, with intro. and further inquiry by R. D. RICHARDSON (Leiden 1979) 4 note 1; WAGNER 9. De Meester corrects himself in *Grecques (liturgies)*, DACL VI.2:1592.

([20]) PG 86.1:1386C: Τολμᾷ καὶ ἕτερον κακὸν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ δεύτερον. Ἀναφορὰν γὰρ σχεδιάζει ἑτέραν παρὰ τὴν πατρόθεν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παραδεδομένην, μήτε τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων αἰδεσθείς, μήτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι συγγραφεῖσαν, λόγου τινὸς κρίνων ἀξίαν· ἐν ᾗ ἀναφορᾷ βλασφημιῶν, οὐ γὰρ εὐχων, τελετὴν ἀπεπλήρωσεν.

([21]) BECK 215, 373.

know of any liturgy so named. But neither does Leontius invoke the authority of St. James, "brother of the Lord," and as a monk in Palestine he surely knew of JAS. Furthermore, as Wagner has pointed out, mentioning CHR would have undermined his argument(22). For John Chrysostom was a contemporary and classmate of Theodore in the school of Diodore of Tarsus. If Chrysostom could compose an anaphora, who was to say that Theodore should not? Leontius seems embarrassed enough by the existence of BAS, which, he stresses, was written "in the same spirit" as the apostolic canon.

Wagner refuses to concede the relevance of Leontius' testimony for the history of CHR by simply denying that Leontius is referring to the liturgy of Constantinople(23). From 392 until his death in 428, Theodore, the object of Leontius' attack, was bishop of Mopsuestia, a small town in Cilicia Secunda about 175 kilometers directly south of Caesarea in Cappadocia, home of Basil and BAS. Consequently, Wagner argues, the Caesarean redaction of the BAS formulary must have been well known to Theodore, along with other Antiochene anaphoral texts, including, undoubtedly, the aforementioned Anaphora of the Apostles. But one cannot at all presume that he would have known a text from distant Constantinople — for instance CHR.

All this is possible; none of it proves anything. For if Wagner has mounted a challenge to the use that has been made of the *argumentum ex silentio* in the case of Leontius and other texts, nevertheless, complete *silentium* still remains the case for any Chrysostom anaphora before the liturgical mss from some time after ca. 750 AD. In light of the numerous extant early references to BAS and JAS, this silence cannot be explained away.

3. *The Anaphora of the Apostles (AP)*:

Faced with the total absence of any evidence for a Chrysostom anaphora in the early historical sources, and Leontius' mention of a liturgy of the apostles, authors anterior to Rahmani had made vari-

(22) WAGNER 7.
(23) *Ibid.* 8-10.

ous attempts to identify the latter(24). Already in 1726, P. Lebrun guessed that Leontius' AP had to be what we know as CHR(25).

Rahmani himself thought initially that APSyr was a direct translation of the Greek text of CHR as it was at the end of the sixth century(26). Two years later, in the *editio princeps* of APSyr appended to his edition of the *Kṯāḇā d-ṭaḵsā d-qurrāḇā aḵʿyādā d-ʿEdtā šliḥāytā d-Anṭyoḵya d-Suryāyē* or *Missale iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum*(27), he was more cautious, asserting only that APSyr, which he mistakenly claims is attributed to St. Luke the Evangelist(28), was very similar — "in canone potissimum convenire" — to CHR.

When the text of APSyr was critically edited by Raes in 1940(29), it was learned that the two earliest mss, the tenth-century codices *British Library 286 Add. 14.493* and *287 Add. 14.496*, entitle it "Anaphora of the Holy Apostles," though other early mss specify "of the *Twelve* Holy Apostles"(30). So the attribution in the title-tradition, at least, agrees with Leontius' obscure reference. And already in 1938, Engberding had demostrated the relationship between APSyr and CHR(31).

Raes returned to the question in 1958 without adding anything new to the work of Engberding(32), and the same must be said for the study of Khouri-Sarkis(33). These scholars all agree that the original Greek anaphora behind the Syriac version in APSyr goes back to the fourth century, probably to its beginning, and that the text must have been composed in the hellenized Syrian Christian

(24) Cf. Khouri-Sarkis, *L'origine* 11-14.

(25) *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe* (2nd ed. Paris 1843) II, 322-23; cf. Khouri-Sarkis, *L'origine* 13-14.

(26) Rahmani, *Fasti* xxx cited above at note 6.

(27) Sharfeh 1922, p. 13.

(28) See the critical edition of APSyr: A. Raes (ed.), *Anaphora Syriaca Duodecim Apostolorum Prima* (AS I.2, Rome 1940) 208-9. This attribution is found only in some 16th c. mss of the *Anaphora Syriaca Duodecim Apostolorum Secunda*, ed. A. Raes, *ibid.* 229-63.

(29) AS I.2:203-27.

(30) *Ibid.* 208, cf. 212, apparatus.

(31) Engberding, *Anaphora.*

(32) Raes, *L'Authenticité de CHR* 5-16.

(33) Khouri-Sarkis, *L'origine.*

community of Antioch or its environs(34). If this is true, then AP would doubtless have been familiar to Chrysostom himself before he left Antioch to become bishop of Constantinople in 398.

Rahmani had thought, however, that the Syrian Jacobite APSyr anaphora was a freely translated, somewhat abbreviated redaction of Greek CHR(35), a view substantially the same as the one Wagner will later espouse(36). Khouri-Sarkis tried to show that the differences in the two texts of CHR and APSyr result for the most part from the amplification or deterioration of the AP Urtext become CHR, an Urtext which he believes Chrysostom brought from Antioch to Constantinople, where it was then reworked into CHR(37). It is at this point in the story of the CHR authenticity dossier that Wagner enters the picture, with the only rigorous examination of the matter since Engberding's classic study(38).

II. CHR AND THE SYRIAC ANAPHORA OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

If Wagner managed to weaken somewhat the argument from the silence of sources like Leontius, his argument rests largely on an *a priori*, unproved condition: even if Chrysostom *were* the author of an anaphora, Leontius would not have mentioned it anyway. But that may be begging the question. For if Chrysostom *were not* the author of an anaphora, Leontius would not have mentioned it for that reason too!

The same can be said for Wagner's argument that Leontius does not mention CHR because he is listing not Constantinopolitan anaphoras, but ones in use in the region around Mopsuestia. Theoretically, that is of course possible. But Leontius' failure to mention JAS, and the discovery of a Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles (APSyr) that is simply another redaction of basically the same anaphora as CHR, make it equally if not more probable that Leontius,

(34) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 245-46; RAES, *L'authenticité de CHR* 14-16; KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 20.

(35) Note 26 above.

(36) Note 39 below.

(37) KHOURI-SARKIS, *L'origine* 68 and *passim.*

(38) WAGNER; cf. ENGBERDING, *Anaphora.*

in referring to the Liturgies of St. Basil and of the Apostles, is actually speaking of the two Constantinopolitan formularies we know as BAS and CHR.

Wagner's seminal study mounts a vigorous defense of the authenticity of CHR in the full sense. Wagner, of course, does not challenge the obvious relationship between the extant texts of CHR and APSyr. But he denies that Leontius' AP is CHR, and, like Rahmani, considers APSyr a later reworking of CHR(39), thus reversing the stemma proposed by Engberding(40) and Khouri-Sarkis(41) (and espoused also by me for reasons that will become clear in the course of this article), that AP represents both UrCHR and UrAPSyr, both of which are independent reworkings of their common Urtext, AP. I would also tend to the view that it is this AP of which Leontius speaks, though nothing in my argument is in any way dependent on his testimony.

The Texts

The following arrangement of our paradigm-text, the earliest extant redaction of the presanctus of Greek CHR(42), placed in parallel with a Latin version of APSyr(43), shows at a glance the relationship between the two texts. Italicised sections of text are peculiar to the respective redaction and have no doublet in the other.

CHR	APSyr
1. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον	**1.** Dignum et iustum est
2. σὲ ὑμνεῖν	
3. *σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν*	
4. σε προσκυνεῖν	**4.** nos te adorare
	2. et te glorificare,

(39) Wagner 6-10, 49-51.
(40) Engberding, *Anaphora* 247.
(41) Note 37 above.
(42) Brightman 321-23 = PE 224.
(43) AS I.2:215 = PE 265-66.

5. *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου·*	
6. σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς	6. qui vere es Deus,
7. *ἀνέκφραστος ἀπερινόητος ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος,*	
8. *ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν,*	
9. σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον·	9. et unigenitum Filium tuum et Spiritum Sanctum.
10. σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες	10. Tu enim ex eo quod non est, ad hoc ut simus adduxisti [nos],
11. καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν	11. et quando lapsi eramus, tunc iterum revocasti [nos]
12. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες	12. et non destitisti operari donec coelum ascendere faceres
13. καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν.	13· et regnum futurum dares nobis.
14. Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι	14. Propter haec omnia gratias agimus tibi
15. καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ	15. et unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritui Sancto.
16. *ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν,*	
17. *τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν*	
18. *εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων·*	
19. *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης*	
20. *ἣν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι καταξίωσον*	
21. καίτοι σοὶ παρεστήκεισαν	21. Ante te enim "stant in circuitu"
22. *χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων,*	
23. Τὰ χερουβεὶμ	23. "Cherubim *quattuor facies* (*habentes*)"

24. καὶ τὰ σεραφεὶμ ἑξαπτέρυγα *πολυόμματα* *μετάρσια πτερωτά,*	24. et "Seraphim sex alas (habentes)",
25. τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον	25. laudem maiestatis *oribus non silentibus* *et vocibus non tacentibus* *cum omnibus virtutibus* *caelestibus*
26. ᾄδοντα βοῶντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα·	26. glorificantes et vociferantes et clamantes et dicentes:
27. ἅγιος...	27. Sanctus...

CHR and APSyr Compared

1. *Methodological Principles*:

The following principles must govern the comparative liturgical analysis of two such related liturgical texts:

1. The comparison is limited to the Antiochene anaphoral text up through the epiclesis, i.e., exluding the last section, the anaphoral intercessions, where the two texts diverge and are independent. Anaphoral intercessions are traditionally proper to each local tradition and, hence, usually unreliable for determining authorship(44).

(44) I do not mean that a comparative study of intercession texts is not useful for determining the *relationship* between anaphoras, as Engberding and Fenwick have shown. But *relationship* and *authorship* are two separate issues, and intercessions are too laden with Formelgut to be useful as an indication of the latter. See H. ENGBERDING, *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der älteren armenischen Basiliusliturgie*, OC 51 (1967) 29-50; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der armenischen Athanasiusliturgie*, REArm, n.s. 4 (1967) 49-55; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der Basiliusliturgie*, OC 47 (1963) 18-37; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der byzantinischen Chrysostomusliturgie*, OC 45 (1961) 20-29; 46 (1962) 33-60; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der griechischen Markusliturgie*, OCP 30 (1964) 398-446; ID. *Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der syrischen Basiliusliturgie*, OC 50 (1966) 13-18; J. FENWICK, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* (Grove Liturgical Study 45, Bramcote, Nottingham 1986); and F's dissertation, *An Investigation into the Common Origin of the Anaphoras of the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James* (PhD Thesis, University of London 1985) to be published in OCA.

2. Also to be discounted as evidence of commonality are all doublets which can be otherwise explained — e.g. citations from Sacred Scripture or obvious Formelgut material, that corpus of stereotyped phrases common to parallel liturgical units across the traditions.
3. Conversely, divergences attributable to another source must be discounted as evidence *against* commonality — e.g., passages of APSyr that derive from the common framework of Syro-Jacobite anaphoras borrowed from Syriac JAS; passages in CHR that derive from the Byzantine Greek anaphoral setting common to CHR and BAS.

2. *The CHR-APSyr Relationship*:

Those who have examined the structure of the parallel texts of CHR and APSyr([45]) (and not only in our presanctus paradigm), have noted the following coordinates and dissonances:

1. The core segments of all constitutive parts of both texts (ante-Sanctus, post-Sanctus and institution, anamnesis, oblation, epiclesis) are in quasi-total agreement.
2. In such core segments where the two recensions are in substantial agreement, manifesting only minor redactional variants of the same basic text, APSyr gives the shorter recension: whatever is found in APSyr is also in CHR — but not vice-versa.
3. APSyr departs substantially from CHR in two areas:

   [a] in those units of the Antiochene anaphoral structure traditionally most subject to local developments: the institution narrative, the anamnesis, and the epiclesis.

   [b] in those parts of the anaphora proclaimed aloud. Each local tradition has a more or less common framework of exclamations into which it inserts all its anaphoras, indigenous or borrowed([46]). These exclamations — the preanaphoral dialogue, the introduction to the Sanctus, the Words of Institution, the oblation, etc. — are the anaphora's conjunctions and punctation, introducing and/or concluding its constitutent parts. They also serve as signals, vocal rubrics to introduce an exclamation or chant of the people. Byzantine BAS and CHR provide the classic paradigm: these two variant eucharistic formularies of the same local Church, though substantially different texts, are, nevertheless, *identical in almost all chanted parts, including those of the anaphora itself.*

([45]) Especially ENGBERDING, *Anaphora*; WAGNER.

([46]) At least outside Egypt, which is something of an exception in preserving more of the native structure of borrowed anaphoras than do other traditions.

4. Sections of text in APSyr which differ from CHR show clear signs of the influence of SyrJAS.
5. Where CHR departs from APSyr, the added material is largely:

   [a] *stylistic*: rhetorical developments, such as the multiplication of epithets and synonyms, the smoothing out of transitional passages, etc.

   [b] *theological*: echoes of the Eunomian controversy, explicitation of the epiclesis as consecratory.

From these data, several points of which will be elucidated further below, as they appear in each section of the anaphoral text to be examined, certain provisional results may be formulated as follows:

1. In both anaphoras, the agreement of the principal segments of all constituent parts is such that this could not have resulted from the common use of a third source, or from Formelgut material(47). *Hence CHR and APSyr must be considered different redactions of one and the same text.*
2. The fact that CHR is *longer* in parallel passages where the two texts agree substantially, renders less probable Wagner's thesis that APSyr is a later redaction of CHR. Rather, since in the parallel passages common to CHR-APSyr, everything contained in APSyr is also in CHR; and the Syriac text is *shorter* where it *agrees* with the Greek and *longer* where the difference is so substantial that the passages in question are obviously not variant redactions of a common source; it would seem:

   [a] that the Syriac recension was translated from an earlier Greek text of which CHR is a later, elaborated redaction. I have called this earlier Urtext AP. When the Syriac version which lies behind APSyr was made, this AP Urtext did not contain the later interpolations peculiar to CHR, additions which characterize those common passages where CHR shows a more developed text than APSyr (above, nos. 1-2);

   [b] that this Syriac version of AP was inserted into a West-Syrian — i.e., Syro-Antiochene or Syrian Jacobite — litur-

(47) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 236.

gical framework (above, no. 3), which is the source of the Jacobite elaborations found in APSyr but not in CHR.

3. Wagner's conclusion that all this occurred after the point when the anaphora came to be recited in secret(48), though possible, is by no means demonstrated by what was just said above in 2b. The existence of a traditional local framework of key transitional passages and vocal signals introducing popular exclamations is not dependent, strictly speaking, on the rest of the anaphora being said silently, though in the case of *later* popular interventions that interrupt the anaphora, such as the Theotokos hymn in BAS and CHR(49), it is clear that their interpolation necessitated chanting their introductory text aloud.
4. So in CHR and APSyr we are faced with two independent reworkings of an earlier text, which can probably be identified with the Anaphora of the Apostles referred to by Leontius of Byzantium.

3. *Conclusion*:

To sum up, then, I would conclude:

1. That the Chrysostom anaphora is a later redaction of a no-longer extant Greek Anaphora of the Apostles (AP).
2. That APSyr is a later Jacobite reworking of a Syriac translation of this AP Urtext independent of CHR.

In its present form, APSyr is both similar and dissimilar to CHR. Now we know that West-Syrian anaphoras have generally been conformed to a common framework derived from SyrJAS, and that the two extant Byzantine anaphoras of CHR and BAS are both inserted into a Constantinopolitan framework, much as the various post-Vatican II Roman Catholic anaphoras all share certain acclamations and other elements. Consequently, if we exclude from APSyr

(48) WAGNER 47-50.

(49) BRIGHTMAN 388: 3 ff; cf. G. WINKLER, *Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, OCP 36 (1970) 320-36.

whatever is obviously from SyrJAS and not in CHR; and exclude from CHR whatever it has in common with BAS, and whatever is not in APSyr; *the remaining least common denominator should go back to the common Urtext of both, AP.*

III. Determining authorship

Where, when, and by whom was this lost AP composed, and its two extant recensions, CHR and APSyr, redacted? Comparative structural analysis alone furnishes no reply to these questions. So we must turn to the text and its contents.

1. *Internal Indices of Authenticity*:

Since the *external* evidence is clear — the text is indeed attributed to the monk and presbyter John of Antioch, afterwards John of Constantinople, bishop of that see from 397-404, known to still later generations as St. John Chrysostom († 407) — the scholar's task is to test by *internal* evidence the validity of this attribution. This consists in identifying in the text itself such internal indices of authenticity as similar style and the repetition of vocabulary, doublets, and favored scriptural loci (50).

The first, style, is the most intangible and the least convincing. It is of more use negatively, in showing what is *not* authentic, than positively, in proving what is (51).

(50) On these methods see M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hesychius de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (SH 59.1-2, Brussels 1978-1980) II, 608-614; Id., «*Hesychius redivivus*». *Un prédicateur hiérosolymitain de la première moitié du Ve siècle, Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 28 (1981) 254-64, reprinted in Id., *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychius et alii. Patristique et hagiographie grecques. Inventaires de manuscrits, textes inédits, traductions, études* (Variorum Reprints Collected Studies 276, London 1988) ch. XXVII.

(51) Although I am aware of the growing body of literature on "stylometrics" — the use of computers in studies of literary style — I shall prescind from this issue in the present report, limiting myself here to the identification of doublets, which in the case under study are a surer test of authenticity than other statistical indices such as the common reliance on sentence-length and vocabulary. How does one compute sentence length in a

The recurrence of vocabulary is much more decisive. Certain authors betray themselves by using common words with uncommon frequency, or by employing rare expressions more than once. Some authors also cite certain scriptural passages with unaccustomed frequency. This strange frequency of usual terms, or unusual appearance of strange terms, is even more convincing if the contexts in which they emerge closely resemble one another — what are called "doublets," characteristic phrases repeated almost word for word in several demonstrably authentic texts as well as in the text(s) being scrutinized.

Such indices may not be forceful enough to restore to an author a work which the mss place under another's name, for writers of the same epoch and school share common traits, and borrowing and even plagiarism was common coin, especially among homilists and later Byzantine writers. Every time we stumble across an English text that refers to some principle of behavior as "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," we do not immediately conclude it was written by Shakespeare. The same caution is in order when dealing with ancient texts. But internal indices can offer convincing confirmation of an already existing, solid tradition of attribution, as in the case of CHR.

2. *Problems Peculiar to Liturgical Texts*:

In the case of liturgical texts, and especially anaphoras, the process of authentication is beset by problems peculiar to the genre. First of all, *liturgical texts are living texts*, subject to growth and change, and later changes can obscure the traces of the original author's hand.

Secondly, *liturgical texts are stereotypical.* Their composers were not free to follow untrammelled the vagaries of their personal thought patterns, vocabulary, and style, but were constrained by the nature of the genre to accepted patterns and an established vocabulary, replete with topoi. Though improvisation was widespread in

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literature whose punctuation comes not from the author (Greek mss are notorious for the capriciousness of their copyists' punctuation) but from later editors? And how can one rely on word-counts in so stereotypical a literature as liturgical texts?

early liturgy, "free prayers" quickly evolved toward a content, form, structure, and style that were bound by custom and tradition([52]). Even in the period of improvisation there existed an established liturgical language and a common stock of stereoptyped formulas — greetings, doxologies, forms of address, etc., such as those seen already in the New Testament and the *Didache*.

When similarity of words or phrases between liturgical texts may have been conditioned by such a common source, circumstance, purpose, or background, relationship or dependence between them cannot be presumed without further proof([53]). All liturgical texts bear the imprint of the Bible; all anaphoras recount the same story of salvation in Jesus, his institution of the eucharist at the Last Supper, his saving death and resurrection; all share the same Formelgut of common early liturgical formulas ("Peace to all;" "The Lord be with you;" "Lift up your hearts") and vocabulary([54]); all liturgical intercessions pray for the same basic needs (peace, forgiveness, mercy, a life free from sin, unity, salvation); all fourth-to-seventh century anaphoras are marked by the doctrinal crises that gave rise to the early councils. This principle can also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to similarities between liturgical texts and patristic sources.

All these problems are magnified in the case of frequently used prayers like an anaphora, especially an anaphora like CHR, for sixteen centuries the most widely used eucharistic prayer after the Ro-

([52]) See S. MOWINCKEL, *Religion und Kultus* (Göttingen 1953) 8, 53. A. BOULEY, *From Freedom to Formula. The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 21, Washington D.C. 1981) *passim*, provides a thorough, excellent study of this entire question.

([53]) This principle is formulated by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Das liturgische Formkriterium. Ein Prinzip in der Erforschung der orientalischen Liturgien, Studia patristica* 5 (TU 80, Berlin 1962) 50-68; cf. ID., *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 8, Berlin 1957) 110 n. 97. H. ENGBERDING accepts this principle without qualification in his review of H. in OC 42 (1958) 136.

([54]) F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *The 'Anaphora of Theodore'*, JTS 3 (1930) 161, justly remarks: "The greater part of any fully developed liturgy is likely to be common form, and marks of individual authorship are only to be looked for in occasional features, whether of dogmatic statement or of characteristic or favourite phraseology...".

man Canon. Such long-lived, mainline compositions are by their very nature representative of standard, orthodox liturgical tradition, and hence far more liable to standardization and doctrinal updating than some offbeat, little-used text gathering dust in the sacristy closet. This means that *the most important liturgical texts may be the hardest to authenticate.*

Finally, even when internal indices have established a close relationship between a prayer and the authentic writings of an author, there remains the problem which source is prior. Already from the fourth century, the anaphora had developed an established convention of stereotypical structure, style, and vocabulary in each of its fixed components, all ordered in a preordained sequence within each of the three traditional eastern anaphoral families. One would expect both eucharistic anaphoras and the Fathers of the Church to draw their liturgical vocabulary from this Formelgut font, that common stock of traditional phrases, just as both would from Scripture, when speaking of things the eucharist is concerned with: praise and thanks for creation and salvation, sin and redemption, Last Supper and cross, etc. In the case of an anaphora certainly known to and used by the author whose presumed authorship is being tested, literary similarities are of no help in indicating the *direction of the influence.* For if a eucharistic text was used frequently by its presumed author, the similarities between the style and vocabulary of the prayer and his other writings could perfectly well have originated in his repeated use of the prayer rather than from his common authorship of both.

This is all the more reason why the methodological principles enunciated above be followed rigidly: all doublets attributable to another source, or common to several authors and anaphoras, and hence possibly Formelgut, must simply be discounted as indices of dependence.

3. *The Special Case of Chrysostom*:

But if the only effective way to prove or disprove the authenticity of a document is via a comparative study of the vocabulary, style, and content of the document with the same in the already authenticated works of the author in question, this task is nowhere so daunting as in the case of Chrysostom, for two reasons.

First of all, as Cuming has stressed(55), in his preaching Chrysostom cites liturgical texts more frequently than any other patristic author except the ex professo liturgical commentators: van de Paverd's study of the liturgy in Chrysostom gives over 150 such passages(56). This marked interest in and easy familiarity with the texts of the liturgy increases the probability that the liturgy influenced Chrysostom as much as he influenced it.

Secondly, Chrysostom was one of the most prolific and popular patristic authors, with the result that his name has attracted to it more spuria than are attributed to any other writer of Christian Antiquity. Michel Aubineau, unequalled connoisseur of patristic homiletical literature, has called working in the morass of texts attributed to Chrysostom an "exploration dans une terra incognita de la littérature patristique byzantine"(57). Aubineau points out that in the fourteen volumes of Migne's PG 47-64 — some 10,000 columns of Greek text in small type — about 1500 writings are attributed to John Chrysostom, to say nothing of those edited elsewhere or those still unedited. In addition, de Aldama's *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* cites 581 works whose authenticity is controverted, and which have been attributed, variously, to fifty-six different authors(58). Add to this the thousands of Greek mss in various libraries that remain to be exploited — Aubineau himself has uncovered 6000 witnesses to works attributed to Chrysostom in 294 mss of eighteen different libraries in Dublin, Cambridge, London, and Oxford alone; and the obvious fact that until we have critical editions of all certainly authentic works, the process of authentication will be built partially on sand; and we can begin to see the scope of the problem confronting us.

(55) G. J. Cuming, *Pseudonymity and Authenticity, with particular reference to the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Studia patristica* 15.1 (TU 128, Berlin 1984) 535.

(56) *Zur Geschichte der Meßliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Analyse der Quellen bei Johannes Chrysostomos* (OCA 187, Rome 1970).

(57) *Actes de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (9 novembre 1964 — 24 juin 1965), Revue des études grecques* 78 (1965) xxxi-xxxiii.

(58) Aldama.

IV. Enter the computer

This not only makes the preparation of critical editions a herculean task and complicates the weeding out of spuria. It also provides a basis for comparison so huge as to be unmanageable until all authenticated Chrysostomica are critically edited, and then computerized exclusively on the basis of those critical editions. Only via computerization can one get a relatively complete picture of the relatedness of vocabulary, the author's theological and ascetical nomenclature, recurring thought patterns, parallel passages, hapax legomena, rare terms and their frequency, all served up by this programming(59). In all this it is not one indication but the convergence of many that confirms — though cannot prove — attribution(60).

For Chrysostom we do not yet have fully computerized the vast and still far from definitively sifted and critically edited corpus of his works. But a quantum leap forward was made by the recent appearance of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* data-base (hereafter TLG)(61). This data-bank, on CD-ROM(62) laser-disk programmed for use with the Ibycus SC computer system, already contains over 8,000 works by almost 3,000 Greek authors from classical antiquity and the patristic period, though the claim to include virtually all extant Greek-language texts from Homer until 600 AD is exaggerated for already edited works(63), and of course does not take into account the innumerable unedited works attributed to Chrysostom.

(59) Cf. Aubineau, *Hesychius* (note 50 above) I, xxx-xli.

(60) *Ibid.* xxxv-vi.

(61) The history and characteristics of the TLG are recounted in the Preface and Introduction to the program's accompanying volume listing the works in the data-bank: L. Berkowitz & K. A. Squitier, with technical assistance from W. A. Johnson, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, (2nd ed. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986). See also the extremely useful information-updating in R. A. Kraft (ed.), *Offline: Computer assisted Research for Religious Research, Bulletin of the Council of the Society for the Study of Religion* 17.1 (Feb. 1988) 20-22; 17.2 (April 1988) 48-50; 17.3 (Sept. 1988) 68-73 (continuing).

(62) I.e. compact-disk read-only memory, which can be read, scanned, printed, etc., but not changed or added to by the user.

(63) For example, it does not include *ApConst*, a capital liturgical source, and other authors are only partially represented.

Still, though as yet an imperfect tool because of the peculiar problems of the Chrysostom corpus, the TLG, commercially available to the general public only since 1986, has already revolutionized my own research on CHR, strengthening greatly the assurance with which some conclusions can be asserted. I am convinced that further computer testing will only confirm, not contradict these conclusions.

Computerized scanning of the TLG data-bank adds to what we have known hitherto about the relationship of CHR and Chrysostom four new qualities: speed, completeness, accuracy, and (relative) exclusivity. Computer scanning is not only quick, doing in minutes work that would take more than a lifetime, and with no guarantee of inerrancy. It also finds, with total accuracy, all doublets without exception. But this only helps to confirm what Wagner has already demonstrated: that there are numerous parallels between the anaphora and the authentic writings of Chrysostom. Far more important is the novelty of exclusivity: the computer scan can show that in certain instances, not only are there doublets in Chrysostom's writings, *but that such doublets exist in no other writings in the data-bank.*

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V. The text

With these cautions and caveats in mind, let us apply the methods discussed to a sample of the text of CHR and its perceived parallels in the anaphoral tradition and in the writings of John Chrysostom, with a view to adjudicating, if not definitively then at least with greater assurance than was hitherto possible, the long disputed question of its authenticity.

1. *The Apophatic Credo* (7):

The first text I wish to examine begins at number 7 of the Greek text in the left column. I skip over variants **3** and **5**. Since the former is Formelgut, and the latter from Ps 102:22, neither can provide any grist for the authenticity mill. But 7 is another matter. It reads:

For you are God, ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, always existing, ever the same, you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit.

Here, the simple divine address in APSyr, "qui vere es deus," to which three mss add "pater" to form a customary Syriac formula(64), has been expanded considerably in the Greek text by a series of alpha-privative epithets and the phrase "always existing, ever the same (ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν)," affirming God's eternity and unchangeableness: Σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος ἀπερινόητος ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν.

Of course other early anaphoras have apophatic epithets in the presanctus, especially in Egypt: e.g., the fourth-century Greek Anaphora of Sarapion of Thmuis(65), the Alexandrian Greek Anaphora of St. Gregory(66) and related Sahidic anaphoral fragments on Coptic ostraca edited by H. Quecke(67). But they are not exactly *these epithets, in this order.* Only such true doublets will serve our purposes in this testing, and I have found this apophatic confession in no anaphora but CHR.

It is precisely here, in these epithets peculiar to CHR and not found in APSyr, that we encounter our first close parallels between the liturgical text and the authentic writings of Chrysostom. The time is shortly after Chrysostom's ordination to the presbyterate in 386, at the beginning of his preaching career in Antioch, a metropolis where paganism still flourished, Judaism still exerted its pull on Christians, the Church itself was divided by the so-called Meletian schism, and heretics abounded(68). Chief among the latter were the

(64) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 239.

(65) PE 128.

(66) A. GERHARDS, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65, Münster 1984) 22.18-20.

(67) H. QUECKE, *Das anaphorische Dankgebet auf den koptischen Ostraka B.M. Nr. 32 799 und 33 050 neu herausgegeben*, OCP 37 (1971) 393-94, Zeile 8; ID., *Das anaphorische Dankgebet auf dem koptischen Ostrakon Nr. 1133 der Leningrader Eremitage neu herausgegeben*, OCP 40 (1974) 52-54, Zeilen 12-13.

(68) "La discorde, nulle part plus qu'à Antioche, ne divisait les orthodoxes," remarks F. Cavallera of this period. F. CAVALLERA, *Le schisme d'Antioche (IVe-Ve siècle)* (Paris 1905) 271. On the Church of Antioch in this

Anomeans, proponents of a strict form of late Arianism which first reared its head at Antioch around 355. Their name derives from their teaching that the Son was unlike (*anomoios*) the Father. Favored by emperor Constantius II (337-361), this neo-Arian heresy was to show remarkable resilience. Though condemned at the Synods of Ancyra (356) and Constantinople (360)(69), and attacked by such notables as Basil the Great (ca. 330-379) in the earliest of his dogmatic writings, the treatise *Against Eunomius* composed between 363-365(70); by Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in no less than four treatises, the first three, *Contra Eunomium libri*(71), answering Eunomius' rejoinder to Basil's refutation, written between ca. 380-383, and the fourth, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*(72), not long thereafter; and by Theodore of Mopsuestia, in his lost treatise *Adversus Eunomium libri XXV*(73); and repressed by Emperor Gratian (375); in the decade of Chrysostom's Antiochene presbyteral ministry (386-397) it was being vigorously defended by its chief propagator Eunomius († 394), and Sozomen witnesses to how threatening the heresy was viewed in Antioch and elsewhere throughout this period(74).

For Chrysostom, the ineffability and incomprehensibility of God are doctrines of faith required of candidates for baptism, he explains in his Antiochene *Baptismal Catecheses* I, 20(75). But it is especially

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period, see also G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961) 410-49.

(69) MANSI 3:267-90, 325-36.

(70) BASILE DE CÉSARÉE, *Contre Eunome*, ed. B. SESBOÜÉ with G.-M. DE DURAND, L. DOUTRELEAU (SC 299, 305, Paris 1982, 1983) = PG 29:497-669.

(71) W. JAEGER (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni opera* I-II, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1960) I (libri 1-2); II, 3-311 (liber 3).

(72) *Ibid.* II, 312-410. Cf. QUASTEN III, 209-10, 257-58.

(73) We know of the work from Theodore himself, who refers to it at the very beginning of his *Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis apostoli*, ed. J.-M. VOSTÉ (CSCO 115-116, scr. Syri 62-63 = ser. 4, t. 3, Louvain 1940) 3 (versio 1); as well as from PHOTIUS, *Bibl. Cod.* 4, PG 103:52A. On these and other, now lost anti-Eunomian works, see CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* xii-xiv.

(74) HE IV, 12-30, ed. J. BIDEZ, GCS 50 (Berlin 1960) 154-87 *passim*. On the whole question see CAVALLERA, *Le schisme d'Antioche* (note 68 above); CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 1-22.

(75) JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédits*, ed. A. WEN-

in his five famous homilies *On the Incomprehensibility of God*(76), delivered in Antioch in 386-387, that Chrysostom enters the lists directly and vigorously against Eunomius' teaching(77).

The Anomeans at Antioch were numerous, active, and disruptive, and Chrysostom attacks them especially for their teaching on the knowability of God's essence. From the literature of this controversy originated an entire vocabulary of apophatic theology, including the four alpha-privatives of CHR: 1) ἀνέκφραστος, 2) ἀπερινόητος, 3) ἀόρατος, 4) ἀκατάληπτος.

Before Chrysostom and CHR, most of these expressions are found already in Gnostic writings, in Philo, in the New Testament, and in Clement of Alexandria, and they are common to the anti-Eunomian treatises of Basil the Great and his brother Gregory. So the epithets in question are not peculiar to Chrysostom. But he does use all four of them in the body (i.e. excluding the titles) of his five Antiochene homilies on the issue, as follows: (1) only once, (2) twice, (3) three times, and (4) his favorite, ἀκατάληπτος, "incomprehensible," twenty-seven times, plus five more times in the titles(78).

GER (SC 50bis, Paris 1970) 118-20; cf. WAGNER 78. Arius and Eunomius were also major heretics for Chrysostom's classmate Theodore of Mopsuestia, who mentions them frequently in his own catecheses: *Hom. 1*, 11; *3*, 12; *5*, 9; *13*, 8; ST 145:19, 71, 111, 381; cf. WAGNER 78 n. 20. The same was true of their teacher, Diodore of Tarsus, if we can believe the later testimony of Ebedjesu († 1318), whose catalogue lists a lost anti-Eunomian polemical treatise of the Antiochene master: EBEDJESU, *Carmen continens catalogum librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum*, BO II.1:28-29; cf. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* xii.

(76) JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu*, t. 1 (Homélies 1-5), 2nd ed., ed. A.-M. MALINGREY, trans. R. FLACELIÈRE, intro. J. DANIÉLOU (SC 28bis, Paris 1970).

(77) Ca. 439-450 the Byzantine historian Socrates of Constantinople sums up this teaching in his HE IV, 7: "God knows no more about his own being than we do. His being is no more known to him than it is to us. Whatever we know of him, he knows fully too, and whatever he knows, you find in us too, without any difference. God is pure, incommunicable simplicity. Only the Father possesses this divinity. This Logos is created, not divine. God gives the Logos his energy, his activity, and uses him as an instrument in the production of other creatures, first among which is the Holy Spirit. Though man cannot of himself know God's essence, God himself has communicated this knowledge" (PG 67:437B).

(78) SC 28bis, index, 332-34.

For this is the term that provides both theme and name to the entire corpus — though whether the name and its titles are from Chrysostom is, of course, moot.

Once, however, in *Hom. 3,* 54-55, Chrysostom employs all four epithets in combination, and, strikingly, as Daniélou points out(79), on that occasion he not only uses all four, and only these four epithets; he does so *in exactly the same sequence as in CHR*: "Let us call upon him, then, the ineffable, the inconceivable God, the invisible, the incomprehensible..."(80).

Even more significant is the fact that *among all Greek writers in the TLG,* no one but Chrysostom uses all four epithets together, and no one but Chrysostom uses them in the exact order in which they are found in CHR. The relevant texts are:

1. From before 398, the just mentioned Antiochene sermon *De incomprehensibili Dei natura, hom. 3,* 54-55: Καλῶμεν τοίνυν αὐτὸν *τὸν ἀνέκφραστον, τὸν ἀπερινόητον θεὸν, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν ἀκατάληπτον...*(81).
2. Some of the epithets are found not only in combination but in liturgical order in two other Antiochene homilies. *In Mt hom. 2,* 2, has epithets 1-2(82), which is worthy of note because the first, ἀνέκφραστος, is very rare. Chrysostom himself uses it but twice, only once in combination with all three other apophatic epithets. Theophilos of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* I, 3 (ca. 160)(83), and Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* V, 1:5(84), are the only other sources the TLG scan shows as using ἀνέκφραστος in conjunction with one of the other three epithets.
3. *In illud 'Pater si possibile'* 3, has 2-3-4:... ἦν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεός, ὁ ἄρρητος, ὁ ἄφθαρτος, *ὁ ἀπερινόητος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀκατάληπτος...*(85).
4. While in exile from 404 until his death in 407, Chrysostom deals again with the same question in his treatise *On the Providence of God (Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt).* In II, 18 he says: Ὁ δὲ πολυπραγμονούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀνώλεθρος, ἀναλλοίωτο, *ἀεὶ ὢν καὶ*

(79) *Ibid.* 18-19.
(80) *Ibid.* 190.
(81) *Loc. cit.*
(82) PG 57:25D. Cf. Wagner 76-77.
(83) Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum,* text and trans. by R. M. Grant (Oxford 1970) 4; Théophile d'Antioche, *Trois livres à Autolycus,* ed. G. Bardy, trans. J. Sender (SC 20, Paris 1948) 62.
(84) Ed. I. A. Heikel, GCS 23 = Eusebius 6 (Leipzig 1913) 151b.
(85) PG 51:37A. Cf. Wagner 76-77.

ὡσαύτως ὤν, ἄναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, *ἀπερινόητος*, ὑπερβαίνων νοῦν, νικῶν λογισμόν, *ἀνέκφραστος*, ἄρρητος, *ἀκατάληπτος* οὐκ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ μόνον...(86).

5. A doubtful text(87) from the period of Chrysostom's episcopate in Constantinople (398-404), *Hom. de capto Eutropio* 9, provides an even closer parallel. Although the authenticity of this section of the homily has been disputed, its language provides doublets not only with the liturgical passage from CHR, but with other expressions of Chrysostom already cited. The passage is referring to Christ in his Godhead: Ἀκήρατος ἦν, ἀνώλεθρος ἡ οὐσία, ἄφθαρτος, ἦν ἡ φύσις, *ἀπερινόητος, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν*, ὑπερβαίνων ἀγγέλους, ἀνώτερος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, νικῶν λογίσμον, ὑπερβαίνων διάνοιαν...(88).

These texts permit us to conclude the following:

1. Chrysostom knew these four epithets in the liturgical order as given in CHR.
2. It is probable that he knew them as part of a prayer invoking (καλῶμεν) God.
3. Since the doublets in question are not found in APSyr, and hence were not in AP; and since computer scanning provides no secure basis for ascribing to Chrysostom the texts common to CHR-APSyr, i.e. that least common denominator we have attributed to the AP Urtext; the doublets do not show Chrysostom to be the author of AP.
4. Since whatever is almost certainly attributable to Chrysostom is an addition to AP, this narrows our question to whether Chrysostom, even if not the author of AP (and therefore of CHR) in the modern sense of the term (a problem I prescind from for the moment), could at least have been responsible for this later, Byzantine redaction that has come down to us as CHR.
5. Apart from the authenticity issue, what we have seen so far concerning the historical context of the apophatic confession provides a relatively secure context for locating this later elaboration of the Greek Urtext of AP to the period

(86) JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 79, Paris 1961) 70-72.
(87) CPG 4528; ALDAMA 170.
(88) PG 52:404A.

during or after the anti-Eunomean polemic, which raged from ca. 355.

6. That, in turn, would place the composition of the AP Ur-text back to at least mid-century as an anaphora in use in the metropolis of Antioch.

Let us return now to the main question as narrowed by these conclusions: is John Chrysostom the author of the present redaction of Byzantine CHR? Chrysostom's writings so abound in apophatic epithets[89] that it is only on the basis of a strict correspondence of doublets, as in the case of this apophatic confession of CHR, that any real argument for a liturgical parallel can be developed. Does this parallel argue for Chrysostom himself as the redactor of the elaborated text of the CHR presanctus[90]? Though there is no way in which one can speak of "proof" in such matters, I would consider this conclusion the only probable one under the circumstances.

Note well that the argument is not based just on the doublets in Chrysostom-CHR, but on them plus *the complete absence of similar doublets in any other Greek Christian writer then, before, or after.* With the expression "God the ineffable, the inconceivable, the invisible, the incomprehensible, always existing, ever the same," we are, then, dealing with a "Chrysostomism" verified nowhere else.

This, in turn, permits us to align the evidence and argue as follows:

1. The text in question is *not* found in APSyr, and hence most probably was not in AP.
2. But it *is* found in the later Greek redaction of AP, which we know as CHR.
3. Further, it is an expression clearly derived from the anti-Eunomean polemic raging in Antioch from ca. 355.
4. In this polemic, John Chrysostom played a major role.
5. The text, in its liturgical form in CHR, is a Chrysostomian hapax found in no other writer.
6. It would seem, then, that either Chrysostom borrowed the expression from the liturgy, or the liturgy got it from him.

(89) See indices, SC 28bis: 314, SC 79:281-82.
(90) Cf. WAGNER 76.

Did Chrysostom himself personally redact this expanded recension of the liturgical text? And if so, when? Since it is difficult to imagine a young presbyter even of Chrysostom's obvious gifts meddling with the anaphora of a major see — indeed in that area and at that time the see which, before being overtaken by Constantinople and Jerusalem, was still the most important center of liturgical influence in the Prefecture of Oriens — one might prefer to think that the anaphora influenced the preacher, not vice-versa, and thus was a text well-known to Chrysostom from frequent use, and not a recent innovation. Our main proof text, *On the incomprehensibility of God, homily 3,* was, after all, preached at a eucharist in Antioch(91), and it would be quite natural that at its conclusion, where the text in question appears, the homilist exhort his hearers to pray God in the words of the imminent anaphora — *if those words were, in fact, part of the anaphora at that time.*

This is the sticking point, and there is no sure way to resolve it. But it seems to me fairer to the true weight of the objective evidence to attribute the apophatic epithets to Chrysostom, but to conclude that they were added to the Antiochene Anaphora of the Apostles by him, or at his direction, only after being ordained bishop of Constantinople on February 26, 398. The reasons for this are twofold:

1. If my argumentation thus far is suasive, we find the apophatic confession in Chrysostom's homilies in Antioch *before they appear in the liturgy,* or at least before Chrysostom would have borrowed them from the liturgy after going to Constantinople. For the absence of the expression in APSyr, I have argued, means it was not part of the Urtext of AP as it would have been known to Chrysostom during his Antiochene period.
2. So it appears reasonable to assume that the liturgy got the apophatic confession from Chrysostom, not vice-versa.

According to this proposed scenario, the Antiochene writings of Chrysostom would be evidence that during the period of his Antiochene ministry, St. John knew and used the four apophatic epithets in a certain order. Later, while at Constantinople in 398-404, he

(91) SC 28bis: 58.

interpolated them into the text of AP, an anaphora he had known in Antioch and probably introduced into the rite of the Great Church as its bishop. This would remove the objection voiced above to his emending the liturgy of Antioch while a mere presbyter there.

One might object to delaying the interpolation of the apophatic confession until Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan episcopate with the argument that the Anomean problem was chiefly an *Antiochene* one in Chrysostom's career. By the time Chrysostom had arrived in Constantinople, had not Arianism and its progeny been largely laid to rest in the capital by Gregory Nazianzen, bishop there briefly (November 380-June 381), whose vigorous and effective measures against these aberrations were crowned by the Council of Constantinople I in 381? Hardly. Though the council of 381 condemned every variety of Arianism and semi-Arianism of the Eunomians, the Anomeans, and anyone else, and an imperial decree of July 19, 381, forbade them to build churches in the cities or elsewhere under threat of confiscation(92), Eunomius and his doctrine, in one form or another, remained a danger until after the death of Chrysostom. Eudoxius, briefly Arian bishop of Antioch (358-September 30, 359), ordained Eunomius deacon and promoted him to the see of Cyzicus (360-383), now Balzik-kale, in the Hellespont, then still a suffragan see of Ephesus, when he became Arian bishop of Constantinople (January 27, 360-370)(93). Eunomius, who did not stay long in his see, eventually took up residence with Eudoxius in the capital before retiring to his estate just across the Bosphorus in Chalcedon. He attended a synod in Constantinople in 383, was exiled shortly thereafter by Emperor Theodosius, and lived in Halmyris in Moesia, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and nearby Dacora, until his death in 394. Nor did his death end the peril: four years after, in 398, several imperial edicts under Emperor Arcadius ordered Eunomius' works burnt and made possession of them a capital offense(94). The last official decree dealing with the question is an edict of Theodosius II,

(92) Cavalcanti, *Studi eunomiani* 19.

(93) For the dating of these often brief and conflicting episcopates during the Arian and later Christological struggles, see G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis. Series episcoporum ecclesiarum orientalium.* 2 vols. I: *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*; II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua 1988).

(94) Quasten III, 307.

May 30, 428(95). But if this is the last official trace of Eunomianism in imperial or ecclesiastical sources, Eunomian communities continued to exist through the middle of the fifth century at least, and anti-Eunomian polemical writings are witnessed through the end of the following century(96).

It should come as no surprise, then, that Chrysostom delivered his final two homilies against the Anomeans at Constantinople in 398(97), and continued to maintain his firm stand against Anomeanism right until the end of his life — as we saw he did, and without ambiguity, in one of his last writings from exile, the treatise *On the Providence of God* cited above(98).

Hence I will let my hypothesis stand, for the moment, even if in all this we must remain in the misty realm of possibilities and probabilities. For, let me repeat, if the doublets adduced thus far cannot be dismissed as negligible, we are, nevertheless, hypothesizing on the basis of evidence which, of itself, proves nothing with certainty. Still, degrees of probability do increase as the confluence of evidence mounts, and the argument based on it convinces. And there is more evidence to come.

As to the further question, whether Chrysostom might not also have been the author of not just this and other redactional emendations to AP, but of the entire CHR anaphora, perhaps in two phases, Antiochene (AP) and Constantinopolitan (CHR), analogous to what Raes proposed for BAS(99), I shall leave this issue until later.

2. *"Always existing, ever the same"* (**8**):

The concluding phrase (**8**) of this apophatic credo in CHR, ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν, if taken *verbatim*, is a hapax found thus nowhere

(95) *Codex Theodosii* XVI, 5:65, ed. TH. MOMMSEN, P. M. MEYER, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes* I. 2 (Berlin 1905) 878-79; cf. CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 20.

(96) CAVALCANTI, *Studi eunomiani* 21.

(97) *Hom. 11-12*, PG 48:795-812 = CPG 4324-4325. On the venue, cf. PG 48:795; O. BARDENHEWER *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (2nd ed. Freiburg B. 1913-1932) III, 340.

(98) Text no. 4 above at note 86.

(99) A. RAES, *L'authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de Saint Basile*, REB 16 (1958) 158-61.

but in CHR and Chrysostom. And *Chrysostom not only has it twice, but both times he uses it in conjunction with our alpha-privative epithets.*

Everything that has been said above concerning the apophatic epithets applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the expression "always existing, ever the same." It, too, comes out of the Anomean controversy; it, too, is a favorite of Chrysostom.

In this regard, the text cited above from *De capto Eutropio* 9([100]) is especially interesting in that it applies the epithets and their following phrase, "always existing, ever the same," to Christ. In CHR they are predicated of all three persons of the Holy Trinity. Similar passages in the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:6 ("always and in all you remain the same": τὸν πάντοτε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα)([101]) and in Eunomius, *Apol.* 28 (Εἷς δὲ ὢν καὶ μόνος ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὤν, πάντων ἐστι θεὸς καὶ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργός...)([102]) are predicated of the Father only, as Wagner has pointed out([103]).

The anaphoral reading in CHR must also, then, be a deliberate anti-Eunomean emendation, and the evidence points, again, to Chrysostom as the most likely source of this interpolation. Several arguments support this conclusion:

1. Apart from Chrysostom, not one Greek writer in the TLG data-bank, pagan or Christian, ever uses the exact phrase ἀεὶ ὤν, ὡσαύτως ὤν.
2. Chrysostom uses it *not once but three times*, and paraphrases it closely a fourth([104]).
3. The expression "always existing" (ἀει ὤν) by itself is also a favorite of his, used several times in various contexts, in-

([100]) Text no. 5 above at note 88.

([101]) SC 336:180.

([102]) PG 30:868A.

([103]) WAGNER 82-83.

([104]) Two of the relevant texts have been cited above in the previous section: texts nos. 4-5 above at notes 86, 88. The third is Chrysostom's *Comm. in Is 6*, 2, a work that dates from his Antiochene period, before 386: "Σύ, φησί, μένων, ὤν, ζῶν, ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ὤν," JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Commentaire sur Isaïe*, ed J. DUMORTIER (SC 304, Paris 1983) 262; for the date of this work, cf. *ibid.* 14. The paraphrases is *Expos. in ps 7*, 6: "... ἀεὶ ὢν ὕψιστος... καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων," PG 55:90.

cluding the ones in combination with "ever the same" (ὡσαύτως ὢν) just referred to(105).

4. Finally, no one but Chrysostom ever uses the phrase, "always existing, ever the same," in combination with the alpha-privative epithets — and he does so twice, though not with all four epithets together and not always in liturgical order, but once with 2-1-4 (text no. 4 above), once (probably — text no. 5 is of dubious authenticity) with 2-3-4.

The sources adduced, especially those from the period of Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan episcopate and exile, strengthen the hypothesis already enunciated at the conclusion of the previous section.

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The Motives for the Eucharist

The patently anti-Arian trinitarian confessions **(6, 15)** are anaphoral Formelgut, characteristic of the Antiochene and East-Syrian type presanctus in the post-Nicene period(106), and must be discounted as evidence of authenticity.

There follows a passage recounting the motives of our thanksgiving **(10-15)**:

> **10.** From non-existence you brought us into being, **11.** and when we had fallen you raised us up again, **12.** and did not shrink from doing everything until you had led us up to heaven **13.** and graciously bestowed upon us the future kingdom. **14.** For all this do we thank

(105) Cf. TLG or PG 47:427; 53:346; 55:90, 646; 56:390; 59:97 (συνὼν ἀεὶ τῷ Πατρί), 99, 518; 62:108; 63:823.

(106) See THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 16*, 5-7, ST 145:541-45, 549; the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari, MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text* (note 8 above) 360-61; MOP, PE 381-82; numerous other Syriac and Armenian Antiochene-type anaphoras, e.g. PE 277, 282, 286, 288-89, 293, 298-99, 303-6, 311, 337, 342-43; including the older ones like *Testamentum Domini* I, 23, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899) 38-41 = PE 220; and Greek and Syriac JAS, PO 26.2:200.8-11 = PE 246, 270.

15. you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit, for all the things we know and do not know, your benefits seen and unseen, accomplished for us. We thank you also for this service: deign to receive it from our hands...

Let us examine these motives one by one.

3. *Thanksgiving for Creation "ex nihilo"* (**10**):

"From non-existence you brought us into being." Σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες.

Just as Jewish liturgical prayer blessed God above all for creation and salvation(107), so too, thanksgiving for creation and redemption in Christ is the prime motive of the earliest Christian eucharist(108).

The explicitation of this theme by stressing creation *ex nihilo*, common to APSyr-CHR (and thus to AP), MOP and NES(109), is especially frequent in the Antiochene anaphoras: it is not found in BAS, JAS, MK, or Sarapion(110), though a recent reconstitution of the text of two Greek anaphoral fragments reveals the same tradition in Egypt:

1. The papyrus *Barcelona 154b-157*(111) from the first half of the fourth century, with an ancient Alexandrian Greek anaphoral fragment which Janeras dates to the third century, making it the oldest extant Greek anaphoral text discovered thus far(112). R. Roca-Puig,

(107) See PE 5-57 *passim.*

(108) See *Didache* 9-10, PE 67-68; JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho* 41.1 (ca. AD 165), PE 72; cf. *ibid.* 117.2, PE 72-74; etc. On the general theme of creation in the anaphora, see J. KEENAN, *The Importance of the Creation Motif in a Eucharistic Prayer, Worship* 53 (1979) 341-56.

(109) PE 383, 388.

(110) WAGNER 85.

(111) Description in R. ROCA-PUIG, *Sui papiri di Barcellona. Anafora greca secondo la liturgia di san Marco, Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 91-92 (this identification of the text as MK must be discounted: cf. JANERAS *passim*).

(112) JANERAS 14-15; JANERAS has demonstrated that this anaphora represents the original Greek text of the Louvain Coptic anaphoral fragment no. 27, edited by L. TH. LEFORT, *Coptica Lovaniensia*, Mu 53 (1940) 22-24; cf. P. DEVOS, AB 104 (1986) 126. See JANERAS' references for full bibliography on the Barcelona Anaphora.

who has been editing the anaphoral text in dribs and drabs, has baptized it the "Anaphora of Barcelona."(113) The presanctus of this text contains the passage "... ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι..."(114).

2. The fifth-sixth century Egyptian parchment fragment *P. 17032* now in the Ägyptischer Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (DDR), segment 2 as reconstructed by Gamber: ὅ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι(115).
3. The mid-seventh century Bodleian Papyrus, one of several found in the ruins of the Apa Apollon Monastery south of Lycopolis (Asyûṭ) in Upper Egypt, and usually (if misleadingly(116)) called the Euchologion of Dêr Balizeh, as newly reconstituted by J. van Haelst. The text in question is from the beginning of the anaphora: ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγῶν(117).

This is enough to show that we are dealing here with Formelgut material, an early Antiochene instance of which is found in the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:7: Σὺ γὰρ... ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου(118),

(113) R. Roca-Puig, *La "Creació" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1979); Id., *La "Redempció" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1982); Id., *La "Litúrgia angèlica" a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 154 b* (Barcelona 1983); see also Id., *L'epíclesi primera a l'Anàfora de Barcelona. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 155 a, lin. 2-7* (Barcelona 1987). Janeras 16-18 gives the full text.

(114) Roca-Puig, *Creació* 15; Janeras 16.

(115) First published in diplomatic edition by K. Treu, *Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri, Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 21 (1971) 72-74, fragment no. 8; this text remained largely ignored by oriental liturgiologists until the reconstitution of the text by K. Gamber, *Teilstück einer Anaphora auf einem Pergamentblatt des 5./6. Jahrhunderts aus Ägypten*, OKS 36 (1987) 186-92. G. (188) admits, however, that the poor condition of the fragment makes hypothetical his reconstruction of this segment, and one must bear in mind that G. has been reproached for excessive fantasy in his reconstitution of fragmentary papyrus texts (e.g. van Haelst 455 note 13).

(116) Misleadingly because it is but one of a collection of texts: on this point see H. Brackmann, *Der Berliner Papyrus 13918 und das griechische Euchologion-Fragment von Deir el-Bala'izah*, OKS 36 (1987) 31-32.

(117) Van Haelst 447; cf. 450-51 on van Haelst's placement of this segment in the anaphora.

(118) SC 336:180.

though here, following what was undoubtedly the pre-Eunomian Antiochene tradition, it is predicated only of the Father([119]).

Thus CHR, APSyr, and MOP (in the postsanctus), by repeatedly extending the praise and thanks and, thereby, at least implicitly, the other divine attributes and magnalia to the whole Trinity, are simply modifying the existing Antiochene tradition in an anti-Anomean sense.

As an Antiochene commonplace, the creation *ex nihilo* theme is also, not surprisingly, a favorite of Chrysostom, echoed in his Antiochene writings, especially, with astonishing frequency([120]). Indeed, Chrysostom uses not only the very anaphoral phraseology repeatedly, either verbatim or in slightly variant paraphrase([121]). He also puts it in a context of thanksgiving for God's benefits, exactly as in CHR-APSyr:

1. *Expos. in ps 149*, 1: Εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, *ὅτι οὐκ ὄντα σὲ παρήγαγε...*([122]).
2. *In Gen hom. 27*, 1: ... εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρειν ... καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιλανθανώμεθα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ *εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων... ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγεν...*([123]).

([119]) On the doctrine of *ApConst* see METZGER in SC 329, esp. 16, 32. G. WAGNER, on the other hand, would see *ApConst* as Anomean: *Zur Herkunft der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain 1972) 511-37; ID., *Une liturgie anoméenne*, in A. M. TRIACCA, A. PISTOIA (eds.), *Trinité et liturgie* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 32, Rome 1984) 385-93.

([120]) *Expos. in ps 8*, 1; *in ps 113*, 3; *in ps 138*, 2; *in ps 148*, 2; PG 55: 107, 308, 413, 487; *In Heb hom. 2*, 3; *hom. 4*, 3; *hom. 22*, 1; PG 63:23, 41, 154-55; *Ad Olymp. ep. 7 (1)*, 3a, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Lettres à Olympias*, 2nd ed., ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 13bis, Paris 1968) 142; cf. WAGNER 85-86.

([121]) See the Antiochene writings: *In Gen hom. 2*, 2 and 4; *hom. 3*, 3; *hom. 10*, 6-7; *hom. 22*, 5; *hom. 40*, 2; PG 53:28, 31, 35, 87-89, 192, 370; *hom. 44*, 2, PG 54:408; *Ad Theod. lapsum* I, 51, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *A Théodore*, ed. J. DUMORTIER (SC 117, Paris 1966) 102-4; *In Mt hom. 23/24*, 8, PG 57:318; *In Jn hom. 13/14*, 2; *hom. 55/56*, 1; PG 59:94, 307; *In 1 Cor hom. 20*, 3, PG 61:163; *In Eph hom. 4*, 3, PG 62:34; *In Col hom. 3*, 2, PG 62:319; *In 1 Thess hom. 6*, 3; *hom. 7*, 2; PG 62:432, 436; *In Philem hom. 2*, 4, PG 62:713; *De compunctione* II, 5, PG 47:418; *Cat. 8*, 19, SC 50bis, 258; *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* II, 9, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY (SC 79, Paris 1961) 64.

([122]) PG 55:493.

([123]) PG 53:240.

3. *Expos. in ps 144,* 1, combines this and the following theme of CHR: Καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ἐσμεν ὀφειλέται αὐτῷ, *ὅτι τε οὐκ ὄντας ἐποίησεν...* καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἑκάστην προνοεῖ τῆν ἡμέραν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, καὶ λάθρᾳ καὶ *φανερῶς, καὶ εἰδότων καὶ οὐκ εἰδότων*([124]).

Impressive as this array of doublets is, they are not unique to Chrysostom among the Antiochenes. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Comm. in Mal* 1:6, also has the exact phrase: ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών([125]). His *Comm. in Zach* 1:7-10 echoes it strongly too: κτίσιν δὲ πάντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρεληλυθότα([126]). Indeed, creation *ex nihilo* is a frequently repeated theme in Theodore — it is found eleven times, for example, in his *Hom. 2,* 9-18 alone([127]), and can safely be relegated to Antiochene liturgical Formelgut.

4. *Thanksgiving for Redemption* **(11-13)**:

The theme of thanksgiving for redemption is also found in APSyr-CHR, and thus part of the common Urtext:

11. καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν **12.** καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες **13.** καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν.	**11.** And when we had fallen you raised us up again, **12.** and did not shrink from doing everything until you had led us up to heaven **13.** and graciously bestowed upon us the future kingdom.

From the purely stylistic point of view, the TLG scan has turned up numerous doublets for this text in the authentic works of Chrysostom:

1. παραπεσόντας πάλιν — ἀνέστησας πάλιν, especially the latter, are expressions dear to Chrysostom, though not necessarily in tandem. The phrase is from Heb 6:4, and in that form — καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν — it occurs three times, once

([124]) PG 55:465.
([125]) PG 66:601B = CPG 3834; cf. F. E. Brightman, *The 'Anaphora of Theodore',* JTS 31 (1930) 162.
([126]) PG 66:504A = CPG 3834.
([127]) ST 145:41-53.

in *Ad illuminandos catechesis 1*, 2(128), twice in *In Heb hom. 9*, 2(129). *In Heb hom. 10*, 1, paraphrases the expression thus: τοῦ λουτροῦ ἄφεσιν πάλιν λαβεῖν...(130).

2. Πάλιν with some form of ἀνίστημι emerges so often in the TLG scanning of Chrysostom's works as to appear one of his clichés. I note here only a few of the more closely parallel expressions:

   [a] *Ad Theodorum lapsum* 8, 29: ... εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν *καταπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνίστησιν*(131).

   [b] *De poenitentia hom. 4*, 1: καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ... *πεσόντες ἀνέστησαν* καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν *πάλιν* ἐπανῆλθον εὐδοκίμησιν(132).

3. οὐ[κ πρότερον] ἀπέστη... ἕως is another favorite expression of Chrysostom(133), often found in the form, "... did not shrink from *doing eyerything*," as in CHR: οὐ[κ] ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν ἕως...(134). At times it occurs in combination with ἀνάγειν or some synonym, in passages remarkably similar to the CHR text. This is not surprising, since the anaphoral passage is an obvious echo of Eph 2:4-7. Now this pericope is a favorite of Chrysostom, one he refers to explicitly in contexts citing almost verbatim the liturgical text of CHR:

   [a] *In Gen sermo 2*, 1: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πραγματευόμενος *ἕως αὐτὸν* [= *ἄνθρωπον*] *ἀναγαγὼν ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ.* Καὶ βοᾷ Παῦλος λέγων· "Συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἡμᾶς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ..."(135).

   [b] *In ascensionem domini*, 2: ... πῶς *οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πάσχων καὶ πραγματευόμενος, *ἕως τὸν πολέμιον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἀνήγαγεν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ*...(136).

(128) PG 49:225.
(129) PG 63:78.
(130) PG 63:83.
(131) SC 117:116.
(132) PG 49:299.
(133) *In s. Eustathium antiochenum*; PG 50:605; *De Anna sermo 2*, 1, PG 644; *In Rom hom. 29*, 5, PG 60:659; *In 1 Cor hom. 19*, 5, PG 158.
(134) *Adv. Judaeos or. 8*, 3, PG 48:931; *Ep. ad Innocentium papam I*, 2, 52:532; *Ep. 133 ad Adoliam* (AD 404), PG 52:692; *In Rom hom. 25*, 6, 60:636; cf. *Ecloga hom. 29*, PG 63:782 = CPG 4684.
(135) PG 54:587-88, considered authentic = CPG 4410; ALDAMA 578.
(136) PG 50:445.

[c] *Daemones non gubernare mundum hom. 1,* 2: ... πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγε ... (137).

[d] Especially close to the liturgical text is *Adversus Judaeos or. 8,* 2: *καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν* καὶ πραγματευόμενος, *ἕως* τὴν φύσιν τὴν *πεσοῦσαν ἀνέστησε,* καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ θανάτου, *καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐχειραγώγησε,* καὶ μείζονα τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔδωκεν ἀγαθά... (138).

[e] See also the Constantinopolitan *Homilia dicta presente imperatore,* 1: μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι πάντα ποιοῦντα καὶ πραγματευόμενον, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολλῷ μείζονα ὧν ἐξεπέσαμεν ἐπαναγάγῃ... (139).

As Wagner remarks, ἀνάγειν is a favorite word in Chrysostom's vocabulary, in reference to humankind's "elevation" in Christ (140).

4. Chrysostom uses the expression "heavenly kingdom" (βασιλεία [τῶν] οὐρανῶν) (141), never "future kingdom" (βασιλεία ἡ μέλλουσα), very rare in Greek writers: the TLG scan gives it but four times, once in Eusebius, *Scholia in Lucam* 19:12 (142), once in a dubious work of Basil (143), and twice in Chrysostomian *spuria* (144).
5. Finally, Chrysostom frequently uses βασιλείαν (145) or synonyms for eternal life (ζωὴν αἰωνίον, ἀθανασίαν, μέλλουσαν ζωήν, τὴν τῆς

(137) PG 49:247.

(138) PG 48:929.

(139) PG 63:474B.

(140) See texts nos. 3a, 3c, cited above at notes 135, 137; also *In Eph hom. 3,* 2, PG 62:25-26, where he uses it four times in this context. Cf. WAGNER 89.

(141) *De gloria in tribulationibus* 2, PG 51:157; *In illud 'Habentes eundem spiritum' hom. 1,* 4; *hom. 3,* 10, PG 51:276, 290; *In Gen hom. 47,* 5; *hom. 52,* 1, PG 54:427, 457; *In Eph hom. 16,* 1, PG 62:111; *In Col hom. 3,* 2, PG 62:407; *In illud 'Apparuit gratia Dei omnibus hominibus'* 12, ed. A. WENGER, *Une homélie inédite de Jean Chrysostome sur l'épiphanie,* REB 29 (1971) 129.

(142) PG 24:589A.

(143) *Enarratio in Is* VII, 205, SAN BASILIO, *Commento al profeta Isaia,* 2 vols., ed. P. TREVISAN (Corona patrum salesiana, serie greca 4-5, Turin 1939) II, 219 = PG 30:469B (CPG 2911).

(144) *De patientia sermo 2,* PG 60:733 = CPG 4621; ALDAMA 292; *In sanctam Theophaniam,* PG 50:806 = CPG 4522; ALDAMA 162.

(145) *De statuis hom. 7,* 2, PG 49:93; *In Gen hom. 42,* 1, PG 54:457; *De Dauide et Saule hom. 1,* 2; *hom. 3,* 8, PG 54:679, 707; *Expos. in ps 148,* 5, PG 55:491; *In 1 Thess hom. 3,* 1, PG 62:407; cf. *Ecloga hom. 17,* PG 63:680 = CPG 4684.

βασιλείας κοινωνίαν(146)) as the object of χαρίζομαι, a usage that the TLG scan turns up elsewhere only in Philo(147) and Ps.-Athanasius(148).

5. *General Thanksgiving for All Benefits* (**14**):

The eucharistia in APSyr, and originally in UrAP, concluded with a general thanksgiving for all benefits, repeating the trinitarian confession: "For all these [things] do we thank you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit" (ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ), a conclusion which goes back to Jewish table-prayer, the *Birkat ha-mazon*: "Et propter (haec) omnia, (Domine, Deus noster), gratias agimus tibi et benedicimus te (nomen tuum)"(149). As Lietzmann pointed out(150), a similar formula concludes the presanctus of *ApConst* VIII, 12:27, just before the transition to the Sanctus, as in CHR: Ὑπὲρ πάντων σοι ἡ δόξα, Δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ(151). Today, numerous scholars are inclined to consider this summary thanksgiving the original conclusion to the Antiochene-type anaphora, before the interpolation of the Sanctus and what Ligier calls the institution-anamnesis block. But to address that question here would carry us too far afield.

Chrysostom uses the formula ὑπὲρ [δὲ/δὴ] τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαρι/στῶμεν/στήσωμεν/στήσαντες/στοῦντες often, though by no means exclusively, in the concluding formulas of his homilies, with such frequency as to make it almost one of his clichés(152).

(146) Respectively, *In s. Iulianum martyrem* 1, PG 50:667; *In Gen hom. 46*, 3-4, PG 54:427; *De Dauide et Saule hom. 3*, 7, PG 54:704; cf. *In Mt hom. 11*, 6, PG 57:199.

(147) *Legatio ad Caium* 326, ed. A. PELLETIER (Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 32, Paris 1972) 290.

(148) *Homilia de Passione et cruce domini*, 31, PG 28:240A = CPG 2247: σὺ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῖν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐχαρίσω.

(149) PE 11, 27, cf. 53; WAGNER 91.

(150) LIETZMANN, *Mass and Lord's Supper* (note 19 above) 112.

(151) SC 336:192.

(152) PG 48:982; 49:126, 211, 220; 49:126, 211, 220; 50:534, 706; 52:414 (dubious = CPG 4528), 448, 460 (dubious = CPG 4529); 53:80; 54:593, 598; 55:203, 216, 512, 575; 56:135, 175; 57:331; 60:654; 61:199; 62:75, 92; *In illud 'Apparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus'* 11, ed. WENGER,

Such a stereotypical formula may prove nothing as to authenticity, for it is not of Chrysostom's invention, but belongs to the Urtext of CHR. On the other hand, Chrysostom's consistent employment of it to conclude his homilies should not go unnoticed.

6. *The Thanksgiving for Benefits Known and Unknown, Visible and Invisible* (**16-18**):

In the Greek text of CHR, this original conclusion of AP is extended by a further thanksgiving for hidden benefits: "For all the things we know and do not know, your benefits seen and unseen, accomplished for us" (ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων). Though Engberding dismisses these additions as Formelgut([153]), this text is interesting for several reasons. First of all, as Ligier has pointed out, in liturgical language "things known and unknown, manifest and hidden", are usually *sins*, not divine gifts, at least in Jewish and Syriac prayers([154]), so the absence of this text in APSyr is not surprising. And since its presence in NES([155]) is clearly dependent on CHR and can be discounted, it is another CHR hapax.

Now the TLG data-base scan shows that Chrysostom not only uses the vocabulary, and even the antitheses ἴσμεν, οὐκ ἴσμεν / φανερῶν, ἀφανῶν, especially the latter. He is also *the only Greek writer in the TLG data-bank to use the expression "benefits known and unknown" and each time he does so in the genitive plural (φανερῶν/ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν) exactly as in CHR.*

Une homélie (note 141 above) 127; *In illud 'Vidi dominum' hom. 5*, 3:120-125, JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Homélies sur Ozias*, ed J. DUMORTIER (SC 277, Paris 1981) 200.

([153]) ENGBERDING, *Anaphora* 239.

([154]) L. LIGIER, *Pénitence et eucharistie en Orient. Théologie sur une interférence de prières et de rites*, OCP 29 (1963) 21-24, 51-53. Ligier cites Greek JAS, PO 26.2:222.2-3; and the Syriac anaphoras of Cyril, AS I.3:357; SyrJAS and Gregory John, AS II.2:168-69, 227; Clement of Rome, Gregory Abul Farag, and John the Scribe, E. RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (2nd ed. Frankfurt/London 1847) II, 196, 464, 482.

([155]) PE 388.

In addition to a resonance in the already cited *Expos. in ps 144*, 1 (156), four passages in particular recall this anaphoral text:

1. Reminiscent of the idea if not the vocabulary is *In Gen hom. 26*, 5: Καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐεργετούμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων εὐχαριστῶμεν (157).
2. *Ad Stagirium a daemone vexatum liber 1*, 5: Μὴ τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων μόνον ὧν ἴσμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν εὐχαριστῶμεν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἑκόντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντας οἶδεν εὖ ποιεῖν (158).
3. *In Eph hom. 19*, 2: Μὴ τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄκοντες εὐεργετούμεθα, εὐχαριστῶμεν. . . (159).
   Wagner has shown that this theme of the hidden benefits received from God's bounty is another favorite of Chrysostom, who often employs 1 Cor 2:9, citing Is 64:5 and 65:17, to the effect that "No eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him." Wagner has amassed an impressive dossier of texts, largely from Chrysostom's Antiochene period, where the preacher recalls benefits known and unknown, seen and unseen (160).
4. The most extensive passage, and closest to the liturgical text of CHR, is the famous "prayer of a certain man" from Chrysostom's Constantinopolitan sermon *In Col hom. 10*, 2-3 (161):
   Τοῦτο γάρ, φησίν, ἔργον ὑμῶν ἔστω, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς *εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν*, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄκοντας ἐποίησεν εὖ, καὶ ὑπὲρ βασιλείας καὶ ὑπὲρ γεέννης, καὶ ὑπὲρ θλίψεως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνέσεως. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος τοῖς ἁγίοις εὔχεσθαι καὶ *ὑπὲρ τῶν* κοινῶν *εὐεργεσιῶν εὐχαριστεῖν*. Οἶδα ἐγώ τινα ἅγιον ἄνδρα οὕτως εὐχόμενον. Οὐδὲν πρὸ τούτου τοῦ ῥήματου ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι· "*Εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν* σου τῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἡμέρας μέχρι τῆς παρούσης εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους ἐπιδεικνυμένων· *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν φανερῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν*

(156) Text no. 3 above at note 124.

(157) PG 53:238.

(158) PG 47:437.

(159) PG 62:130.

(160) WAGNER 92-95 cites: *Ad Stagirium 1*, 5, PG 47:437; *In Gen hom. 26*, 5; *hom. 27*, 1, PG 53:238, 240; *In Gen hom. 52*, 3, PG 54:460; *Expos. in ps 41*, 5; *in ps 144*, 1, PG 55:162, 465; *In Mt hom. 25*, 4, PG 57:332; *In Eph hom. 19, 2; In Phil hom. 14*, 1; *In 1 Tim hom. 6*, 1, PG 62:130, 283-84, 531.

(161) PG 62:368-69. On this text see S. ANTONIADIS, *Place de la liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden 1939) 160; WAGNER 94-95; VAN DE PAVERD, *Meßliturgie* (note 56 above) 494.

> *ἀφανῶν*, τῶν ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένων, τῶν ἐν λόγῳ, τῶν ἑκοντί, τῶν ἀκοντί· *πασῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων*...
>
> For let this, he says, be your work, in your prayers *to give thanks both for the seen and the unseen*, and for the good he has done the unwilling, and for the kingdom, and for hell, and for tribulation, and for refreshment. For thus is the custom of the saints, to pray and *to give thanks for* common *benefits* of all. I know a certain holy man who prayed thus. He used to say nothing before these words, but thus: "*We give you thanks for all your benefits bestowed upon us* the unworthy, from the first day until the present, *for what we know and what we do not know, for the seen, for the unseen*, for those in deed, those in word, those with our wills, those against our wills, for all *that have been bestowed upon* the unworthy, even *us*...(162).

By way of a corollary, the fact that this *Constantinopolitan* homily *does* provide doublets for CHR, whereas Chrysostom's *Antiochene* sermon *In Mt hom. 25/26*, 3-4, which refers explicitly to the eucharistic prayer, and to God's benefits past, present, and future recalled in the *eucharistia* as the motive of our thanksgiving, *does not*(163), confirms rather than undermines the line of argument taken thus far regarding Chrysostom's authorship of CHR but not AP, and about his effecting this redaction of CHR in Constantinople between 388-404.

V. Conclusion

The remainder of the presanctus (**19-26**) is Formelgut material with no strict doublets in Chrysostom, so we can prescind from it. From what we have seen concerning the text of the presanctus of CHR in relation to APSyr and the writings of Chrysostom, I would draw the following conclusions:

1. Because CHR has textual elaborations dictated by theological concerns that cannot antedate the anti-Eunomean polemic in Antioch from ca. 355, and these additions are not found in APSyr, at least some passages of APSyr seem to present an older redaction than CHR of an earlier Antiochene Greek anaphora, which I have called AP.

(162) Trans. adapted from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. P. Schaff, series 1, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids 1979) 305-6.

(163) PG 57:331-32.

2. For the same reason, this no longer extant AP Urtext *without the anti-Eunomean emendations* most probably dates from *before* the start of that crisis ca. 355.
3. Conversely, the present redaction of the Greek text of CHR *that does have those additions* must, perforce, be *later* than that date.
4. The authentic writings of John Chrysostom have numerous exact doublets to *precisely these later emendations*, but *not* to passages of the AP Urtext. Hence this redaction of CHR is most probably the work of John Chrysostom himself.
5. Chrysostom probably did this revision of AP between 388-404, as bishop of Constantinople. According to this admittedly hypothetical scenario, he would have introduced into the rite of the Great Church an existing Antiochene Greek anaphora, AP, inserting it, with his own redactional emendations, into the already existing anaphoral setting of the Great Church.
6. APSyr is a Syriac translation of the same anaphora, adapted to the traditional Syro-Antiochene anaphoral setting modelled on SyrJAS. *No one challenges this.* The only issue is whether APSyr is a *later, abbreviated translation of CHR itself*, or a *translation of what I have called AP*, independent of CHR and for that reason lacking CHR's later emendations of the AP Urtext.
7. I have opted, against Wagner, for the latter hypothesis — i.e. that Chrysostom is the redactor of CHR on the basis of AP, but not the author of AP-become-CHR, because:

   [a] In passages common to both, and hence part of the shared Urtext, CHR is more developed than APSyr, and I see no reason why the Syriac translator would have cut the original Greek text so drastically if it contained the passages in question — as, indeed, according to Wagner's scenario, it must have.

   [b] My computer scan of APSyr and CHR shows that *there are no strict doublets in the authentic writings of Chrysostom to any elements peculiar to the text of APSyr.* Those similarities between Chrysostom's writings and AP Urtext passages common to CHR-APSyr, though at times notable, are not real doublets. And besides, they are patient of

another explanation: some of them are at least partly Formelgut material or scriptural resonances. In such cases Chrysostom himself could have been influenced by the common liturgical language, or even directly by AP. All true doublets turned up by the scan are found exclusively in the CHR elaborations of AP not found in APSyr. This makes it highly improbable that the AP text underlying APSyr and CHR is a later abbreviation of an authentic CHR, rather than, as I have said, CHR representing Chrysostom's expanded redaction of AP, elements of which, once we exclude the passages referred to above in the methodological principles, are still embedded in the later Jacobite reworking of AP which APSyr represents.

8. All this, when joined with the total silence of all sources before ca. 750 concerning a Chrysostom Liturgy, and with the explicit mention by Leontius of a Liturgy of the Apostles, makes it more plausible, it seems to me, to conclude that John Chrysostom took an already existing anaphora, which I have called AP, and reworked it into what we know as CHR.

* * *

The advance that my review of this question can claim over Archbishop Georg Wagner's seminal study is modest: what computer scanning adds is completeness, inerrancy, and exclusivity. It turns up each and every instance of the text searched, and shows who does use it — *as well as who does not.* It is this latter, *the principle of exclusivity*, that greatly stengthens the probability of Chrysostom's role in the redaction of CHR. I initially greeted Wagner's thesis with skepticism for two reasons:

1. Because I felt that every Christian writer of Late Antiquity used this sort of vocabulary when speaking of things liturgical and theological, so the parallels really proved nothing.
2. Because it was impossible to determine whether the similarities between Chrysostom and CHR were derived from the former rather than from the latter.

Well, the computer scan simply destroys reason 1), and greatly weakens 2). For if Chrysostom got the language from CHR, *then why are the doublets adduced found in no other Father or anaphora in Late Antiquity?*

Furthermore, the arguments adduced here in this sample (and there are more to come in my projected study of the entire text of CHR, though most of them have alreay been pointed out by Wagner) are fully as cogent as those advanced by Capelle, and accepted by the scholarly world, for the authenticity of BAS(164). Well, if BAS, then CHR.

Have I, then, "proven" my two contentions, 1) that Chrysostom *did not compose AP*, but 2) that *CHR as it now stands was indeed redacted by him on the basis of AP*? Hardly. In matters such as this, where argumentation is based on placing the accumulated weight of probabilities on one side of the balance, and that of the improbabilities on the other, and seeing which way the scale tips, the terms "prove" or "demonstrate," have little place.

Let me just say that I think the ball is now in the other court. Anyone who wishes to argue that all the doublets to CHR adduced in the Antiochene writings of Chrysostom were derived by him from an already existing text of CHR, should be prepared to explain how it is that no other defender of orthodoxy during the whole Anomean controversy — not a single one — ever, even once, exploits these ready-made texts in defense of the true doctrine. I find it simply beyond all credibility that if these texts were ready to hand in a eucharistic prayer of the local church where this controversy was raging, no single writer but the young presbyter John would have thought of using them as proof-texts in the polemics of the day.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale
Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7
00185 Roma

Robert TAFT, S.J.

(164) B. CAPELLE, *Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et Saint Basile*, in DORESSE-LANNE 45-74. In his review of WAGNER in OKS 24 (1975) 71, F. VAN DE PAVERD states: "Wenn man die von W[agner] gebotenen Parallelen vergleicht mit jenen, di B. Capelle... heraustellt zwischen der byzantinischen Basilius-anaphora und den Werken des Basilius, tritt ein großen Unterschied in der Uberzeugungskraft hervor..." I beg to differ. *Lector peritus iudicet.*

ANTONIO RIGO

Messalianismo = Bogomilismo. Un'equazione dell'eresiologia medievale bizantina

Come è noto, gli eresiologi tendevano ad assimilare ogni nuova eresia ad una più antica che l'aveva preceduta. Questa assimilazione — vero e proprio luogo comune di questo tipo di letteratura — è stata spesso riproposta, sia pure sotto un'altra veste, anche in tempi recenti in molti studi scientifici dedicati al problema dell'origine di qualche eresia.

Il caso particolare di cui vogliamo occuparci in questa nota riguarda i rapporti reali o presunti tra due movimenti ereticali

Abbreviazioni

BEYER, *Affinitäten* = H. V. BEYER, *Affinitäten zwischen Messalianern und Bogomilen*, in *Universitetski izledovania na b'lgarskata istorija (...) Mezdunaroden simpozium - Pamporovo 1981*, Sofia 1982, 357-372.

FICKER, *Phundagiagiten* = G. FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1908.

GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie* = J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle*, TM 1 (1965), 299-324.

GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès* = J. GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143)*, REB 36 (1978), 5-81.

GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* = J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, TM 2 (1967) 1-316.

KMOSKO, *Liber graduum* = M. KMOSKO, *Liber graduum* in *Patrologia Syriaca*, pars I, t. 3, Paris 1926.

LOOS, *Dualist Heresy* = M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Praha 1974.

OBOLENSKY, *Bogomils* = D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948.

PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité* = H. CH. PUECH - A. VAILLANT, *Le Traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre*, Paris 1945.

Sources grecques = CH. ASTRUC, W. CONUS-WOLSKA, J. GOUILLARD, P. LEMERLE, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, J. PARAMELLE, *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure*, TM 4 (1970) 1-227.

OCP 56 (1990) 53-82

dell'Oriente bizantino, il Messalianismo ed il Bogomilismo. In questa sede non intendiamo ritornare su tale questione, che è stata più volte dibattuta([1]), riproponendo una comparazione delle idee e delle

([1]) Gli studiosi che si sono occupati della questione si sono divisi in due posizioni opposte: da un lato chi nega la continuità del Messalianismo nel Bogomilismo, dall'altro chi sostiene questa continuità. Tra i primi va innanzitutto menzionato FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, il quale, discutendo dei rapporti tra fundagiagiti e messaliani, osservava che l'identificazione tra i due gruppi era d'origine eresiologica e basata su analogie del tutto esteriori (ivi, 240). FICKER, *Phundagiagiten* pertanto, pur escludendo un rapporto diretto tra messaliani e fundagiagiti, vedeva nella mistica un termine intermedio tra i due, o meglio, un terreno comune (ivi, 242-277). Quest'ultima asserzione è stata recisamente respinta da N. MINISSI, *La tradizione apocrifa e le origini del Bogomilismo, Ricerche Slavistiche* 3 (1954), 101 e ripresa implicitamente, anche se in una forma un po' confusa, da N. GARSOÏAN, *Byzantine Heresy, a Re-interpretation, DOP* 25 (1971), 111-113. La migliore discussione sull'intera questione rimane comunque, a nostro avviso, quella di H. Ch. PUECH. Egli, in primo luogo, si chiedeva se esistevano ancora dei veri messaliani nel X secolo, ed in particolare nei paesi balcanici, dal momento che le testimonianze su un Messalianismo ancora in vita non vanno al di là del VII secolo (PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité* 326-327; posizione ribadita di recente da un esperto di cose messaliane quale A. GUILLAUMONT, *Messaliens,* DSp t.X, 1076). Comparando Bogomilismo e Messalianismo, PUECH avvertiva che così noi costruiamo «*une sorte d'image composite et (...) intemporelle du second de ces deux mouvements*» (PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité* p. 328). Il Messalianismo era per PUECH più che un «*système global*», una linea di tendenza dagli aspetti più vari, volta ad una pietà vissuta, alla ricerca dell'impassibilità e dell'illuminazione. Essa rispondeva ad un'esigenza permanente della mistica bizantina (ivi, 327-328). In ogni caso, concludeva, le innegabili influenze di sapore «messaliano» presenti nel Bogomilismo non sono mai state decisive e non si sono mai esercitate isolatamente (ivi, 336). Più di recente M. LOOS, *Certains aspects du Bogomilisme byzantin des 11ᵉ et 12ᵉ siècle, BSl* 28 (1967), 41-43 sosteneva più decisamente che le testimonianze sul Bogomilismo autentico ci mostrano le differenze profonde tra esso ed il Messalianismo. Le due dottrine divergono essenzialmente anche là dove sembrano maggiormente ravvicinarsi. I sostenitori della tesi avversa sono senz'altro più numerosi, ci limiteremo pertanto a ricordare soltanto i due studi più importanti. OBOLENSKY, *Bogomils* 255, 256, 262, 264 identificava Messalianismo e Bogomilismo, sostenendo che quest'ultimo nel tardo Medio Evo bizantino era sempre di più influenzato dalle idee messaliane. Le conclusioni di Obolensky sono state accettate da diversi studiosi, altri invece, a proposito dell'eresia nel tardo Medio Evo bizantino, hanno parlato indifferentemente di Bogomilismo o Messalianismo. In questi ultimi anni D. DRAGOJLOVIĆ, *Bogomilstvoto na Balkanu i u Maloj Asii t. II,* Beograd 1982 ha addirittura scritto una storia del

dottrine dei due movimenti sulla base del contenuto dei diversi repertori eresiologici(2), ma affrontarla piuttosto da un'altra angolazione che ci sembra più interessante e feconda. Ci soffermeremo infatti sul modo di lavoro ed il metodo degli eresiologi al fine di individuare il momento di nascita di questa, che si rivelerà essere una vera e propria tipologia dell'eresia, le sue articolazioni, i suoi fondamenti ed il suo significato. Oggetto della nostra analisi saranno gli scritti eresiologici o meno del Medio Evo bizantino nei quali si tratta di Messalianismo(3) o di Bogomilismo(4). Punto di partenza cronologico della nostra ricerca sarà la *summa* eresiologica di Giovanni Damasceno (VIII secolo) e ciò sia per la grande influenza di questo trattato negli autori successivi, sia per esaminare a fondo i diversi problemi connessi a questa notizia sui messaliani redatta due secoli prima della comparsa del Bogomilismo.

Il capitolo di Giovanni Damasceno merita infatti un'analisi approfondita per accertare se può essere considerato una testimonianza sulla persistenza o meno dell'eresia messaliana. Al riguardo le posizioni degli studiosi sono divergenti: da un lato c'è chi considera questa notizia un frutto dell'erudizione eresiologica del nostro autore(5),

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Messalianismo bizantino fino all'epoca della conquista turca che ne avrebbe segnato la fine.

(2) Cfr. in questo senso la recente analisi di BEYER, *Affinitäten*.

(3) Menzioniamo qui alcuni testi medievali bizantini nei quali si accenna al Messalianismo in termini che ci sembrano piuttosto frutto dell'erudizione degli autori che l'eco di qualche movimento ereticale ancora in vita. Nicetas Stethatos (XI secolo) in una lettera ad Atanasio, igumeno del monastero costantinopolitano del Panaghios, riprende quasi alla lettera Giovanni DAMASCENO (*Opuscles et lettres, ed.* J. DARROUZÈS, Paris 1961, 470). Lo Ps. ZIGABENO dell'*Expositio symboli* imputa ai messaliani delle dottrine che ricordano alcune proposizioni antipauliciane (*PG 131,* 16bc). L'anonimo annotatore dell'Athen. 423 (XIII secolo) collegava alcuni passi dei *Logoi* pseudomacariani, contenuti nel ms., agli eretici messaliani (cfr. J. DARROUZÈS, *Notes sur les homélies du Pseudo-Macaire*, MUS 67 (1954), 297-309, qui 305). Nelle *Centurie* di Callisto e Ignazio XANTHOPOULOI (fine XIV secolo) possiamo leggere che «καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἐλεύθεροι τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τάξει ἀκλινῶς ἵστανται οὗτοι, χωρὶς ἐμπαθῶν λογισμῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ Εὐχῖται λέγουσι» (nr. 43, *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Atene 1961[3], 243: citazione di Isacco).

(4) Non verranno esaminate ovviamente quelle fonti la cui totale dipendenza da autori più antichi è già stata dimostrata (Niceta CHONIATES, HARMENOPOULOS, Matteo BLASTARIS ecc.).

(5) Cfr. A. GUILLAUMONT, DSp, s.v., 1077, GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie* 301.

dall'altro chi rinviene nelle pagine del Damasceno le tracce di un movimento ereticale ancora in vita([6]).

Il § 80 del *De Haeresibus* di Giovanni Damasceno è dedicato al Messalianismo. Questo paragrafo è diviso in due sezioni. Nella prima sono presentati 18 capitoli dell'eresia messaliana (τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν), dei quali sedici sono citazioni letterali o amplificazioni dell'*Ascetikon* messaliano condannato ad Efeso nel 431 (i.e. dello Pseudo-Macario), ed i due rimanenti (11,13) sono il risultato della distorsione eresiologica([7]). La seconda sezione del paragrafo, più espositiva([8]), è ricavata dalle notizie di Epifanio, Teodoreto, Timoteo e dai canoni 3,5,6,9,15 del concilio di Gangre. Si deve infine ricordare che lo stesso Damasceno, proprio alla fine di questo paragrafo, scrive che le eresie descritte fino a quel punto erano sorte in un periodo compreso tra le origini del Cristianesimo ed il regno dell'imperatore Marciano (450-457).

Prima di giungere a qualsiasi conclusione in merito ci sembra indispensabile esaminare il resto dell'opera del Damasceno, al fine di vedere se i messaliani sono menzionati in altre parti di questo scritto.

Il § 98 è dedicato ai lampetiani([9]) che traevano il loro nome da Lampetio (seconda metà del V secolo). Giovanni Damasceno non li accomuna ai messaliani come facevano invece gli altri autori greci([10]).

I §§ 100-103 del *De haeresibus* di Giovanni sono solitamente considerati come la parte di quest'opera nella quale egli trattava di sette contemporanee. Nei §§ 102-103, riservati agli aposchistai-doxarioi, possiamo leggere: «Essi ricercano la propria gloria (τὴν ἰδίαν δόξαν ζητοῦντες), non si sottomettono alla giustizia di Dio ed a

([6]) Cfr. ad esempio, N. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 177-178 Id., *Byzantine Heresy, a Re-interpretation*, DOP 25 (1971), 107 n. 88.

([7]) H. Dörries, *Urteil und Verurteilung — Kirche und Messalianer: Zum Umgang der Alten Kirche mit Häretikern* in id., *Wort und Stunde I*, Göttingen 1966, 342-343, A. Guillaumont, *Le baptême de feu chez les messaliens*, in *Mélanges H. Ch. Puech*, Paris 1974, 518.

([8]) Kmosko, *Liber graduum*, CCXXXIV-CCXLI.

([9]) *Ivi*, CCXLI-CCXLII.

([10]) Giovanni di Scitopoli, *ivi* CCXXX, Timoteo, *ivi* CCXXI, Fozio, *ivi* CCLVIII.

quella dei suoi sacerdoti e si avvicinano all'eresia degli autoproskopti, non essendo né vescovi né capi del popolo, ma comuni individui, si separano dalla Chiesa. Imitando gli euchiti, cioè i messaliani (εὐχίτας ἤγουν μασσαλιανούς), dicono ai monaci di non frequentare le assemblee ecclesiastiche, ma di perseverare nelle preghiere nei loro eremitaggi. Confusamente divergono tra di loro, infatti la menzogna si divide in molte parti. Separatisi dalla comunione ecclesiastica, pretendono di mantenere una più esatta condotta, cercando di mostrarsi gli uni migliori degli altri. Alcuni di essi non ammettono il santo battesimo né ricevono la divina comunione, altri non baciano né una croce fabbricata di recente (τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ νεωστὶ κατασκευασθέντα), né una santa immagine (...), si considerano superiori agli altri uomini e non accettano assolutamente un prete (...); l'ubriachezza degli iconoclasti e la follia degli aposchistai, mali diametralmente opposti, ma uguali nella loro empietà»(11). Il riferimento ai messàliani merita, alla luce di quanto rilevato pocanzi, un'analisi più approfondita. Gli aposchistai-doxarioi sono paragonati da Damasceno, in primo luogo, agli autoproskopti, altro gruppo ereticale descritto nel § 100 con queste parole: «sono del tutto ortodossi e si separano dalla Chiesa e dalla comunione ecclesiastica per vili motivi»(12).

Questa sostanziale ortodossia contraddistingueva pure un altro movimento, gli hiketai, menzionato da Giovanni ed identificato da alcuni studiosi con i messaliani(13):

«Si tratta di monaci (ἀσκηταί) che sono ortodossi in tutto il resto (ὀρθόδοξοι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὄντες), ma riunendosi nei monasteri con donne, innalzano inni a Dio con danze e balli, imitando quel coro condotto da Mosè dopo la distruzione degli egiziani nel mar Rosso»(14).

Il quadro d'insieme fornito dalle diverse rubriche ci permette di vedere dei gruppi prevalentemente monastici, caratterizzati da una spiritualità instabile ed anarchica, refrattaria alla disciplina ecclesiastica(15). In base a tali connotazioni venivano accomunati dall'eresio-

(11) *PG 94*, 776-777.

(12) *PG 94*, 716b.

(13) M. Molé, *La danse extatique en Islam*, in *Les danses sacrées*, Paris 1963, 153-154.

(14) § 87, *PG 94*, 756b.

(15) Ed in merito è interessante l'utilizzo di un termine generico quale

logo all'antico Messalianismo([16]). Ci sembra evidente perciò come questi paragrafi del Damasceno non possano essere considerati come una testimonianza sulla persistenza nell'VIII secolo di questa eresia([17]).

Nessun testo del *corpus* di fonti greche sui pauliciani (VIII-IX secc.) menziona i messaliani, o movimenti che li possano in qualche modo ricordare. È, se mai, un'altra equazione a ritornare ossessivamente sotto la penna degli eresiologi dell'epoca: Paulicianismo = Manicheismo([18]).

Parimenti la prima ed una delle più importanti fonti sul Bogomilismo, il *Trattato* del prete bulgaro Cosma (972), oltre a non dare mai agli avversari il nome di bogomili, chiamandoli semplicemente «gli eretici», non accenna ad alcun precedente dell'eresia sua contemporanea([19]).

Alla fine del X o agli inizi dell'XI secolo risalgono le due più antiche inserzioni di articoli contro le sette dualiste nel *Synodikon dell'Ortodossia.*

Gli anatemi del Vat. gr. 511 (XI secolo), nonostante l'eterogeneità del loro contenuto, non sono rivolti esplicitamente contro alcun gruppo ereticale conosciuto([20]).

Nel Coisl. 213, un euchologion datato all'agosto del 1027([21]), al seguito di cinque anatemi probabilmente indirizzati contro «*une ramification du mouvement paulicien*»([22]), troviamo una lista di nomi ed un riferimento del tutto generico all'eresia della quale facevano

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quello di aposchistai che, dopo aver indicato gli oppositori di Calcedonia, veniva ad indicare gli scismatici in generale. Cfr. G. W. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, Oxford 1961, s.v.

([16]) Cfr. EPIFANIO, KMOSKO, *Liber graduum* CLXXIV.

([17]) Da osservare, per inciso, che non si può nemmeno parlare di un «*violent iconoclasm*» degli aposchistai, come scriveva N. GARSOÏAN, *The Paulician Heresy*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 178, in quanto la loro opposizione era rivolta esclusivamente alle croci ed alle icone fabbricate di recente (νεωστί). Si tratta di una posizione della quale ci sfugge il significato oppure i cui tratti sono deformati dall'ottica degli oppositori.

([18]) Cfr. P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques, TM* 5 (1973), 1-137, qui, 124-125.

([19]) Cfr. PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité* 280.

([20]) Cfr. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 304-313.

([21]) Cfr. *ivi*, 230.

([22]) GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie*, 314, cfr. anche *Sources grecques*, 189 (J. Gouillard).

parte: «A Paolo di Samosata, Luca, Blasio, Barnaba, Antonio, Rodinakis, Anthis, Nicola, Leonzio, Pietro ed a tutti gli altri tre volte maledetti maestri di questa *nuova eresia* (...), anatema»(23).

Sempre tra il finire del X secolo e gli inizi del secolo successivo (960-1030) si tenne a Costantinopoli un processo contro Eleuterio di Paflagonia ed i suoi successori, processo che, come è stato pienamente dimostrato(24), non può essere considerato un provvedimento contro un movimento ereticale, trattandosi di imputazioni del tutto abusive.

L'incartamento processuale di Eleuterio è però di grande importanza ai fini della presente ricerca, costituendo una riproposta articolata di accuse antimessaliane in una forma compendiata che avrà una certa risonanza nella successiva letteratura eresiologica. Il testo esordisce in questi termini: «I Simoni, i Marcioni, i Valentiniani(25), gli Ebioni e l'eresia ripugnante ed abominevole dei manichei, la cui malvagissima prole, il malfamato errore dei messaliani, il quale (...) non solo rende partecipe i suoi adepti all'empietà manichea, ma anche (...) vi ha aggiunto delle invenzioni ancora più ripugnanti» (Σίμωνες καὶ Μαρκίωνες, Οὐαλεντινιανοί τε καὶ Ἐβίονες καὶ ἡ τῶν Μανιχαίων μιαρὰ καὶ βδελυρὰ αἵρεσις, ἧς πονηρότατον ἔκγονον καὶ ἡ τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν κακόδοξος πλάνη [...] οὐ μόνον [...] καὶ τῆς μανιχαϊκῆς ἀθεΐας τούτους μετόχους ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ [...] καὶ προξεῦρε τούτοις καὶ ἕτερα μιαρώτερα)(26).

Il seguito è un condensato di alcuni articoli antimessaliani di Giovanni Damasceno(27) combinato con echi di anatemi antipauliciani(28):

«(...) che la mente degli uomini è dominata da Satana e dai suoi angeli, che la natura umana vive in comunione con gli spiriti del male. Satana — dicono — e lo Spirito Santo abitano inseparabilmente in ogni uomo. Così non è né il santo battesimo né la comu-

(23) GOUILLARD, *Synodikon*, r. 276 app. Il corsivo è nostro.

(24) Cfr. GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 8-19.

(25) Non possiamo fare a meno di ricordare la curiosa spiegazione di Harmenopoulos secondo il quale i messaliani sono detti anche valentiniani perché sorsero all'epoca di Valentino (sic) e di Valente (*PG 150*, 28 c).

(26) GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 46, rr. 14-18.

(27) Nr. 2,3,4,8,13, KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, CCXXXIII-IV, CCXLI, 17.

(28) *Sources grecques*, 199 (§ 5), 203 (§§ 14-15).

nione ai divini misteri del corpo del Signore a rendere perfetto l'uomo, ma solo la preghiera alla quale dedicano tutti i loro sforzi (...). Dicono che il male è per natura nell'uomo e che la sensazione dell'unione dello sposo celeste e l'anima è la stessa che prova la donna unendosi col marito (...). Aborriscono la preziosa croce, non onorano la santa Madre di Dio — dicono che Cristo non si è incarnato in lei —. A quelli tra i loro discepoli che lo desiderano permettono di castrarsi ed anche di giurare liberamente e di spergiurare o ancora, se costretti, di anatematizzare sornionamente la loro eresia»(29).

È interessante osservare come al momento della prima ripresa medievale del *corpus* eresiologico antimessaliano, ponendosi il problema della «genealogia dell'eresia», gli inquisitori, dopo aver menzionato stereotipatamente i primi eresiarchi, facessero derivare il Messalianismo dal Manicheismo. Questa operazione risulta pienamente comprensibile se ricordiamo come fosse quest'ultima eresia, o i suoi presunti avatara, ad inquietare gli animi degli ortodossi di quei secoli. Si deve inoltre ricordare che già Teodoreto(30) e Giovanni Damasceno(31) avevano collegato, sia pur incidentalemente, i messaliani ai manichei.

C'è infine da notare, a proposito di Eleuterio, che in questa occasione l'etichetta «messaliano» venne impiegata per bollare un determinato ambiente monastico; qualcosa del genere l'avevamo già rinvenuto nell'esposizione di Giovanni Damasceno.

Sotto il nome di Demetrio di Kyzikos (prima metà dell'XI secolo) ci è pervenuto, di seguito ad un capitolo *Περὶ Ἰακωβιτῶν καὶ Χατζιζαρίων*, un *Περὶ Μασσαλιανῶν τῶν νῦν Βογομίλων*. Il testo, di poche righe, consiste in una ripresa della parte introduttiva, da noi appena esaminata, del documento di condanna di Eleuterio (i.e. della parafrasi del Damasceno e dei due articoli antipauliciani), seguita dalla citazione di uno dei capi d'accusa contro lo stesso(32). Vista

(29) GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 46, rr. 18-32.

(30) «(...) τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Εὐχίτας ἐν μοναχικῷ προσχήματι τὰ Μανιχαίων νοσοῦντας» (*Hist. Rel.* c. 3, *PG 82*, 1336 b).

(31) Una proposizione quale «Ὅτι φύσει τὰ κακά» (nr. 13) infatti non è nient'altro che un «precipitato» di tutta una tradizione eresiologica sul Manicheismo.

(32) RHALLES-POTLES *IV*, 408.

l'epoca l'elemento che più colpisce è costituito dal titolo che pone l'equivalenza Messalianismo = Bogomilismo. Vedremmo però in tali parole il frutto della penna di uno scriba posteriore. Un caso analogo infatti si verificò in un manoscritto della *Cronaca* del monaco Giorgio, ove, di fianco al titolo *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν αἱρέσεως*, c'è l'annotazione: «Αὕτη ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Βογομίλων αἵρεσις»(33).

Sempre alla prima metà dell'XI secolo risale la prima opera bizantina dedicata al Bogomilismo, o a gruppi ad esso apparentati, l'*Epistola* di Eutimio di Peribleptos(34). Il testo di questo scritto, edito all'inizio del secolo da G. FICKER(35), ci è giunto in diverse recensioni che spesso differiscono notevolmente l'una dall'altra. Molte di queste varianti sono di grande interesse per la nostra nota e vanno perciò ricordate.

A detta dell'editore il miglior testo è conservato dal Vind. theol. gr. 193(36). In questo codice l'*Epistola* porta il titolo *Ἐπιστολὴ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ τῆς Περιβλέπτου μονῆς σταλεῖσα ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα στηλιτεύουσα τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν ἀθεωτάτων καὶ ἀσεβῶν πλάνων τῶν Φουνδαγιαγιτῶν ἤτοι Βογομίλων*(37) nel quale viene espressamente stabilita l'identità tra i fundagiagiti(38) ed i bogomili. Gli eretici vengono menzionati ripetutamente con il primo di questi nomi nel corso dell'esposizione di Eutimio(39). Solo in un'occasione viene ripreso l'altro appellativo: «gli abitanti di Opsikios chiamano gli eretici fundagiagiti, nel tema dei Cibirreoti, in Occidente e nelle altre regioni vengono chiamati bogomili»(40). Mentre nel Vind. theol. gr. 193, come abbiamo visto, non si accennava neppure al Messalianismo, le altre recensioni posteriori vi fanno, di contro, riferimento.

Così il Vind. theol. gr. 307, scritto verso il 1300(41), già nel tito-

(33) *PG 110*, 657-658 n. 24.

(34) Su questo autore cfr. la messa a punto di LOOS, *Dualist Heresy*, 73 n. 9.

(35) FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 3-86.

(36) Cfr. *ivi*, 153-156; descrizione del ms., 141-142.

(37) *Ivi* 3, rr. 1-4.

(38) Su questo nome cfr. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy*, 73 n. 8.

(39) Cfr. FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 4, rr. 1 e 6, 36, r. 12, 39, rr. 27-28, 41, r. 27, 56, rr. 23-24, 86, r. 11.

(40) *Ivi*, 62, 10-13.

(41) Cfr. FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 129-130, cfr. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon*, 22.

lo aggiunge a fundagiagiti e bogomili il nome messaliani ([...] Φουνδαγιαγιτῶν ἤτοι Βογομίλων καὶ Μασσαλιανῶν λεγομένων)(42). Inoltre, in una digressione, il Vind. theol. gr. 307 inserisce, in una serie di eretici manichei, quattro (Δασώην τε καὶ Σάββαν, Ἕρμην καὶ Συμεῶνα[sic])(43) dei cinque *didaskaloi* messaliani nominati da Teodoreto(44) e dal *Synodikon* e, di lì a poco, ricorda pure l'eresia messaliana (Μεσαλιανοί)(45). Nell'Utrecht Un. gr. 3 (XIII secolo)(46), nel titolo, ci si sofferma ancora di più sull'antica eresia. Possiamo infatti leggere che i fundagiagiti, contro i quali è diretta l'opera, «sono i cosiddetti bogomili, chiamati anche messaliani in siriaco, parola che tradotta in greco significa euchiti (i.e. preganti). Anatema e katathema su di loro» (Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι Βογόμιλοι· οἱ αὐτοὶ λέγονται καὶ Μασσαλιανοὶ τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ, ἥτις τῇ ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνεύεται Εὐχῖται. Ἀνάθεμα οὖν τούτοις καὶ κατάθεμα)(47). In queste righe è facile cogliere l'eco della definizione di euchiti contenuta nella descrizione dell'antico Messalianismo di Teodoreto di Ciro(48). Nell'*Epistola* di Eutimio possiamo rinvenire alcune notizie che, oltre ad essere utili per la presente ricerca, ci mostrano il metodo di lavoro dell'eresiologo. Egli narra infatti che, dopo aver conosciuto i fundagiagiti, aveva trovato un libro di Giovanni Damasceno su tutte le eresie (ἐστηλίτευσε πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις) (sc. il *De haeresibus*) e di averne intrapreso la lettura per vedere di che malvagia eresia ed empietà si trattasse e per conoscerne il nome (ὁποία ἐστιν ἡ κακὴ αὕτη αἵρεσις καὶ ἀσέβεια καὶ πῶς ὀνομάζεται). Il nome dell'eresia (sc. fundagiagiti e bogomili) — aggiunge Eutimio — non compariva tra i nomi delle eresie là descritte (οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων κύριον τῆς αἱρέσεως ὄνομα) e benché egli leggesse tutti gli elenchi di eresie non fu capace di trovarla. Questo insuccesso era dovuto, secondo Eutimio, al fatto che, mentre tutte le eresie sono state fondate da eresiarchi (πᾶσαι αἱ αἱρέσεις ἔχουσιν αἱρε-

(42) *Ivi*, 3, rr. 4-5.
(43) *Ivi*, 42, rr. 11-12.
(44) KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, CXCII.
(45) FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 42, r. 18.
(46) Cfr. *ivi*, 143-148.
(47) *Ivi*, 4, rr. 19-22.
(48) KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, CXCI, CXCVI; cfr. Eutimio ZIGABENO, *ivi*, CCLXII.

σιάρχας), l'una da Pietro Deilaios o Lykopetros, l'altra da Paolo di Samosata, un'altra da Montano, un'altra ancora da Mani, questa non ebbe inizio dagli uomini, ma dallo stesso diavolo, suscitatore di ogni eresia(49). La versione interpolata a questo punto non si accontenta di ciò e ricollega i fundagiagiti ai pauliciani e manichei(50), amplificando quanto aveva detto poco prima lo stesso Eutimio che vedeva in Mani uno degli ispiratori degli eretici suoi contemporanei(51).

Il nostro veloce esame della testimonianza di Eutimio di Peribleptos ci ha mostrato abbastanza chiaramente come in quest'autore, che fornisce la prima descrizione del Bogomilismo bizantino, fosse assente ogni riferimento al Messalianismo. Solo nelle redazioni interpolate successive e sulla base degli eresiologi posteriori verrà introdotta anche nell'*Epistola* l'equazione Bogomilismo = Messalianismo. Di particolare importanza inoltre risulta la sua testimonianza sulla lettura del *De haeresibus* di Giovanni Damasceno(52) nel quale è presente un'ampia sezione dedicata all'eresia messaliana. Eutimio infatti sosteneva che la lettura di questo scritto non gli era stata di alcuna utilità dal momento che non vi aveva trovato nulla che si potesse avvicinare alla nuova eresia fundagiagita. Da ciò possiamo ricavare che all'epoca di Eutimio di Peribleptos (prima metà dell'XI secolo) il Messalianismo ed il Bogomilismo non erano ancora identificati dagli autori ortodossi. Il nostro autore infine era piuttosto propenso a collegare i fundagiagiti col Manicheismo: anche questo era, come abbiamo visto, uno dei motivi tipici dell'eresiologia contemporanea.

Sul finire di quello stesso secolo (verso il 1085 ca.) veniva condannato a Constantinopoli Teodoro di Blacherne. Recentemente J. GOUILLARD, studiando la vicenda, mostrava come l'insegnamento di Teodoro fosse un tipico esempio di «*religion charismatique*» e come sia pertanto errato considerare Teodoro un eretico bogomilo(53). Lo

(49) FICKER, 62, r. 5-63, r. 4. Il motivo dell'eresia come creazione demoniaca è un ben noto *topos* eresiologico.

(50) *Ivi*.

(51) *Ivi*, 59, rr. 10-13. E giungeva a queste conclusioni dopo aver letto le opere eresiologiche sul Manicheismo (*ivi*, r. 10) che consistevano in primo luogo negli scritti antimanichei di Cirillo di Gerusalemme (*ivi*, 58, rr. 30-31, 61, rr. 1-2); per un altro riferimento alla lettura degli eresiologi cfr. *ivi*, 31, rr. 6-7.

(52) Cfr. FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 240, PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité*, 293.

(53) GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 24-28.

stesso studioso pubblicava gli anatemi indirizzati contro Teodoro inseriti nel cosiddetto *formulario Thalloczy*(54). In questi undici anatemi, nella forma a noi pervenuta, non è fatta menzione, almeno apparentemente, di alcuna eresia. Una rilettura degli stessi alla luce di alcune altre fonti permette però di giungere a dei risultati.

Niceta d'Eraclea (inizi XII secolo) ricordava che Teodoro di Blacherne «fu separato per molti anni dalla comunione della Chiesa solo per aver usato la parola ἐνθουσιασμός»(55).

In quella stessa epoca Anna Comnena scriveva che Teodoro «aveva frequentato gli entusiasti (ἐνθουσιασταί)»(56).

In effetti negli anatemi rivolti a Teodoro compaiono termini ed idee simili: «A coloro che introducono abusivamente l'estasi e l'entusiasmo e proclamano che l'estasi risulta da un'operazione di Cristo per mezzo dello Spirito Santo e l'entusiasmo dallo Spirito Santo per mezzo di Cristo (τοῖς ἔκστασιν καὶ ἐνθουσιασμὸν παρεισάγουσι καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔκστασιν ἀποφαινομένοις ἐνεργεῖσθαι παρὰ Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὸν δὲ ἐνθουσιασμὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ) [...], anatema»(57). Ed ancora: «A coloro che hanno delle *trances* e, per mezzo di estasi fallaci (τοῖς ἐνθουσιῶσι καὶ διά τινων τῷ δοκεῖν ἐκστάσεων) [...], anatema»(58).

I riferimenti degli inquisitori sono, anche se sottintesi, abbastanza evidenti. Viene qui riesumato infatti, per la prima volta nel Medio Evo bizantino, uno degli appellativi utilizzati dagli eresiologi per gli antichi messaliani, «entusiasti»(59). Una conferma ci viene dal *semeiôma* del 1140 su Costantino Crisomallo ove costui veniva accusato, oltre che di Messalianismo e Bogomilismo, di condividere le dottrine degli entusiasti(60), cioè le idee di Teodoro di Blacherne. Lo

(54) *Ivi*, 52-56, cfr. 20-21. Non ci sembra inutile segnalare, da parte nostra, che nel Vat. gr. 2235 (XIV secolo), ff. 5-6 v nei margini inferiori (il testo dei ff. 5-8 è un estratto delle *Epistole* di Basilio) troviamo quattro degli anatemi contro Teodoro in quest'ordine (numerazione Gouillard): 11, 4, 5, 1.

(55) Apud J. DARROUZÈS, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine*, Paris 1966, 304, rr. 25-27.

(56) *Alex.* X, 1, 6.

(57) GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 54.

(58) *Ivi*, 52.

(59) KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, CXCII, 2-5, cfr. Eutimio ZIGABENO CCLXV, 4-7, TIMOTEO CCXXI.

(60) «τῆς τῶν Ἐνθουσιαζομένων πάντως αἱρέσεως ἀποκαλύψεις θείας

stesso termine ritornerà poi in Giorgio Cedreno, nel *formulario Thalloczy* e nello Pseudo-Psello.

Alla fine dell'XI — inizi del XII secolo risale l'*Historiarum compendium* di Giorgio Cedreno la cui fonte è stata identificata nell'ancora inedita *Cronaca* dello Pseudo-Simeone(61).

Cedreno ricordava come all'epoca della morte del vescovo di Antiochia Eustazio (ante 337) «sorse l'eresia dei messaliani, euchiti, entusiasti, lampetiani e bogomili (quest'eresia infatti ha molti nomi) con gli eresiarchi Adelphios, Dadoes, Saba e Simeone» (τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἀνεφύη καὶ ἡ τῶν Μασαλιανῶν αἵρεσις εἴτ' οὖν Εὐχιτῶν καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστῶν καὶ Λαμπετιανῶν καὶ Βογομίλων - πολυώνυμος γάρ ἐστιν αὕτη - ἀπὸ Ἀδελφιοῦ καὶ Δαδώη καὶ Σάβα καὶ Συμεῶνος τῶν αἱρεσιαρχῶν)(62).

Queste righe sono di una notevole importanza perché qui per la prima volta — non si deve infatti dimenticare che le recensioni pocanzi esaminate dell'*Epistola* di Eutimio sono posteriori — viene stabilita un'identità tra l'antica eresia messaliana ed il più recente movimento bogomilo. Di contro l'esposizione di Cedreno non brilla certo per originalità: il seguito del brano è infatti ricavato dalla notizia di Teodoreto(63). Anche delle righe citate è possibile individuare la fonte. Così la lista di appellativi ci sembra una reminiscenza dell'esordio del paragrafo di Timoteo sui messaliani: «(...) Μεσσαλιανοὶ καὶ Εὐχῖται καὶ Ἐνθουσιασταί (...) καὶ Λαμπετιανοί»(64). Sempre in Timoteo ritroviamo la constatazione, che troverà posto nel *Synodikon*, che si tratta di un'eresia «dai molti nomi» (πολυώνυμος): «διὰ τὸ πολυώνυμον εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν»(65). La lista di capi dell'eresia era contenuta nei resoconti di Teodoreto(66).

Agli inizi del XII secolo (ante 1104)(67) si tenne a Costantinopoli

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φανταζομένων εἰσδέχεσθαι ταῖς τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἐξαπατήσεσι» (Gouillard, *Quatre procès*, 64, rr. 124-126).

(61) Cfr. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I.*, München 1978, 393.

(62) *Ed.* Bekker, 514, 17-20.

(63) Kmosko, *Liber graduum*, CXCII, CXCV.

(64) *Ivi*, CCXXI.

(65) *Ivi*, CCXXI-CCXXII.

(66) *Ivi*, CXCII, CC.

(67) Cfr. D. Papachryssantou, *La date de la mort du sébastocrator Isaac Comnène, frère d'Alexis Ier, et de quelques événements contemporains*, *REB* 21 (1963), 250-255, qui, 253, 255, Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, 82 n. 13.

l'inchiesta, il processo e la condanna a carico del monaco bogomilo Basilio e dei suoi seguaci. A questi avvenimenti sono connesse alcune fonti, a noi pervenute, alle quali deve volgersi la nostra attenzione.

Si tratta innanzitutto degli scritti di Eutimio Zigabeno, il quale era stato incaricato dall'imperatore di scrivere una relazione su questa eresia. Nella prima di queste opere, la *Ἔκδεσις περὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Πογομήλων*, Eutimio scriveva: «una fonte putrida della falsa religione dei bogomili, di recente sorta, è l'eresia dei messaliani»(68). In queste righe il Bogomilismo viene fatto risalire all'antica eresia, ma quest'ultima è solamente una delle fonti (πηγὴ μέν τις) del movimento eterodosso contemporaneo(69). Nel cap. 27 della *Panoplia dogmatica*, Eutimio Zigabeno era già più deciso individuando nel Messalianismo l'origine stessa del Bogomilismo: «L'eresia dei bogomili sorse poco tempo prima della nostra generazione, essendo parte dell'eresia dei messaliani, concordando in molte cose con i loro dogmi, alcune altre aggiungendone ed aumentando così l'infezione»(70).

Per un quadro più completo della posizione di Eutimio Zigabeno è necessario però esaminare a fondo sia la notizia sui messaliani che quella sui bogomili.

Il capitolo 26 della *Panoplia dogmatica*, dedicato ai messaliani, è diviso in 19 paragrafi nei quali vengono esposte le idee e le dottrine della setta. Questo capitolo è sostanzialmente una ripresa dei repertori sull'antico Messalianismo (Teodoreto, Timoteo, Damasceno). Solo un paio di passaggi non si ritrovano negli eresiologi più antichi e meritano pertanto di essere ricordati(71).

(68) FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 89, rr. 1-2.

(69) Cfr. BEYER, *Affinitäten*, 359.

(70) «ἡ τῶν Βογομίλων αἵρεσις οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ συνέστη τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς, μέρος οὖσα τῆς τῶν Μασαλιανῶν, καὶ συμφερομένη τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων δόγμασι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ προξευροῦσα, καὶ τὴν λύμην αὐξήσασα» (*PG 130*, 1289 d). Da ricordare che nell'incartamento processuale di Eleuterio avevamo letto parole simili sul Messalianismo che aveva aggiunto ai dogmi manichei invenzioni ancora più ripugnanti: «καὶ προξεῦρε τούτοις καὶ ἕτερα μιαρώτερα» (GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 46, r. 18).

(71) Segnaliamo peraltro la possibilità che Eutimio utilizzasse pure gli anatemi diretti contro Teodoro di Blacherne. Nel § 11 del capitolo 26 della *Panoplia*, riprendendo la proposizione 11 di Timoteo (KMOSKO *Liber graduum*, CCXXVI), egli scrive: «καὶ ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς λέγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν φθάνειν εἰς ἀπάθειαν καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὴν θείαν φύσιν, πολλοὶ ἄρα φύσει θεοί,

Nel § 1 Zigabeno, parlando dell'orazione messaliana, scriveva che «essi chiamano preghiera sia l'orazione che ognuno eleva a Dio, sia il 'Padre nostro' che il Signore trasmise agli apostoli, sia un'altra conosciuta solo dai più versati tra loro nell'empietà e tenuta celata a tutti gli altri — ritengo — a causa della sua assurdità e del suo incantesimo satanico»(72). Le pratiche qui attribuite da Zigabeno ai messaliani erano invece tipiche del Bogomilismo. Così la ripetizione del «Padre nostro»(73), per la quale, tra l'altro, egli usa la stessa espressione che ritroviamo nel § 19 del capitolo sui bogomili(74) e la cosiddetta «σατανικὴ ἐπῳδή» già attestata in Eutimio di Peribleptos(75).

Successivamente, glossando la proposizione 16 del capitolo sul Messalianismo di Giovanni Damasceno, Eutimio Zigabeno sosteneva che i messaliani rigettano i libri mosaici ed i profeti, mentre accettano soltanto gli scritti evangelici ed apostolici(76). Anche in questo caso egli attribuiva agli antichi eretici delle idee proprie dei contemporanei bogomili(77).

È da rilevare inoltre, in merito a questo capitolo, l'ampio spazio dedicato da Zigabeno — segno verosimilmente della grande importanza attribuita — alla proposizione messaliana secondo la quale nell'anima dell'uomo abita un demone. Il suo commento e la sua replica, che tendono ad accentuare il peso dato al Male ed a rileggere questa posizione in chiave dualistica(78), troveranno spiegazione e riscontro nella sua notizia sul Bogomilismo.

καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πολυθείαν ὑπερβάλλοντες πολλῷ τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ οὐδὲ καταλαμβάνεσθαι δυναμένῳ» (*PG 130*, 1285 d). In un contesto simile infatti anche Teodoro era stato accusato di introdurre il politeismo (cfr. anatema nr. 10 apud GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 56).

(72) «εὐχὴν δὲ λέγουσιν εἴτε τὴν προσευχήν, ἣν ἕκαστος προσφέρει Θεῷ, εἴτε τὴν τοῦ 'Πατὴρ ἡμῶν', ἣν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκεν, εἴτε τινὰ ἑτέραν μόνοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένην τοῖς εἰς ἀσέβειαν τελεωτέροις, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οὖσαν ἀνέκφορον διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τερατολογίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ σατανικὴν ἐπῳδήν» (*PG 130*, 1273 bc).

(73) Cfr. al riguardo PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité*, 247.

(74) «Ὁ δὲ Κύριος παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὴν τοῦ 'Πατὴρ ἡμῶν' προσευχήν (...)» (*PG 130*, 1316 a).

(75) *Ed.* FICKER *Phundagiagiten*, 24-25, 30, 37, cfr. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* r. 364, FICKER, 210-221, PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité*, 254-255 e n. 6.

(76) *PG 130*, 1288 b.

(77) Cfr. PUECH-VAILLANT, *Traité*, 303.

(78) Cfr. *PG 130*, 1277-1284.

Nel capitolo 27, dedicato al Bogomilismo, Zigabeno paragonava in alcune occasioni i bogomili ad altri eretici, rimandando ai rispettivi capitoli della *Panoplia* ove refutava le diverse tesi eretiche. Così egli ricordava sette volte i pauliciani([79]), due gli armeni([80]) e gli iconoclasti([81]). Una volta ciascuno vengono menzionati i manichei([82]), gli ariani([83]) ed i sabelliani([84]).

I bogomili conservavano inoltre, a detta di Eutimio, alcune dottrine dell'antico Messalianismo alle quali si accenna nel capitolo. Si tratterebbe innanzitutto delle credenze demonologiche: l'idea dell'inabitazione in ogni uomo di un demone (τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐνοικεῖν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δαίμονα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μασαλιανῶν ἔχουσιν αἱρέσεως)([85]) e la necessità di venerare i demoni che hanno potere su questo mondo([86]), tematica quest'ultima che non si ritrova nelle fonti sul Messalianismo. Va anche ricordato che pure in altri punti degli scritti di Eutimio, verosimilmente, sono stabiliti dei parallelismi impliciti tra i due gruppi eterodossi([87]).

È con Eutimio Zigabeno pertanto che per la prima volta compare l'idea sia di un'origine messaliana della contemporanea setta bogomila sia di un'identità tra Messalianismo e Bogomilismo. Tale asserzione viene, in primo luogo, giustificata rilevando delle analogie, o meglio, delle concordanze tra le dottrine messaliane e quelle bogomile. Al riguardo non possiamo non sottolineare l'impressione di artificiosità di questa operazione, almeno da quanto è emerso dalla nostra analisi. Infatti Eutimio, per far concordare le dottrine dei due movimenti, inserisce delle idee caratteristiche dell'uno nella notizia dell'altro e viceversa. Così, ad esempio, egli dapprima rilegge in chiave dualistica la proposizione messaliana sull'inabitazione del demone nell'anima per poi ripresentarla nel capitolo successivo quale tesi tipica del Bogomilismo.

([79]) *Ivi*, 1292 c, 1300 c, 1301 a, 1305 d, 1308 c, 1312 d, 1313 b.

([80]) *Ivi*, 1305 a, 1312 a.

([81]) *Ivi*, 1308 d, 1309 a.

([82]) *Ivi*, 1305 a.

([83]) *Ivi*, 1320 b.

([84]) *Ivi*, 1292 d-1293 a, passo che riecheggia alcune righe del cap. 26 ove i messaliani vengono accusati di Sabellianismo (1273 d-1276 a).

([85]) *Ivi*, 1309 c.

([86]) *Ivi*, 1316 c.

([87]) Rimandiamo a BEYER, *Affinitäten*, 359-362.

Anna Comnena, scrivendo in quegli stessi anni ed in merito alle stesse vicende, fissava lapidariamente la «genealogia dell'eresia» sua contemporanea: i bogomili derivano dai manichei, che si chiamano pure pauliciani, e dai messaliani («[...] Μανιχαίων τε ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι δυσσέβεια, ἣν καὶ Παυλικιάνων αἵρεσιν εἴποιμεν, καὶ Μασσαλιανῶν βδελυρία. Τοιοῦτον δέ ἐστι τὸ τῶν Βογομίλων δόγμα, ἐκ Μασσαλιανῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων συγκείμενον»)(88).

Probabilmente la prima eco nei documenti ufficiali della condanna di Basilio si può rinvenire in due anatemi del *Synodikon* conservati dal Vind. hist. gr. 73(89). In queste righe comunque l'eresia bogomila è definita secondo le modalità tradizionali, cioè riferita al Manicheismo, senza alcuna traccia della più recente rilettura eresiologica: «τῷ παπᾷ Βογομίλῳ τῷ ἐπὶ Πέτρῳ τῆς βασιλείας βουλγάρῳ τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην *μανιχαϊκὴν αἵρεσιν* ἀνεγείραντα καὶ κατασπείραντα κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν, ἀνάθεμα»(90).

Nel *Synodikon* di una chiesa suffraganea di Atene invece i lineamenti dell'eresia bogomila sono tracciati ribadendo in una forma definitiva quanto aveva scritto Zigabeno e cioè l'equivalenza tra Bogomilismo e Messalianismo. Questa sezione si apre ricordando che «al momento presente la composita e dai molti nomi eresia dei messaliani o bogomili invade tutte le campagne, le città e le province» (ἡ παμμιγὴς καὶ πολυώνυμος τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν εἴτ᾽οὖν Πογομίλων αἵρεσις ἐν πάσῃ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπιπολάζει τὰ νῦν)(91).

Le righe introduttive ricordano in molti particolari alcuni passaggi di Eutimio di Peribleptos, mentre, per quanto ci riguarda più direttamente, possiamo rilevare, oltre all'apposizione di «bogomili» e «messaliani», la presenza dell'aggettivo «πολυώνυμος» in riferimento all'eresia, che avevamo segnalato in Cedreno, mutuato da Timoteo.

Il primo anatema è indirizzato a Pietro Lykopetros, personaggio

(88) *Alex.* XV, 8.

(89) «*Les articles anti-bogomiles pourraient se rattacher à la condamnation de Basile environ 1110*» (GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 23), ma cfr. ID., *Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril. La lettre inédite du patriarche Cosmas*, TM 4 (1970), 361-374, qui 372 e n. 43.

(90) GOUILLARD, *Synodikon*, r. 198 app., cfr. anche r. 243 app. Il corsivo è nostro.

(91) *Ivi*, rr. 292-3.

a noi noto grazie ad Eutimio di Peribleptos(92), seguito da una vera e propria «litania» di nomi dell'eresia: «A Pietro capo dell'eresia dei messaliani, cioè lykopetrani, fundaditi e bogomili (...), anatema» (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς τῶν Μασαλιανῶν ἤτοι Λυκοπετριανῶν καὶ Φουνδαδιτῶν καὶ Πογομήλων αἱρέσεως [...] ἀνάθεμα)(93). Dove c'è da segnalare come, a fianco degli appellativi ormai consueti, faccia la sua comparsa il termine «lykopetrani», coniato sul soprannome dispregiativo dello stesso Pietro.

Mentre il secondo anatema è rivolto ad un ben noto maestro pauliciano, Sergio-Tychikos(94), il terzo è indirizzato ai soliti cinque *didaskaloi* messaliani menzionati da Teodoreto: «A Dadoes, Saba, Adelphios, Erma, Simeone ed agli altri che, vomitando il veleno di una tale eresia, hanno ingannato i più rozzi tra gli uomini e le donne trascinandoli nell'abisso della perdizione, anatema»(95).

Il quadro dottrinale offertoci dai successivi anatemi ci presenta delle dottrine tipiche del Bogomilismo che possiamo ritrovare negli scritti dello Zigabeno e di Eutimio di Peribleptos; ai fini della presente ricerca è sufficiente limitarci ai primi tre.

Dopo il prologo, che aveva ripresentato l'equazione Messalianismo = Bogomilismo, il primo anatema è rivolto a Pietro considerato il fondatore dell'eresia — e perciò il suo nome è seguito da una lista di appellativi della stessa —, il secondo, indirizzato a Sergio, ha una portata antipauliciana ed il terzo è antimessaliano. Si può pertanto concludere in merito che questi articoli del *Synodikon* non sono nient'altro che l'applicazione pratica delle considerazioni dello Zigabeno e di Anna Comnena: fornendo questa lista di eresiarchi infatti si combinavano assieme le due teorie di provenienza eresiologica sulle origini del Bogomilismo, da un lato quella che vedeva in esso un derivato del Messalianismo, col quale veniva in ultima analisi identificato, dall'altro quella che individuava nel Bogomilismo una duplice ascendenza, il Messalianismo ed il Manicheismo/Paulicianismo.

Se in questi testi era ancora possibile distinguere i diversi elementi delle operazioni condotte dagli eresiologi, uno scritto che uti-

(92) Cfr. al riguardo Gouillard, *L'hérésie*, 318.
(93) Gouillard, *Synodikon*, rr. 302-3.
(94) Su di lui cfr. innanzitutto P. Lemerle, *L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques*, TM, 5 (1973), 1-137, qui, 116-124.
(95) Gouillard, *Synodikon*, rr. 315-317.

lizza lo stesso materiale or ora esaminato e che si riferisce alle stesse vicende è il primo esempio di un uso indiscriminato e disinvolto del nome dell'antica eresia. In altri termini, mentre nelle opere appena ricordate, stabilendo un'equivalenza tra Bogomilismo e Messalianismo o una dipendenza del primo dal secondo, si mantenevano nel contempo ambedue i termini dell'equazione, ora il nome, e spesso anche i connotati, dell'eresia contemporanea svaniscono a profitto dell'antica.

Nel prologo dell'orazione dello Pseudo-Giovanni Xiphilinos per la festa di tutti i santi(96) troviamo una lunga digressione sul Messalianismo (περὶ τῆς τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν αἱρέσεως)(97). L'autore, dopo aver accennato alla condanna del bogomilo Basilio sotto Alessio I(98), riprende Eutimio Zigabeno(99) ed alcuni degli articoli dottrinari del *Synodikon*(100) e cita, senza nominare la sua fonte, Teodoreto sui messaliani(101).

Nei documenti sinodali, con i quali nel 1140 Costantino Crisomallo veniva condannato, a torto, per Messalianismo e Bogomilismo(102), possiamo pure rilevare l'abbinamento dei termini «messaliano» e «bogomilo»(103) oltre alla comparsa del nome «entusiasti»(104).

Nell'incartamento processuale una proposizione è sicuramente il frutto della malevolenza dei giudici(105): «Egli sosteneva che ogni

(96) Κυριακῇ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων εὐαγγέλιου ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον κεφ. Γ' = BHG 1617 f.

(97) *PG 120*, 1289 a.

(98) *Ivi.*

(99) 1289 ab = *PG 130*, 1320 c; 1289 b = 1320 d-1321 a.

(100) 1289 c-1292 a = Gouillard, *Synodikon*, rr. 318-321, 325-326, 342-343.

(101) 1292 ab = Kmosko, *Liber graduum*, CXCV.

(102) Cfr. sulla vicenda Gouillard, *Quatre procès*, 29-39, Id., *Constantin Chrysomallos sous le masque de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* TM 5 (1973), 313-327.

(103) «τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν ἤτοι Βογομήλων» Gouillard, *Quatre procès*, 64, r. 138.

(104) «τῶν ἄλλων Ἐνθουσιαστῶν τε καὶ Βογομήλων» (*ivi*, 60, rr. 54-55), «τῶν Ἐνθουσιαζομένων» (*ivi*, 64, rr. 124-125); ma anche da solo «bogomili» (*ivi*, 64, r. 134).

(105) Cfr. J. Gouillard, *Constantin Chrysomallos sous le masque de Siméon le Nouveau Théologien*, TM 5 (1973), 324-325.

cristiano ha due anime, l'una senza peccato e l'altra peccatrice, se non ha che un'anima, ciò significa che non è ancora diventato cristiano»([106]). Di lì a poco leggiamo di nuovo che «l'idea secondo la quale il cristiano ha, come egli dice, due anime o non è cristiano è professata, alla lettera, dalla setta impura dei messaliani o bogomili»([107]).

Con queste parole gli inquisitori «resuscitavano» ed attribuivano ai bogomili loro contemporanei una delle proposizioni dell'*Ascetikon* messaliano condannato ad Efeso nel 431([108]).

Il processo a carico di Costantino Crisomallo fu seguito, a distanza di pochi anni, dalla condanna dei vescovi Leonzio e Clemente (1143-1146)([109]), condanna che ad uno studio più attento si è rivelata del tutto infondata. In questo caso, per quanto ci riguarda più da vicino, venne invocato soltanto il Bogomilismo, senza alcuna menzione del Messalianismo o simili([110]).

Uguali parole possiamo scrivere per il contemporaneo processo a carico di Nifone (1.X.1143)([111]), per un'orazione del 1147 di Nicola di Methone([112]) ed una lettera del 1154 di Giorgio Tornikes([113]) nelle quali possiamo rinvenire una eco dell'*affaire*.

Sulla stessa linea appare, ad una prima lettura, un altro autore della seconda metà del XII secolo, Teodoro Balsamone, il quale nel-

([106]) «πᾶς χριστιανὸς δύο ἔχει ψυχάς, τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναμάρτητον, τὴν δὲ ἁμαρτητικήν· εἰ δὲ μίαν ἔχει ψυχήν, χριστιανὸς οὔπω ἐγένετο» (GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*, 62, rr. 117-119).

([107]) «τὸ ἢ δύο ψυχὰς τὸν χριστιανὸν ἔχει, ὥς φησιν, ἢ μὴ εἶναι χριστιανόν, οὕτω ῥητῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν ἤτοι Βογομήλων παμβεβήλου θρησκείας δογματιζόμενον εὕρηται» (*ivi* 64, rr. 137-139).

([108]) GIOVANNI DAMASCENO 16, KMOSKO, *Liber graduum*, CCXXXIV.

([109]) Cfr. in merito GOUILLARD, *Quatre procès*.

([110]) «βογομηλιτικὴ ἀσεβεία» (*ivi*, 68, r. 18), «τῆς τῶν Βογομήλων (...) μυσαρωτάτης αἱρέσεως» (*ivi*, 70, r. 4), «τῆς τῶν Βογομήλων θρησκείας» (72, r. 34), «τὴν βέβηλον τῶν Βογομήλων θρησκείαν» (74, r. 77), «τῆς τῶν Βογομήλων (...) θρησκείας» (76, r. 113), «βογομηλικῶς» (76, r. 114), «Βογόμηλοι» (78, r. 2).

([111]) «τοῦ βογομήλου καὶ παμβεβήλου Νήφωνος» (RHALLES-POTLES *V* 88), «τῆς τῶν Βογομήλων (...) μυσαρωτάτης (...) αἱρέσεως» (*ivi*, 90).

([112]) «κατὰ τῆς ἀντιθέου αἱρέσεως τῶν Βογομίλων» (A. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ βιβλιοθήκη *I*, Leipzig 1866, 267), cfr. J. DRÄSEKE, *Nikolaos von Methone*, *BZ* 1 (1892), 466.

([113]) J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès — Lettres et discours*, Paris 1970, 211, 215.

la sua raccolta canonica ricorda gli eretici esclusivamente come bogomili([114]). Uno di questi passi ci sembra però di una certa importanza in quanto è la prima testimonianza di accuse di antinomismo e libertinismo rivolte ai bogomili. Esse sono riprese da Balsamone dai repertori eresiologici sull'antico Messalianismo ed indirizzate, in base all'assimilazione ormai consueta, che viene perciò implicitamente fatta valere, ai settari contemporanei([115]).

Al XII secolo va verosimilmente fatta risalire anche l'opera di Teodoro di Andida([116]), nella quale troviamo un passo che interessa il presente lavoro. Questo autore infatti, ricordando l'abitudine bogomila di recitare solamente il «Padre nostro» e di rigettare le altre preghiere, attribuisce queste pratiche a degli eretici chiamati euchiti, messaliani e fundaiti (Εὐχῖται αἱρετικοί, οὓς καὶ Μεσσαλιανοὺς καὶ Φουνδαίτας κατονομάζουσιν)([117]). Anche qui, come nello Pseudo-Xiphilinos, gli appellativi antichi hanno la meglio su quelli contemporanei, anche se in Teodoro è presente il termine «fundaiti» che designava gli eretici descritti da Eutimio di Peribleptos.

([114]) Cfr. Rhalles-Potles *I*, 191, *ivi III*, 49, 116, *ivi II*, 68.

([115]) «Αἵρεσις βωγομιλική ἐστιν, ἐπί τινα χρόνον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν νηστεύειν καὶ μηδέποτε καταλύειν, ὡς μετὰ τὸν τοσοῦτον καιρὸν λέγειν ἐν τελειότητι γενέσθαι τοὺς νηστεύοντας, καὶ καταλύειν, καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀδιαφόρως, καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν διὰ τῆς τελειότητος ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς κατακαίεσθαι. Τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἐδίδασκον, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐστάθιον» (*ivi III*, 116), cfr. Timoteo 16, Kmosko, *Liber graduum*, CCXXIX, Giovanni di Scitopoli, CCXXX, Giovanni Damasceno, CCXXXVIII. Mentre in Eutimio Zigabeno non si può trovare niente di simile, nelle testimonianze posteriori le accuse di antinomismo e di pratiche infami si moltiplicano: così lo Pseudo-Psello, la recensione del XIV secolo dell'*Epistola* di Eutimio di Peribleptos — il copista del Vat. gr. 840 è lo ieromonaco Isacco (*PLP* 8251), attestato nel 1320-1350 ca. in Russia —, la *Vita* di Teodosio.

([116]) L'opera di T. di Andida viene di solito fatta risalire al XII o addirittura all'XI secolo (cfr. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, 645), verosimilmente in base ad un'errata datazione di uno dei tre manoscritti utilizzati da A. Mai, il Vat. gr. 856. Questo codice infatti non risale al XII, ma al XIV secolo (cfr. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci t. III*, Città del Vaticano 1950, 420). Sulle diverse recensioni dell'opera, cfr. R. Bornert, *Les commentaires de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris 1966, 181-189. Con ogni probabilità Teodoro ci sembra posteriore allo Zigabeno che pare riecheggiare nel passaggio sul «Padre nostro» (*PG 140*, 461 b, cfr. *PG 130*, 1316 a).

([117]) *PG 140*, 461 b; ed ancora: «οἱ θεοκατάρατοι Εὐχῖται» (461 c).

Parimenti nell'*Encomio* di Niceta di Michele Choniates (n. 1138 ca.) ci imbattiamo dapprima in un accenno alla presenza degli euchiti (καταράτοις Εὐχίταις) in Asia Minore e poi ad un riferimento all'«eresia di Mani». Interessante osservare che in un manoscritto, di fianco ad «euchiti», un copista ha sentito la necessità di aggiungere «bogomili» (Πογομίλοις)([118]).

L'inizio del secolo successivo vide promulgare in Bulgaria, dallo zar Boril, un *Synodikon* contro i bogomili (1211).

Essendo stata segnalata di recente la fonte greca degli articoli antibogomili, una lettera di un patriarca costantinopolitano di nome Cosma — più probabilmente Cosma di Gerusalemme (1075-1081) piuttosto che Cosma Attikos (1146-1147) —([119]), può essere di una qualche utilità, ai fini del presente lavoro, rilevare le eventuali differenze del *Synodikon* bulgaro rispetto alla sua fonte nella definizione dell'eresia.

In entrambi i testi troviamo innanzitutto delle parole che figuravano pure in una recensione del *Synodikon* greco e che collegavano il Bogomilismo al Manicheismo: «Al pope Bogomil che, sotto Pietro imperatore di Bulgaria, ha accolto questa eresia manichea (ταύτην τὴν μανικαϊκὴν αἵρεσιν) (...), anatema»([120]).

Il primo articolo del *Synodikon* di Boril, che fornisce una specie di «genealogia dell'eresia», non ha corrispondenti nella fonte greca: «Poiché il nostro Nemico (...) ha seminato su tutta la terra bulgara l'eresia manichea, mescolandola a quella messaliana (...)»([121]). In queste righe si può cogliere senza difficoltà l'eco di quanto aveva scritto, agli inizi del XII secolo, Anna Comnena([122]).

In quegli stessi anni Demetrio Chomatianos ricordava quali eretici suoi contemporanei i bogomili senza usare altri appellativi([123]).

Il patriarca costantinopolitano Germano II (1222-1240) scrive a

([118]) Cfr. A. P. Každan, *Novyje materialy o bogomilach (?) v Vizantii XII v.*, *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966), 275-77.

([119]) Cfr. J. Gouillard, *Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril. La lettre inédite du patriarche Cosmas*, TM 4 (1973) 361-374.

([120]) *Ivi*, 371-372.

([121]) *Paulazov 38*: M. G. Popruženko, *Sinodik carja Borila*, Sofia 1928.

([122]) Cfr. Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, 229.

([123]) J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmense parata*, Paris-Roma 1891, 672.

più riprese contro l'eresia. Innanzitutto in un *γράμμα*(124), che doveva essere letto in tutte le chiese ogni domenica e giorno di festa, egli usava abbinati i due appellativi consueti (Μασσαλιανῶν ἤτοι Βογομίλων). Dopo aver ricordato come i messaliani avessero abbandonato Cristo per il diavolo, egli usava, di seguito agli anatemi, soltanto il nome «bogomili». In tre sue omelie, ritornando sui settari, parlava semplicemente di «bogomili»(125).

Anteriore alla fine del XIII secolo è un'opera anonima attribuita tradizionalmente a Michele Psello ed intitolata *De operatione daemonum*(126).

Nella sua prima parte possiamo trovare alcune notizie sul Bogomilismo. Uno dei protagonisti del dialogo, il Trace, esordisce ricordando come questi eretici fossero comunemente noti con il nome di euchiti ed entusiasti (Εὐχίτας αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστὰς οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν)(127). La versione «breve» del *De operatione* aggiunge a queste parole l'appellativo bogomili (ὁ δὲ κοινὸς ὄχλος Βωγομίλους τούσδε κικλήσκουσι)(128). Dopo di ciò viene tracciata una specie di «genealogia dell'eresia» che fa risalire le idee dei dualisti contemporanei all'antico Manicheismo: «Questa credenza scellerata trae origine da Mani il folle, infatti la maggior parte dei principi è provenuta da lui, come da una sorgente nauseabonda, a loro. Il maledetto Mani ha posto alla base di tutti gli esseri due principi (...), ma gli euchiti, questi scellerati, hanno aggiunto un altro principio, un terzo»(129).

Anche in questo caso il procedimento dell'eresiologo è quello ormai consueto che privilegia in certi casi l'antica denominazione rispetto alla nuova; da segnalare soltanto la riproposta da parte dello Pseudo-Psello dell'appellativo «entusiasti» che ritroveremo tra poco in alcuni formulari dell'epoca.

Nel § 42 del *Nomocanon* serbo del monastero di Ilovica del 1262, testo che è sostanzialmente una ripresa del passo ricordato in

(124) *Ed.* FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 115-125; cfr. V. LAURENT, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople vol. I. fasc. IV*, Paris 1971, nr. 1291.

(125) *PG 140*, 621 (tit.), 628 cd, 629 b, 636 a, 652 c, 664, 672 ecc.

(126) Cfr. P. GAUTIER, *Le De daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos*, *REB* 38 (1980), 105-194, qui, 129.

(127) *Ivi*, 133, 7-8.

(128) *Ivi*, 132 n. 3.

(129) *Ivi*, 135-136.

precedenza di Demetrio di Kyzikos(130), si parla dei «messaliani che si chiamano anche babuni»(131); il copista ha aggiunto in margine: «i messaliani erano i maestri dei bogomili»(132).

Nel § 63 dedicato ai marcioniti si osserva che costoro avevano delle dottrine simili a quelle dei bogomili(133). Questa ultima assimilazione è di un certo interesse e l'esamineremo grazie all'apporto di alcune fonti greche.

Anche se il noto polemista antilatino Giorgio Moschampar in un suo scritto del 1277/78 accenna ai settari semplicemente quali bogomili(134), la seconda metà del XIII secolo sembra essere stata un'epoca nella quale si tendeva ad accumulare in vere e proprie «litanie» i diversi nomi con i quali si indicavano gli eretici bogomili.

Nel Vind. theol. gr. 40, ff. 250v-251v(135) troviamo una serie di anatemi preceduta da questo titolo(136): *Ἔλεγχος καὶ θρίαμβος τῆς βλασφήμου καὶ πολυειδοῦς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Μασσαλιανῶν καὶ τῶν Φουνδαιτῶν καὶ Βογομίλων καλουμένων καὶ Εὐχιτῶν καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστῶν καὶ Ἐγκρατητῶν καὶ Μαρκιωνιστῶν.* Questo titolo era verosimilmente previsto per un rituale di riconciliazione, il cosiddetto *formulario Thalloczy*(137), trascritto tra il finire del XIII e gli inizi del XIV secolo nel Vind. theol. gr. 306 e nel Taur. B.IV.22(138). Tale formulario infatti porta un titolo molto simile: *Περὶ τῆς βλασφήμου καὶ πολυειδοῦς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Μασσαλιανῶν τῶν καὶ Φουνδαιτῶν καὶ Πογομίλων καλουμένων καὶ Εὐχιτῶν καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστῶν καὶ Ἐγ-*

(130) Cfr. A. V. Solovjev, *Svedočanstva pravoslavnih izvora o bogomilstvu na Balkanu, Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 5 (1953), 1-103, qui, 29-30.

(131) V. Jagić, *Krmčaja Ilovička, Starine Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 6 (1874), 106.

(132) *Ivi.*

(133) Cfr. A. V. Solovjev, *op. cit.*

(134) Cf. I. Dujčev, *Edno prenebregnato vizantijsko izvestie za bogomilite, Izvestia na Inst. za Bălg. Lit.* 6 (1958), 247-250.

(135) *PG 131*, 40-45.

(136) Sulla questione cfr. Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 232-233 e nn. 420, 430.

(137) Dal nome del suo editore L. (von) Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte der nordwestlichen Balkanländer, V. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Bogomilenlehre, Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* 3 (1895), 360-371.

(138) Cfr. la descrizione di questi manoscritti in *Sources grecques*, 71-73 (Ch. Astruc).

κρατιτῶν καὶ Μαρκιωνιστῶν([139]). Nel testo successivo gli appellativi si riducono agli ormai consueti «bogomili», «messaliani», «entusiasti» ed «epeuchiti» (sic)([140]).

Le due nuove denominazioni, «encratiti» e «marcionisti», non si ritrovano nel rituale di riconciliazione. Mentre sulla prima di queste possiamo solo ipotizzare che traesse origine dall'associazione del Bogomilismo a questa antica eresia in certe raccolte canoniche ove si ricordava il rifiuto di cibarsi di uova, carne, vino ecc., il nome «marcionisti», che abbiamo già incontrato nel *Nomocanon* serbo, deve essere considerato, a nostro avviso, la *lectio facilior* per «marcianisti»([141]). Difatti nella raccolta eresiologica del Vat. gr. 604 della metà del XIV secolo([142]) abbiamo ritrovato praticamente lo stesso titolo del *formulario Thalloczy* precedere una recensione dell'opera di Pietro l'igumeno sui pauliciani([143]): *Περὶ τῆς βλασφήμου αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Παυλικιάνων, καὶ Μασσαλιανῶν, τῶν καλουμένων ῥωμαϊστὶ Εὐχιτῶν, τῶν καὶ Φουνδαϊτῶν, καὶ Βογομίλων καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστῶν καὶ Ἐγκρατητῶν καὶ Μαρκιανιστῶν*, Vat. gr. 604, f. 12v. Nell'*Encomio* di Gregorio Palamas scritto da Filoteo Kokkinos leggiamo che verso il 1320 ca. il giovane Gregorio incontrò, vicino ai monasteri del monte Papikion, degli eretici bogomili per i quali l'agiografo usa i nomi «marcianisti» e «messaliani»([144]).

Da tutto ciò si ricava che in quell'epoca, a fianco delle altre denominazioni, se ne aggiunse un'altra, «marcianisti», che era già stata uno degli appellativi più popolari per i messaliani nel VI-VII secolo. Infatti Timoteo apriva la sua notizia sul Messalianismo con questo nome (Μαρκιανισταί)([145]) che sarebbe derivato da un certo Marciano vissuto all'epoca di Giustiniano e Giustino II([146]). Ancora una volta pertanto ci troviamo, di fronte ad una ripresa da parte

([139]) L. (von) Thalloczy, *op. cit.*, 361.

([140]) Ficker, 173, L. (von) Thalloczy, *op. cit.*, 362, 370.

([141]) La stessa oscillazione nella letteratura eresiologica del VI-VII secolo, cfr. Gouillard, *L'hérésie*, 305.

([142]) Cfr. in merito A. Rigo, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili*, Firenze 1989, 141.

([143]) Su questa recensione cfr. *Sources grecques* , 77-78 (Ch. Astruc).

([144]) *PG 151*, 562 d.

([145]) Kmosko, *Liber graduum*, CCXXI.

([146]) *Ivi*, CCXXII.

degli eresiologi, mossi dalla loro erudizione e da un gusto arcaizzante, del nome di un gruppo settario scomparso già da diversi secoli.

Mentre i documenti del registro sinodale della prima metà del XIV secolo si limitano a ricordare laconicamente gli eretici, o presunti tali, quali bogomili (Βωγόμιλοι)(147), le diverse fonti sul gruppo bogomilo athonita condannato nel 1344 ci attestano diverse sfumature nelle definizioni eresiologiche.

Il *γράμμα* athonita parla *simpliciter* di eresia bogomila (τὴν [...] τῶν Πογομύλων αἵρεσιν)(148), mentre la sua traduzione slava, inserita in una recensione del *Synodikon*(149), rende queste parole con «eresia messaliana» (B.A.R. 307, f. 15v). Il patriarca Callisto I, in una sua omelia, ricordando «Giorgio di Creta» (sic) lo ricollega ai messaliani e bogomili (τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν καὶ Βογομίλων, Chil. 8, f. 289).

Gregorio Acindino parla al riguardo di Messalianismo (Μασσαλιανισμός(150).

Lo stesso fa un documento sinodale del 1350 (τῇ τῶν Μασσαλιανῶν αἱρέσει)(151).

Lo storico Niceforo Gregoras chiamava gli eretici o «messaliani e bogomili»(152) o più semplicemente «messaliani»(153).

Anche la *Vita* slava di Teodosio scrive «eresia messaliana»(154). L'agiografo, soltanto quando parla del concilio del 1359/60, usa l'espressione «eresia messaliana e bogomila»(155). In una delle *Vitae*

(147) H. Hunger-O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Wien 1981, 298-303, 520-523.

(148) A. Rigo, *L'assemblea generale athonita del 1344 su un gruppo di monaci bogomili*, *CrSt* 5 (1984), 505, r. 32.

(149) Cfr. in merito Id., *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili*, Firenze 1989, 144-145.

(150) *Letters, ed.* A. Constatinides Hero, Washington D.C. 1983, 223, r. 58.

(151) *MM I*, 296.

(152) *Hist. Byz.* XIV, 7; ed. Bonn II, 714; XXIX, 51; ed. Bonn III, 259.

(153) XXXVII, 23; III, 541; XXXVII, 25; III, 542.

(154) V. N. Zlatarskj, *Žitie i žizn' prepodobnago otca našego Feodosija, Zbornik za narodni umotvozenija nauka i knižnina, kniga XX-5* (1904), 19, 22.

(155) *Ivi* 26, 33.

di Massimo Kausokalyba, accennando alle medesime vicende, si parla di «messaliani»(156).

Dobbiamo pure ricordare come Barlaam, attaccando gli esicasti, e tacciandoli di Messalianismo, impiegasse diversi nomi che possono essere degli indizi significativi delle scelte eresiologiche di quegli anni.

Gli epiteti impiegati da Barlaam erano i seguenti: «messaliani»(157), «euchiti»(158), «bogomili»(159) ed il neologismo «blacherniti»(160) che rimandava alla figura di Teodoro di Blacherne. Nel corso della controversia teologica successiva le accuse di Messalianismo divennero la comune moneta di scambio tra le diverse fazioni in lotta tra loro.

Alla fine del secolo, il patriarca bulgaro Eutimio di Trnovo nella *Vita* di Ilarione di Moglena espone le sue idee, in verità un po' confuse(161), sulle eresie di stampo dualistico. Limitandoci alle menzioni, ricordiamo che, secondo Eutimio, il santo combatte contro i manichei, gli armeni ed i bogomili(162). Nella stessa *Vita*, di lì a poco, i bogomili vengono nominati da soli(163). Nella sua seconda lettera al monaco Nicodemo di Tismena, Eutimio invece parla di «eresia messaliana»(164).

Possiamo ritrovare l'ultima testimonianza sul Bogomilismo bizantino nell'opera di Simeone di Salonicco (m. 1429). Il metropolita di Salonicco infatti dedicava il § 9 del suo *Dialogus contra haereses* a «Simon Mago, Mani e simili e contro gli empi bogomili ovvero

(156) F. Halkin, *Deux Vies de saint Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au mont Athos (XIVe siècle), AB* 54 (1936), 50.

(157) Τόμος Ἁγιορειτικός in Palamas, Συγγρ. *II*, 569-571, Cantacuzeno, *Hist. lib.* II, 39, id., *Proemium tomi, PG 154*, 697, Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.* XI, 10; ed. Bonn I, 557, Akindynos, *op. cit.*, 32, 57, Palamas, *Tr.* III, 1, 1, III, 1, 4, III, 1, 24 ecc., Ciparissiota, *PG 152*, 680.

(158) *Epistole greche a cura di* G. Schirò, Palermo 1954, 324, Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.* XI, 10; ed. Bonn I, 556.

(159) Τόμος Συνοδικός, *MM I*, 212-213.

(160) *Tr.* III, 1, 1, III, 1, 7, III, 2, 3, III, 3, 4.

(161) Cfr. Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 213-216, Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, 101 nn. 23-24.

(162) E. Kałużniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375-1393)*, Wien 1901, 33, r. 12.

(163) *Ivi*, 52, r. 27.

(164) *Ivi*, 221, rr. 12-13.

kudugeri» (Κατά [...] Βογομύλων ἤτοι Κουδουγέρων)([165]). Dove va sottolineata la presenza di Simon Mago e di Mani, «tipi» tradizionali dell'eretico, come abbiamo visto, per gli autori ortodossi del Medio Evo bizantino. A fianco di questa presenza dobbiamo rilevare pure un'assenza e cioè la mancanza di ogni riferimento al Messalianismo. Questo fatto non deve comunque far pensare che il nome di questa eresia fosse definitivamente scomparso dalla letteratura eresiologica: così, ad esempio, ancora alla fine del XV secolo (1489) in Russia, il vescovo di Novgorod, Gennadio, sosteneva che gli eretici giudaizzanti della sua città erano seguaci del «Giudaismo mescolato all'eresia messaliana»([166]). Parimenti Giuseppe di Volokolamsk, riferendosi agli stessi settari, scriveva che costoro «professavano segretamente l'eresia messaliana»([167]).

* * *

Dall'analisi fino a qui condotta crediamo sia emersa chiaramente la genesi dell'identificazione di Messalianismo e Bogomilismo, abbinamento di matrice eresiologica, privo di reale fondamento.

Questo caso, come ricordavamo all'inizio dell'articolo, non è certamente isolato: il ricondurre una nuova eresia ad una più antica e già condannata è un fenomeno ben conosciuto agli storici([168]). Va altresì ricordato che nell'Oriente cristiano un altro motivo spingeva gli eresiologi ortodossi a ricercare gli antichi modelli delle sette contemporanee: l'idea che l'elenco di ottanta eresie redatto da Epifanio nel *Panarion* — eresie che corrispondevano simbolicamente alle ottanta concubine del *Cantico dei Cantici* — era la descrizione ultima e definitiva dell'eresia([169]). Tale motivo, anche se unito ad un certo gusto per l'arcaismo proprio di alcuni eresiologi, non ci dà le ragioni dell'identificazione di Messalianismo e Bogomilismo e non ci spiega

(165) *PG 155*, 65 c.
(166) Cfr. OBOLENSKY, *Bogomils*, 280.
(167) *Ivi.*
(168) Cfr., ad esempio, l'articolo dedicato ad un problema simile della storia dell'eresia nel Medio Evo latino di Y. M. J. CONGAR, *«Arriana haeresis» comme désignation du Néomanichéisme au XIIe siècle*, *RSPT* 43 (1959), 449-461.
(169) Cfr. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie*, 300-301.

perché l'equazione Messalianismo = Bogomilismo abbia sostituito la più antica Manicheismo = Bogomilismo(170). A prima vista si potrebbero invocare delle ragioni d'ordine strettamente storico, sottolineando la contiguità cronologica del grande processo antibogomilo con un'istruttoria di tipo «antimessaliano» come quella a cui venne sottoposto Teodoro di Blacherne. Si sarebbe pure tentati di riprendere le somiglianze tra le dottrine messaliane e bogomile rilevate dallo Zigabeno, ma la loro analisi ci ha indotto a credere che il ritrovamento «pilotato» di queste concordanze sia sopravvenuto in un secondo tempo rispetto alla identificazione delle due eresie.

In un punto della *Ἔκθεσις*, Eutimio Zigabeno dà quella che possiamo considerare la sua definizione del Messalianismo. Queste righe sono, a nostro avviso, la soluzione del problema che abbiamo appena prospettato. Egli scriveva: «Dall'eresia dei messaliani sgorgano diversi canali maleodoranti — tra i quali quello dell'eresia bogomila — che tra di loro hanno molto in comune, ma ancor di più è quello che li distingue. Dei pii personaggi hanno condannato questa corrente nella forma che essa aveva al loro tempo, altri in un'altra che sorse in tempi successivi»(171). Quello che più colpisce in questa descrizione è la varietà di forme attribuita al Messalianismo, caratteristica questa che ritorna a più riprese sotto la penna degli eresiologi: παμμιγὴς αἵρεσις, πολυειδὴς αἵρεσις. Attorno a questa nozione ampia ed allo stesso tempo vaga di Messalianismo era possibile aggregare eresie ed eresiarchi, come ci attestano le lunghe liste di nomi riportate da alcune fonti. Sempre il Messalianismo, d'altra parte, era un'«eresia dai molti nomi» (πολυώνυμος αἵρεσις). L'equivalenza tra Messalianismo e Bogomilismo stabilita da Eutimio Zigabeno non era perciò tanto fondata su delle somiglianze di ordine dottrinario, ma su questa definizione eresiologica dell'antica eresia.

Gli eresiologi successivi si limitarono ad applicare quanto aveva stabilito il loro predecessore, ma il loro operare era caratterizzato da un uso così indiscriminato e massiccio dei repertori sull'antico Messalianismo che nelle loro testimonianze i lineamenti del movimento medievale ne escono notevolmente stravolti. Questo processo di assi-

(170) Anche nell'Occidente latino, d'altra parte, gli eresiologi erano ossessionati dalla risorgenza del «Manicheismo» e con questo termine definivano il movimento cataro.

(171) FICKER, *Phundagiagiten*, 89.

milazione da parte degli eresiologi non fu, come abbiamo visto, effettuato in un unico momento, ma progressivamente. Infatti, mentre nel XII secolo ai bogomili veniva imputato soltanto un paio di proposizioni messaliane, nel XIV secolo l'intero sistema eretico assumerà negli scritti degli inquisitori un'impostazione apertamente messaliana ([172]).

Dorsoduro 392
30123 Venezia

Antonio RIGO

([172]) Il caso più appariscente al riguardo rimane senz'altro la *Vita* di Teodosio che abbiamo esaminato diffusamente, sotto questo aspetto, in *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili*, Firenze 1989, 202-214.

A Su Majestad la Reina de España Doña Sofía de Grecia

MIGUEL ARRANZ S.J.

Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour

LES SACREMENTS DE L'INSTITUTION DE L'ANCIEN EUCHOLOGE CONSTANTINOPOLITAIN

III-1

Cet article ouvre notre troisième série d'articles sur les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe costantinopolitain, et précisément sur les sacrements que nous avons classifié comme «d'institution», dans

Sigles:

ANS: Anselm STRITTMATTER, *The «Barberinum Sancti Marci» of Jacques Goar*, Ephemerides Liturgicae 47, 1933, 329-67: cf. BAR.

APA: ΣΥΜΕΩΝ Θεσσαλονίκης, *Τὰ ἅπαντα*, 4a ed. Thessalonique 1882: cf. MIGNE PG 155.

BAR: MS «S. Marcus»: Bibl. Vaticana: *Barberini gr. 336*: cf. ANS & OCP 1982,295.

BES: MS «Bessarion»: Bibl. Grottaferrata: *G.b.I*: cf. STA & DMI 1054-8 & ROC 235 & OCP 1982,290 & 314.

COI: MS «Stratîgios»: Bibl. Nat. Paris: *Coislin gr. 213*: cf. DMI 993 & DUN & OCP 1982,309.

DMI: А. ДМИТРИЕВСКИЙ, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православного Востока*, II, Εὐχολόγια, Kiev 1901.

DUN: J. DUNCAN, *Coislin 213: Euchologe de la Grande Eglise*, thèse de doctorat, PIO 1978: cf. COI.

EBE: MS Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Πανεπιστημίου: *Athènes 662*: cf. TRE & OCP 1982,316.

EVO: M. ARRANZ, *Evolution des rites d'incorporation et de réadmission dans l'Eglise selon l'Euchologe byzantin* (= «Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques». Bibl. Ephem. Liturg. Subsidia 14), Rome 1978.

GOA: J. GOAR, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum*..., 2a ed. Venise 1730 (Graz 1970).

IST: M. АРРАНЦ, *Исторические заметки о чинопоследованиях Таинств*

le sens que par eux on confère la grâce divine pour faire du chrétien une personne «instituée» (constituée, établie, responsable, chargée...) pour une fonction de pouvoir, de direction ecclésiastique, de responsabilité de famille, etc. (1).

по рукописям греческого Евхология, 3-й курс, Лен. Духовная Академия 1979.

JAC: A. JACOB, *L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspensky. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xe siècle)*, Le Muséon 78, 1965, 173-214: cf. POR.

PG: SYMEON Thessalonicensis, *Opera*, MIGNE PG 155.

POR: MS «Porfirij»: Gossudarst. Publichnaja Bibl.: *Leningrad gr. 226*: cf. JAC & OCP 1982,300.

STA: G. STASSI, *L'Eucologio G b 1 «Bessarione» di Grottaferrata*, thèse de doctorat, PIO 1982: cf. BES.

SIN: MS *Sinai 959*: cf. DMI 42 & OCP 1981,305.

ZER: Σ. ΖΕΡΒΟΣ, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, 2a ed. Venise 1862 (Athènes 1970).

(1) Nous avions déjà annoncé (cf. OCP 1989, 317: note 1; et OCP 1989, 61: épilogue) l'intention de continuer la série de nos travaux sur les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain non plus sous le titre général *Les sacrements*..., mais en donnant à chaque article un titre particulier, auquel aurait suivi entre parenthèses le titre général avec le numéro de série et d'ordre de publication de l'article. Nous prévoyons plusieurs séries d'articles sur les sacrements (sacrements au sens large, cf. OCP 1982, 285) et sacramentaux de l'ancien Euchologe costantinopolitain:

I série: «sacrements de l'initiation»; à cette série appartiennent les dix premiers articles déjà publiés consacrés au baptême et aux rites qui le préparent.

II série: «sacrements de la restauration»: rites et prières de pénitence, exorcisme, maladie et mort.

III série: «sacrements de l'institution»: ordinations, mariage, initiation monastique, couronnement royal, désignation des charges d'état, afrèrement, etc.

IV série: autres sacrements et sacramentaux.

Nous ne sommes pas cependant arrivés à cette classification des sacrements par des a priori, mais bien en partant d'une constatation positive qui découle de notre étude de l'Euchologe: les sacrements de la première série (initiation), ainsi que ceux de la troisième (institution), présentent depuis les premiers manuscrits que nous connaissons une remarquable fixité des textes des prières elles-mêmes et aussi une considérable coïncidence pour ce qui est des rubriques et des cérémonies qui accompagnant les prières; cette stabilité durant des siècles est symptomatique de la conscience qu'on avait à Constantinople (un peu moins dans l'étendue périphérie byzantine) de se trouver devant de textes et de rites d'une origine vénérable constituant un héritage des Pères, sinon des Apôtres. L'Eglise se sentait sure d'avoir entre ses mains des rites bien établis. Cela n'était pas le cas des sacrements de la deuxième série, ceux que nous avons appelés «de la restauration», dépendant du cha-

Le couronnement du basileus de Constantinople et celui du tsar de Moscou sont devenus ces derniers temps thème d'intérêt scientifique grâce entre autres aux séminaires qui, sous le titre général de «Da Roma alla terza Roma», ont lieu chaque année à Rome depuis 1981 rassemblant bon nombre d'historiens et de juristes. C'est dans le cadre du premier de ces seminaires que nous avions présenté un travail du titre: *L'aspect rituel de l'onction des empereurs de Constantinople et (des tsars) de Moscou*(2). Pour la partie grecque nous nous servions des mss de l'Euchologe grec que nous connaissions et ne donnions le texte grec complet que sous forme de photographie des pages de Goar (GOA 726) qui lui transcrivait les ff. 122-123 du ms *Grottaferrata G.b.I* (BES). Pour la partie russe, comportant le rite du couronnement et de l'onction d'Ivan le Terrible — rite d'ailleurs fort différent de l'original grec — nous nous servions de l'édition de E. Barsov(3); tout dernièrement nous avons reçu de notre correspondant de l'Institut d'Histoire de Bulgarie Ivan Biljarski une transcrip-

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risme conféré par le Seigneur aux siens, de pardonner les péchés, de chasser les démons, de guérir les malades; il s'agit toujours de restaurer l'image de Dieu déchue dans l'homme malade dans son esprit, dans son âme et dans son corps. On aurait pu appeler ces sacrements «du rétablissement», «de la récuperation», etc.; si cela n'avait pas présenté des ambigüités nous aurions préféré «sacrements de la guérison», terme plus simple et plus proche de l'Evangile. Ces sacrements dépendent sans doute plus d'un charisme de l'Esprit que des règlements ecclésiastiques. Leur rituel n'est pas très développé; il ne se formera que très lentement et très probablement hors de Constantinople. Nous pensons pouvoir commencer bientôt une série d'articles consacrée à ces sacrements.

(2) M. Arranz, *L'aspect rituel de l'onction des empereurs de Constantinople et (des tsars) de Moscou* (= «Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca. Da Roma alla terza Roma». Documenti e studi. Università «La Sapienza») Roma 1981, 407-15. Cf. aussi IST 66-67.

(3) E. Барсов, *Древне-русские памятники священного венчания царей на царство*, Moscou 1883, 63 et 87-8. Une nouvelle édition de ce texte, à partir d'un document inédit des Archives Centrales de l'Etat des Actes Anciens (TsGADA) de Moscou, vient de paraître dans *L'idea di Roma a Mosca. Secoli XV-XVI. Fonti per la storia del pensiero sociale russo*, Rome 1989, 78-95: édition provisoire de la partie russe par les soins de l'Université «La Sapienza» de Rome et de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'URSS; l'édition définitive avec traduction italienne ne devrait pas tarder; cf. OCP 1989, 47, note 13, où nous annonçons notre collaboration (rétirée depuis lors) à cet ouvrage, sur lequel nous nous promettons de revenir.

tion du ms *Sofia sl. 954*(4) qui correspond exactement à la rédaction grecque de BES — couronnement sans onction — et que nous pensons ait dû être connue aussi en Russie bien avant le couronnement d'Ivan. Mais nous ne désirons pas dans le présent article entrer dans la compliquée question du rapport entre le cérémonial byzantin et le cérémonial moscovite(5); le seul but de notre étude, dans la ligne

(4) Cf. Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Sofia (III, 108-109). I. Biljarski, qui devrait publier bientôt un travail sur la question, nous signale que son texte, qui a été par le passé partiellement employé par d'autres auteurs qu'il cite, correspond au ms *Synod. de Moscou s. 675* (GIM) du XV siècle, décrit dans le catalogue de A. Gorskij - K. Nevostruev, (III, 1, Moscou 1869, p. 146, n. 371); nous sollicitons depuis des années, sans résultat, l'envoi du microfilm de ce dernier document.

(5) En 1981, dans notre *L'aspect rituel*..., nous supposions encore que le document publié par Barsov était authentique. Dans OCP 1988, 306, nous nous sommes déjà prononcé contre cette authenticité. Le ms *Kirillov s. 1516* (ff. 54-5) du monastère Kirillov, de la même époque, décrit une intronisation d'Ivan le Terrible, beaucoup plus simple et sans onction du saint chrême, plus proche des anciennes traditions grand-ducales russes; cf. supra note 4. C'est aussi l'avis de M. Hellmann, (*Ivan il terribile*, Ed. Paoline, Roma 1970); Ivan aurait été couronné en suivant le rituel employé en 1498 pour son oncle Dimitrij, (publié aussi dans *L'idea de Roma a Mosca*, 67-77). Pour toute cette question cf. Н. Покровский, *Чин коронования государей в его истории*, Tserkovnyj Vestnik de l'Académie Ecclésiastique de S.-Pétersbourg, 9-V-1896, n. 19, pp. 600-8 (publié à l'occasion du sacre du dernier tsar Nicolas II). De toutes manières, l'onction était administrée chez les Russes selon un rite essentiellement différent de celui des Byzantins. D'après Г. Острогорский, *Эволюция византийского обряда коронования* (= «Византия, Южные Славяне и Древняя Русь, Западная Европа». Искусство и культура. Сборник статей в честь В. Н. Лазарева), Moscou 1973, 33-42, l'onction royale a été conférée pour la première fois chez les Byzantins en 1209, lors du couronnement à Nicée de Théodore I Lascaris. En effet, aucun de nos mss de l'Euchologe constantinopolitain ne prévoit telle onction; elle n'apparaîtra que dans des documents non liturgiques tardifs, comme les livres de cérémonies de cour, et dans les commentaires de Syméon de Thessalonique au XV siècle, qui cependant ne voit pas dans l'onction un sacrement de confirmation (PG 155, 352; APA 151), comme feront plus tard les auteurs russes (cf. К. Никольский, *Пособие к изучению устава Богослужения Православной Церкви*, 7e éd. S.-Pétersbourg 1907, 686; cf. OCP 1989, 319, note 3; EVO 66; IST 66; et *L'aspect rituel*..., 413. Cf. aussi les travaux de G. Olšr parus dans OCP: 1946, 322-73; 1950, 267-302; 1951, 395-435; 1952, 344-76. Cf. encore A. Kniazeff, *Les rites d'intronisation royale et impériale*, (= «Les bénédictions et les sacramentaux dans la Liturgie». Conférences Saint-Serge. XXXIV semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris 23-26 juin 1987. Biblioth. Ephemer. Liturg. Subsidia 44, edit. A. M. Triacca — A. Pistoia) Roma 1988, 125-

générale de notre recherche sur les sacrements et sacramentaux(6) constantinopolitains, est celui de fournir au chercheurs le texte grec le plus sûr.

Notre intention est de présenter tous les rites qui ont un rapport exclusif avec la cour de Byzance: il s'agit de trois rituels complets et d'un supplément de prières destinées à différents moments de la vie du basileus:

H1: désignation du basileus(7) (et de ses enfants et de sa femme),
H2: désignation d'un césar(8), d'un nobilissime et d'un curopalate,

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164; cf. aussi G. Westphal, *Quelques aspects du rituel Capétien du sacre des rois de France: le sacre d'Henri IV à Chartres.* (=«Les bénédictions...», ut supra), 295-308.

(6) La distinction entre sacrements et sacramentaux est étrangère à l'Euchologe byzantin, si nous l'adoptons ici c'est dans un but de clarté pour le lecteur occidental.

(7) Voulant rester fidèles à l'esprit et à la lettre de mss par nous étudiés, nous traduirons littéralement les termes grecs, mais quand cela sera possible, nous les laisserons dans la langue originale: ainsi nous nous servirons en général du terme «basileus», en le traduisant quand ce sera nécessaire par son correspondant «rex» ou «roi», même si en Occident on a toujours traduit «basileus» par «empereur» (mais pour les Romains le titre d'«imperator», si bien signifiait la plus haute charge militaire comportant le pouvoir absolu, était bien inférieur à celui de «rex»), dans la Bible on attribue le titre de basileus-roi (melekh) à Dieu, David, Hérodes, Jésus, etc., tandis que l'empereur romain est «kaisar», cf. par ex. Luc 3; logiquement les premiers traducteurs slaves de la Bible et de la Liturgie emploieront «tsar'» pour Dieu, David, Hérodes et Jésus, et «kesar'» pour Tibère, etc.; cf. L. Brehier, *Le monde byzantin, 2: Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1949, 38 ss.; cet ouvrage qui est indispensable pour connaître la valeur historique de chacun des termes qui désignent dans nos textes les différentes charges de l'état, devra être pris avec grande précaution pour ce qui est des affirmations de type liturgique, dont l'auteur se montre prodigue, mais qui dépendent des transcriptions approximatives de Goar ou des commentaires tardifs de Syméon (*De sacro templo*, PG 155), pour ne pas parler des différentes rédactions du cérémonial de cour, celles de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et du Pseudo-Codinus, dont le but est de décrire plus la partie extérieure des rites que la liturgie; cf. infra note 12.

(8) Le ms. *Sofia sl. 954*, fait bien la distinction entre «tsar» pour H1) (f. 150v) et «kesar» de H2) (f. 154v). Pour le sens exacte du mot «caesar» ou «kaisar» aux différentes époques de l'histoire romano-byzantine cf. Brehier 42-45. Pour les cérémonies de chacune des trois catégories de H2) cf. infra notes 18, 19, 20 et 34. Cf. W. Vodoff, *Le titre* tsar' *dans la Russie du nord-est vers 1440-1460 et la tradition littéraire vieux-russe* (=Studies on the Slavo-byzantine and West-european Middle Ages. In memoriam Ivan Dujčev), Sofia 1988, 54-60.

H3: promotion des archontes et des patrices(9),
H4: prières du patriarche pour le basileus à Pâques,
H5: autres prières du patriarche pour le basileus,
H6: prières du patriarche pour la vendange royale.

Nous décrirons ces textes d'après les euchologes constantinopolitains qui nous sont déjà connus: le texte de base sera celui de BES (cf. sigles pp. 83-84) qui contient tous les offices indiqués, comparé d'abord avec COI et EBE qui sont pratiquement identiques à BES, puis avec BAR qui ne possède pas H2) et qui ne prévoit pas le couronnement des enfants ni de la femme du basileus; et encore avec POR et SIN très incomplets(10). Nous ne considérerons pas par

(9) Cf. infra notes 21 et 34.
(10) Cf. dans OCP 1982, 289 ss. (*Les sacrements*...: 1) la description des ces six euchologes (malheureusement SEV ne possède aucun de rites qu'ici nous occupent); cf. dans OCP 1983, 286 ss. nos critères de sélection des mss que nous considérons comme constantinopolitains; cf. aussi dans OCP 1989,

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H1): DÉSIGNATION(12) DU BASILEUS:

H1: Aa): Titre et rubrique initiale en rédaction longue (BES COI EBE):

1 Prière pour la désignation du basileus.
2 Une fois que celui qui doit régner par disposition de Dieu

(12) De προχειρίζω / προχειρίζομαι: «mettre entre les mains», ou encore, toujours d'après le Dictionnaire Grec-Français de Bailly, «élire auparavant»; cette étymologie explique en quelque sort la procédure d'inauguration du basileus, «élu» par l'armée dans l'hyppodrome et présenté au patriarche pour la ratification liturgique de l'élection. Semblables sont χειροτονία et χειροτονέω, employés pour le sacrement de l'ordre (même terme dans l'Euchologe grec, pour tous les dégrés, d'évêque à lecteur), et qui indique l'action de tendre la main pour voter, même si aujourd'hui on lui préfère le sens de tendre la main pour l'imposer sur le candidat. Pour d'autres détails profanes et reli-

contre les variantes de Goar, dues dans le cas présent à une mauvaise lecture des mss qu'il cite[11].

Voici maintenant un schéma des 6 offices de nos 6 mss:

BES COI EBE:	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6
BAR:	H1	-	H3	H4	H5	H6
POR:	-	-	H3	-	-	H6
SIN:	H1	-	-	-	-	-

38, note 5, notre point des vue sur la convenance de garder nos anciennes sigles; cf. encore M. ARRANZ, *La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave du Sinaï*, (OCA 231), Roma 1988, 21 ss.

([11]) Mais il y a des cas, où le recours à Goar, croix et paradis des liturgistes, reste indispensable, lorsque par exemple il fournie de vraies variantes dépendant des mss aujourd'hui inconnus qui ont servi aux premières éditions du XVI siècle perpetuées dans les actuelles éditions. Certains contre-sens du texte de celles-ci ne s'expliquent que par les erreurs des copistes de ces manuscrits.

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H1): BES 122-123v (STA 277-9, GOA 726-7), COI 36-38 (DUN 52-55), EBE 160-161v, BAR 357-363, SIN 126-128.

H1:Aa): BES 122 (STA 277, cf. GOA 726) [COI 36 (DUN 52), EBE 160]:

1 Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ (1) ἐπὶ προχειρίσει βασιλέως·
2 Μετὰ τὸ φορέσαι τὸν μέλλοντα σὺν Θεῷ βασιλεύειν

(1) Εὐχ BES COI: Εὐχὴ EBE.

gieux de l'élection et du couronnement du basileus, montrant un développement considérable du cérémonial liturgique, cf. le chapitre 47 (38) du *Livre des Cérémonies* (A. VOGT, Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, vol. 2, Paris 1939, 1-5; Io. Iac. REISKII, Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris *De cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, vol. 1, Bonn 1829, 191-196; MIGNE PG 112, 435 ss.); et le chap. 7 (17) du Pseudo-Codinus (J. VERPEAUX, Pseudo-Kodinos. *Traité des offices*, Paris 1966, 252-273; MIGNE PG 157, 101 ss.; cf. VERPEAUX 114 ss. à propos des éditions de 1588 et de 1596 et celle de J. GRETSER de 1625).

3 s'est revêtu de tous les habits royaux,
4 à l'exception du manteau (χλανίς)(13),
de la couronne (στέμμα) et de l'agrafe (φίβλα)
5 — choses toutes déposées auparavant sur l'antimension(14) qui se trouve sur l'ambon(15) —,
6 se tenant devant celui-ci le patriarche
7 et étant présent celui qui doit être couronné,
8 ayant fait le diacre la synaptie,
9 et tenant la tête inclinée l'autre (le basileus)
10 le patriarche prie (ainsi):

H1:Ab): Même rubrique en rédaction courte (BAR SIN):

1 Prière pour la désignation du basileus.
2 Une fois que celui qui doit régner par disposition de Dieu,
3 s'est revêtu de tous les habits royaux,
4 à l'exception du petit manteau et de la couronne
5 — choses déposées auparavant ensemble avec l'agrafe sur la sainte table (τραπέζῃ) —
6 se met le patriarche devant la sainte table
7 se tenant derrière lui celui qui doit être couronné,
8 et ayant fait le diacre la prière (synaptie),
9 prie ainsi le patriarche:

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(13) La χλανίς ou χλανίδιον (manteau léger de laine ou de soie, considéré vêtement de luxe), indiquée par tous nos manuscrits sans exception, n'est pas à confondre avec la χλαμύς ou chlamyde (casaque militaire sans manches, de tissu plutôt grossier), comme erronément lit GOA dans le ms par lui cité; Vogt (2), Reiske (192) et Migne (437B) lisent aussi χλαμύς; Vogt (VIII) attribue à la fantaisie du copiste du ms de Leipzig les variantes χλαμύς, χλαμμύς, χλανίς et χλανίδιον, qui se trouvent un peu partout dans le texte; les formes χλανίς et χλανίδιον sont rares cependant dans ce ms, (cf. par ex. Vogt I, 7: lign. 1, 18; II, 27: lign. 30; II, 37: lign. 22) et Vogt les traduit aussi par «chlamyde».

3 πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ ἱμάτια
4 ἄνευ τῆς χλανίδος (2), τοῦ στέμματος καὶ τῆς φίβλας,
5 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ ‹ἀντιμηνσίῳ› (3) προαποτίθεντ⟨αι⟩
ὃ ἵσταται ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι,
6 οὗ ἔμπροσθεν ἱστάμενος ὁ πατριάρχης
7 καὶ παρεστῶτος τοῦ μέλλοντος (4) στέφεσθαι (5),
8 τοῦ διακόνου ποιοῦντος συναπτὴν
10 εὔχεται ὁ πατριάρχης (6)·

(2) χλαμύδος passim GOA.
(3) sic COI EBE: ἀντιμισίῳ BES passim.
(4) ου... μέλλοντος: τούτου ἔμπροσθεν ἵσταται μὲν ὁ πατριάρχης παρίσταται δὲ ὁ μέλλων COI EBE.
(5) βασιλεὺς καὶ add COI EBE.
(6) π.: ἀρχιερεὺς COI EBE.

H1:Ab): BAR 357 [SIN 126]:

1 Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ ἐπὶ προχειρίσεως βασιλέως·
2 Μετὰ τὸ φορέσαι τὸν μέλλοντα σὺν Θεῷ βασιλεύειν
3 πάντα / 358 / τὰ βασιλικὰ ἱμάτια
4 ἄνευ τοῦ χλανιδίου καὶ τοῦ στέμματος·
5 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ σὺν τῇ φίβλᾳ προαποτίθενται,
6 ἵσταται ὁ πατριάρχης ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης,
7 παρεστῶτος αὐτῷ ὄπισθεν τοῦ μέλλοντος στέφεσθαι,
8 καὶ ποιοῦντος διακόνου εὐχὴν,
9 ἐπεύχεται ὁ πατριάρχης οὕτως·

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[14] A ne pas confondre avec le linge sur lequel on célèbre au présent la liturgie. Les antimensia de Sainte-Sophie n'étaient que de simples tables, fixes ou mobiles, qui replaçaient l'autel dans certains rites; ils servaient entre autres pour distribuer la communion. BES emploie toujours la forme populaire ἀντιμίσιον.

[15] L'ambon était une tribune fixe au milieu de l'église, qui assurait la visibilité et l'écoute d'une bonne partie des célébrations; c'est de l'ambon que l'on prêchait, que l'on faisait les lectures, que le diacre disait les synapties et que les solistes exécutaient leur chants. Comme on le voit, il devait être assez large pour permettre une cérémonie comme le couronnement royal.

[H1:1]: 1ère prière pour la désignation du basileus:

1 Seigneur notre Dieu,
2 roi de ceux qui règnent
et seigneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie,
3 qui par ton prophète Samuel as élu David ton serviteur
4 et l'as oint comme roi de ton peuple Israël:
5 toi-même écoute maintenant la supplication de nous indignes
6 et regarde aussi de ta sainte demeure
7 ton fidèle serviteur N.
8 que tu t'es complu d'élever pour roi de ta sainte nation
9 acquise par le sang précieux de ton Fils unique:
10 digne-toi de (l') oindre avec l'huile de l'allégresse,
11 revêts-le de la force d'en haut,
12 mets sur sa tête une couronne de pierres précieuses,
13 fais-lui grâce de longs jours,
14 donne à sa droite le sceptre du salut,
15 asseois-le sur le trône de la justice,
16 entoure-le de l'armure de ton saint Esprit,
17 rend fort son bras,
18 soumets-lui tous les nations barbares,
19 sème dans son cœur ta crainte,
20 et la compassion envers les sujets,
21 conserve-le dans une foi immaculée,
22 montre-le gardien précis des enseignements
de ta sainte Eglise catholique,
23 afin que jugeant ton peuple avec justice
24 et tes pauvres avec discernement,
25 sauve les enfants des indigents
26 et devienne aussi héritier de ton règne céleste.
(Doxologie:)

[H1:1]: BES 122 (STA 277, GOA 726) [COI 36 (DUN 52), EBE 160, BAR 358, SIN 126]:

1 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,
3 ὁ διὰ Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκλεξάμενος
/ 122v / τὸν δοῦλον σου Δαβὶδ
4 καὶ χρίσας αὐτὸν εἰς (1) βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου
τὸν Ἰσραήλ·
5 αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν εἰσάκουσον (2) τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν τῶν ἀναξίων
6 καὶ ἔπιδε ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου
7 καὶ τὸν πιστόν σου δοῦλον τόνδε
8 ὃν εὐδόκησας (3) ἀναστῆσαι βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθνος σου τὸ ἅγιον
9 ὃ περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ·
10 χρῖσαι καταξίωσον τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως,
11 ἔνδυσον αὐτὸν δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους,
12 ἐπίθες ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου,
13 χάρισαι αὐτῷ μακρότητα ἡμερῶν,
14 δὸς ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ σκῆπτρον σωτηρίας,
15 ἐνίδρυσον αὐτὸν τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης (4),
16 περίφραξον αὐτὸν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος,
17 ἐνίσχυσον αὐτοῦ τὸν βραχίονα,
18 ὑπόταξον αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη,
19 ἔνσπειρον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον σου,
20 καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους (5) συμπάθειαν
21 διατήρησον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀμωμήτῳ πίστει,
22 ἀνάδειξον αὐτὸν ἀκριβῆ φύλακα
τῶν τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων,
23 ἵνα κρίνων τὸν λαόν σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
24 καὶ τοὺς πτωχούς σου ἐν κρίσει,
25 σώσῃ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν πενήτων
26 καὶ κληρονόμος γένηται καὶ (6) τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας.

(1) εἰς om SIN.
(2) ε.: ἐπάκουσον BAR SIN.
(3) ε.: ηὐδόκησας BAR SIN.
(4) σου ad SIN.
(5) ὑ.: ἐπισκόπους σου SIN.
(6) κ. omm BAR SIN.

27 Parce qu'à toi est le pouvoir
28 et tiens sont le règne, la puissance et la (gloire:
29 du Père et du Fils et du saint Esprit, maintenant.)

H1:Ba): Rubrique moyenne en rédaction longue (BES COI EBE):

1 Et après l'Amen,
2 prend le patriarche le manteau
3 et le remet ainsi que l'agrafe aux vestitores.

(Couronnement des princes et de la reine):
4 Si à être couronné est le fils du basileus ou sa fille
ou sa femme,
5 ce n'est pas aux vestitores mais au basileus
que le patriarche remets ces objets en les bénissant,
6 (le basileus) les impose au couronné.

H1: Bb): Même rubrique en rédaction courte (BAR SIN):

1 Et après l'Amen,
2 prend le patriarche de la sainte table
3 et remet aux vestitores le petit manteau et l'agrafe
4 et lorsqu'ils ont été imposés (au basileus) il dit:

(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad SIN : COI in marg.)
27 Ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος
28 καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία (7) καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ.
(COI EBE BAR add δόξα (8)
29 τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (9) καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν.)

(7) desinit SIN.
(8) des BAR.
(9) des EBE.

H1:Ba): BES 122v (STA 278, GOA 726) [COI 37 (DUN 53), EBE 160v]:

1 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν,
2 ἐπαίρει τὸ χλανίδ⟨ιον⟩ (1) ὁ πατριάρχης
3 καὶ / 123 / ἐπιδίδω⟨σιν⟩ (2) «αὐτὸ» (3) τοῖς «βεστήτορσι» (4) καὶ τὴν φίβλαν.

4 Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ὁ στεφόμενος υἱὸς βασιλέως ἢ θυγάτηρ ἢ γυνή,
5 οὐ τοῖς βεστήτορσιν (5) ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιδίδωσι ταύτα ὁ πατριάρχης σφραγίσας
6 ὁ δὲ περιτίθησιν αὐτὰ τῷ στεφανομένῳ (6).

(1) τὸ χλανίδ. EBE: τὴν χλανίδα COI.
(2) ἐπιδίδωσιν COI EBE.
(3) αὐτῷ BES EBE: αὐτὴν COI.
(4) βεστήτωρσι BES: βεστήτορσιν EBE.
(5) sic BES, Εἰ δὲ ... ου τοῖς βεστήτορσιν om EBE.
(6) στεφομένῳ COI EBE.

H1: Bb): BAR 361 [SIN 127]:

1 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν,
2 ἐπαίρει ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης
3 καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ χλανίδιν καὶ τὸ φίβλιν τοῖς βεστήτορσιν
4 καὶ ἐν τῷ περιτίθεσθαι (1) αὐτῷ ταῦτα (λέγει).

(1) περιθέσθαι SIN.

[H1:2]: 2ème prière pour la désignation du basileus:

1 Ayant dit le patriarche: Paix à tous,
2 et le diacre: (Inclinez vos) têtes,
3 prie le célébrant:

1 Devant toi, unique roi éternel,
2 celui à qui a été confié par toi le règne terrestre
3 a plié, et nous avec lui, le cou;
4 ainsi nous te supplions, à toi maître de toute chose:
5 garde-le sous ta protection,
6 fortifie son règne,
7 accorde-lui de faire toujours ce qui t'est agréable,
8 suscite dans ses jours justice et abondance de paix,
9 afin que dans sa sérénité
10 nous menions un vie calme et tranquille
11 en toute piété et retenue.
(Doxologie:)
12 Car tu es le roi de la paix et le sauveur (de nos âmes
13 et à toi nous rendons gloire:
14 au Père et au Fils et au.)

H1: Ca): Rubrique finale en rédaction longue (BES COI EBE)

1 Et après l'Amen,

[H1:2]: BES 123 (STA 279, GOA 727) [COI 37 (DUN 54), EBE 160v, BAR 361, SIN 127]:

1 Καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ πατριάρχου (1)· Εἰρήνη πᾶσι,
2 ὁ διάκονος (2)· Τὰς κεφαλάς (3),
3 ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται (4)·

1 Σοὶ τῷ μόνῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων,
2 ὁ τὴν ἐπίγειον (5) βασιλείαν ὑπὸ σοῦ πιστευθεῖς
3 ὑπέκλινε τὸν αὐχένα σὺν ἡμῖν,
4 καὶ δεώμεθα σου δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων·
5 φύλαξον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τὴν σήν (6),
6 κραταίωσον αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν,
7 τὰ εὐάσρετά σοι πράττειν «διαπαντὸς» (7) αὐτὸν καταξίωσον,
8 ἀνάτειλον ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης,
9 ἵνα ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτοῦ
10 ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν
11 ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ add EBE SIN : COI in marg.)
12 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν (8).
(COI EBE add ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.
13 COI EBE BAR SIN add καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν (9) ἀναπέμπομεν (10)
14 τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ.)

(1) Κ.λ.τ.π.: λέγει BAR SIN.
(2) Ὁ δ.: καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος BAR: καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου SIN.
(3) ὑμῶν ad EBE: ἡμῶν BAR SIN.
(4) ὁ ἱ.ἐ.: ὁ ἱ. εὔχεται EBE: ἐπεύχεται ὁ πατριάρχης BAR SIN, ταῦτα ad SIN.
(5) ἐ.: ἐπὶ γῆς BAR SIN.
(6) τ.σ.: σου SIN.
(7) διὰ παντὸς BES.
(8) κ.σ.τ. omm BAR SIN.
(9) desinit SIN.
(10) dess EBE BAR.

H1:Ca): BES 123 (STA 279, GOA 727) [COI 37v (DUN 54), EBE 161]:

1 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν,

2 prend le patriarche la couronne de l'antimension
3 et la tenant avec les deux mains
4 le couronne disant:
5 Au nom du Père et du Fils et du saint Esprit;
6 et l'on fait ainsi si c'est le basileus à être couronné.
(Couronnement des princes et de la reine):
7 Mais si c'est son fils ou sa fille,
8 la couronne n'est pas imposée par le patriarche,
9 mais il la remet au basileus
10 et c'est celui-ci qui les couronne.
11 Et si c'est la femme à être couronnée,
12 elle est couronnée dans l'augustalion sur un antimension.
(N.B.):
13 S'il s'agit d'un homme:
14 sur l'ambon de la grande-église
15 et il reçoit la communion avec les (dons) présanctifiés([16])
16 et se prosterne trois fois (devant) les sceptres en disant:
17 Gloire à Dieu au plus haut des cieux
(et sur la terre paix et pour les hommes bienveillance)
18 et l'on proclame celui qui a été couronné.
19 Pour les augustes (reines),
(dans l'augustalion)
20 on dépose à l'avance la couronne sur une table
21 et étant présent le basileus ainsi que le patriarche
22 est introduite la basilissa par les préposés
23 qui la conduisent couverte avec le maphorion([17])
devant le patriarche
24 et une fois que le référendaire a fait la synaptie,
25 le patriarche dit la prière que l'on fait pour le basileus,
26 en changeant seulement les paroles au féminin.
27 Après quoi ils la font se déplacer
28 et lui enlèvent le maphorion
29 qu'ils déploient (devant elle) pour qu'elle ne soit pas vue
30 et ainsi il la conduisent au patriarche,

([16]) Comme nous avons déjà signalé ailleurs (cf. OCP 1981, 376 ss.) la communion des présanctifiés était plus fréquente au Moyen Age que dans le Typikon actuel; elle n'était pas toujours unie à l'office des Vêpres, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui.

2 λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ «ἀντιμηνσίου» (1) τὸ στέμμα ὁ πατριάρχης
3 καὶ κρατῶν αὐτὸ ταῖς δυσὶ χερσὶ
4 στέφει αὐτὸν λέγ⟨ων⟩·
5 Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος·
6 καὶ ταῦτα μέν γίνεται ὅτε βασιλεὺς στέφεται.
7 Ὅτε δέ ἐστιν υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ,
8 τὸ στέμμα οὐ ἐπιτίθησιν ὁ πατριάρχης
9 ἀλλ' ἐπιδίδωσιν «αὐτὸ» (2) τῷ βασιλεῖ
10 κᾀκεῖνος στέφει αὐτούς.
11 Καὶ ἢ μὲν γυνή ἐστιν ἡ στεφομένη,
12 στέφεται εἰς τὸν αὐγουστάλιον / 123v / εἰς τὸ «ἀντιμήνσιον» (3).
13 Εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ,
14 εν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας
15 καὶ κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα καὶ
16 προσκυνεῖ καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα τρίτον λέγ⟨ων⟩.
17 Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ (4),
18 καὶ ἀνακηρύττοντος καὶ τὸν στεφόμενον.
19 Εἰς δὲ τὰς αὐγούστας
20 προαποτίθενται ἐκεῖδε ἐπὶ τραπέ⟨ζης⟩ στέμμα,
21 καὶ ἱσταμένου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου,
22 εἰσάγεται ἡ βασίλισσα παρὰ τῶν πραιποσίτων
23 καὶ παριστῶσιν αὐτὴν τῷ πατριάρχῃ κεκαλυμμένην μαφορίῳ,
24 καὶ τοῦ ραιφερενδαρίου ποιοῦντος συναπτήν,
25 ἐπεύχεται ὁ πατριάρχης τὴν εὐχὴν ἣν ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων,
26 ἐναλάσσων (5) μόνον τὰ ρήματα πρὸς γυναῖκα.
27 Εἶτα μεθιστῶσιν αὐτὴν
28 καὶ ἀποκαλύπτ⟨ουσι⟩ (6) τὸ μαφόριον
29 καὶ ἀπλοῦσιν αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι,
30 καὶ οὕτω προσάγουσιν αὐτὴν τῷ πατριάρχῃ,

(1) sic COI EBE: ἀντιμισίου BES.
(2) αὐτὸ COI: αὐτῷ BES EBE.
(3) ἀντιμίσιν BES.
(4) καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία add COI EBE.
(5) ἐναλλάσσων COI EBE.
(6) ἀποκαλύπτουσι COI EBE.

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[17] Voile qui enveloppait les femmes de la tête aux pieds; les sources slaves confondent parfois le μαφόριον de la Théotokos avec l'ὠμοφόριον ou pallium épiscopal.

31 et prenant le patriarche la couronne de la table
32 la remet au basileus,
33 celui-ci la couronne,
34 et lorsque le diacre a dit: (Inclinez vos) têtes,
35 le patriarche dit la seconde prière.
36 Ensuite il l'exhorte selon ce qu'il convient,
37 et ainsi le patriarche quitte les lieux.
38 Elle s'assied avec le basileus
39 et reçoit la prostration de la part du sénat
comme d'habitude.
40 Celui qui est couronné sur l'ambon de la grande-église
descend en portant la couronne.

H1:Cb): Même rubrique en rédaction courte (BAR SIN):

1 Et après l'Amen,
2 prend (le patriarche) la couronne de la sainte table
3 et la tenant avec les deux mains
4 le couronne disant:
5 Au nom du Père et fu Fils et du saint Esprit.
6 Et après ceci il célèbre (la liturgie des) présanctifiés
et lui donne la vivifiante communion.

31 καὶ λαμβάνων ὁ πατριάρχης ἐκ τῆς τραπέζου (7) τὸ στέμμα,
32 ἐπιδίδω⟨σι⟩ (8) τῷ βασιλεῖ,
33 ὁ δὲ στέφει αὐτήν,
34 καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος· Τὰς κεφαλάς,
35 λέγει ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ τὴν Β′ εὐχήν.
36 Εἶτα παραινεῖ αὐτὴν τὰ συμφέροντα (9),
37 οὕτως ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης ὑποχωρεῖ.
38 Ἡ δὲ κάθηται μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
39 καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.
40 Ὁ δὲ στεφθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, κατέρχεται ἐστεμμένος.

(7) τραπέζης COI: τραπεζ. EBE.
(8) ἐπιδίδωσι COI: δίδωσι EBE.
(9) καὶ add COI EBE.

= Sequitur in BES COI designatio caesaris H2).

H1:Cb): BAR 362 [SIN 127v]:

1 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν,
2 ἐπαίρει ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης (1) τὸ στέμμα
3 καὶ κρατῶν αὐτὸ ταῖς δυσὶ χερσὶ
4 στέφει αὐτὸν λέγων·
5 Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα (2) τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.
6 Καὶ (3) μετὰ τοῦτο ποιῶν προηγιασμένα / 363 / καὶ (4) μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ κοινωνίας.

(1) τ.ἁ.τ.: τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου SIN.
(2) Εἰς τ.ὀ.: Ἐν ὀνόμα⟨τι⟩ SIN.
(3) Κ.: Εἶτα SIN.
(4) κ. om SIN.

= Sequuntur in BAR orationes patriarchae pro rege H4), H5), H6).

H2): Désignation d'un César[18], d'un Nobilissime[19] et d'un Curopalate[20]

[H2]: Prière pour la désignation d'un césar, d'un nobilissime
et d'un curopalate (BES COI EBE):

1 O Dieu grand et éternel,
2 roi de ceux qui règnent
et seigneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie,
3 qui d'après le modèle de l'ordre céleste et divin
4 as crée cette société terrestre
5 et as mis en elle autorités et pouvoirs
6 à imitation des forces angéliques,
7 (toi) qui as installé un roi sur la terre
8 et as établi après lui des autorités secondaires
9 pour le mutuel secours et sauvegarde,
10 et pour la commune protection et avantage des sujets:
11 maître de toute chose,
12 à ton serviteur N. — que tu as choisi entre tous
13 et que tu t'es complu de faire revêtir de la dignité de N. —,
14 habille-le de la force et de la sécurité d'en haut,
15 garde-le sous la couverture de tes ailes,
16 conserve-lui cette autorité sans reproche ni offense,
17 lui faisant grâce d'une existence pacifique et sans trouble
tout le long de sa vie,
18 rends-le redoutable et irresistible aux adversaires,
19 bienveillant et philanthrope pour ceux qui l'entourent,
20 le rendant digne aussi de ton règne céleste.
(Doxologie:)
21 Pour que par toute chose soit glorifié ton tout saint nom:
22 (du Père et du Fils et du saint Esprit, maintenant.)

(18) Cf. Vogt II, 26-32, Verpeaux 276. Cf. infra note 34.
(19) Cf. Vogt II, 33-36. Cf. infra note 34.
(20) Cf. Vogt II, 37-39. Cf. infra note 34.

H2): BES 123v-124 (STA 280, GOA 730), COI 38-38v (DUN 55-6), EBE 163-163v.

[H2): BES 123v (STA 280, cf. GOA 730) [COI 38 (DUN 55), EBE 163]:

* Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προχειρέσει καίσαρος, νωβελισίμου ‹καὶ› (1) κουροπαλάτου·

1 Ὁ Θεὸς μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος,
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,
3 ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ θείας διακοσμήσεως,
4 τὴν ἐπίγειον ταύτην πολιτείαν ποιησάμενος,
5 / 124 / καὶ θέμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας
6 κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἀγγελικῶν σου δυνάμεων,
7 ὁ βασιλέα τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταστησάμενος,
8 καὶ τὰς μετ' αὐτὸν δευτέρας ἀρχὰς ἱδρυσάμενος,
9 εἰς ἀλλήλων μὲν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ συνέχειαν,
10 κοινὴν δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων προστασίαν καὶ λυσιτέλειαν·
11 αὐτὸς δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων,
12 καὶ τὸν δοῦλον σου τόνδε ὃν ἐκ πάντων ἐξελέξω,
13 καὶ εὐδόκησας τὴν τοῦδε ἐνδύσασθαι ἀξίαν,
14 ἔνδυσον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν,
15 φρούρησον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν πτερύγων σου,
16 ἀνεπίφθονον αὐτῷ (2) καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον
τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην διατήρησον,
17 εἰρηνηκὴν καὶ διὰ βίου καὶ ἀστασίαστον
τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῷ χαριζόμενος,
18 ποίησον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερὸν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον,
19 εὐμενῆ τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ φιλάν⟨θρωπον⟩,
20 ἀξιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου (3) βασιλείας·
(Ἐκφώνως)
21 Ἵνα διὰ πάντων δοξάζηται σου τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα ⟨τοῦ⟩. (4)
22 (COI EBE add Πατρὸς (5) καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν.)

(1) κ. om BES.
(2) sic BES COI (DUN) EBE: αὐτόν GOA.
(3) σ. om DUN.
(4) sic COI EBE: τῷ BES.
(5) desinit EBE.

H3): Promotion des Archontes et des Patrices[21]

H3: A): Titre et rubrique initiale (BES COI EBE BAR POR):

1 Prière pour la promotion des archontes et des patrices.
2 Elle se fait ou bien sur les antimensia «des catéchumènes»[22]
de la grande-église,
3 ou bien sur la soléa[23], où l'on met une table
4 avec une couverture et avec les (dons) présanctifiés;
5 après que le diacre ait dit la synaptie.

[H3:1]: 1ère prière pour la promotion des archontes:

1 Seigneur notre Dieu,
2 qui possèdes le pouvoir de toute autorité et force
dans le ciel et sur la terre,
3 qui t'es complu de faire ranger à ton serviteur N.
dans l'autorité de la classe patricienne:

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(21) Cf. VOGT II, 44-60. Cf. infra note 34.

(22) L'endroit réservé aux catéchumènes était en générale la tribune ou galerie haute des églises, où se tenaient aussi pendant les offices la basilissa et ses dames; il servait encore à des réunions synodales et à des cérémonies

H3): BES 124-124v (STA 281-2, GOA 731), COI 38v-39v (DUN 56-57), EBE 163v-164v, BAR 370-372, POR 118-118v.

H3:A): BES 124 (STA 281, GOA 731) [COI 38v (DUN 56), EBE 163v, BAR 370, POR 118]:

1 Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προαγωγῇ (1) ἀρχόντων ἤτοι πατρικίων (2)·

2 Αὕτη γίνεται ἢ ἐν τοῖς ‹ἀντιμηνσίοις› (3) τῶν κατηχουμένων τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας,

3 ἢ ἐν τῇ σωλίᾳ (4) τιθεμένης τραπέζης

4 καὶ ἐνδυτ⟨ῆς⟩ (5) καὶ προηγιασμέν⟨ων⟩,

5 τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος συναπτὴν (6).

(1) προαγωγῆς BAR POR.
(2) ἤ. πατρικίων omm BAR POR.
(3) ἀντιμισίοις BES.
(4) σωλείᾳ legg GOA DUN: σωλέᾳ STA.
(5) ἐνδυτῆς COI EBE.
(6) ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται add COI EBE, Αὕτη... συναπτήν omm prorsus BAR SIN.

[H3:1]: BES 124 (STA 281, GOA 731) [COI 38v (DUN 56), EBE 163v, BAR 370, POR 118]:

1 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,

2 ὁ πάσης ἀρχῆς (1) καὶ δυνάμεως τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς,

3 ὁ (2) καὶ τὸν δοῦλον σου τόνδε (3) εὐδόκησας (4) τὴν τῆς πατρικιότητος ἰθύνειν ἀρχὴν (5).

(1) καὶ ἐξουσίας ad POR.
(2) ὁ om POR.
(3) τ.: τοῦτον BAR POR.
(4) ε.: εὐλογήσας POR.
(5) τ.τ.π.ἰ.ἀ.: τήνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰθύνειν BAR: τόνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰθύνειν POR.

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liturgiques comme la présente.

(23) Estrade devant le sanctuaire et passerelle allant du sanctuaire à l'ambon.

4 accorde-lui toutes ses demandes en vue du salut
5 et rends-le digne de juger ceux qui sont en dessous de lui
en justice et droiture,
6 de manière qu'il te devienne agréable
en tout ce qu'il fera,
7 en montrant toute sort d'activité miséricordieuse
enverse les pauvres et les nécessiteux,
8 agrée qu'il conduise ses subordonnés
dans la paix et l'obéissance,
9 augmente comme toujours les fruits de la terre
pour le bien-être de tout ton peuple.
(Doxologie:)
10 Parce qu'à toi est le pouvoir
11 et tiens sont le règne, la puissance et la (gloire:
12 du Père et du.)

[H3:2]: 2ème prière pour la promotion des archontes (BES COI EBE BAR):

1 Le diacre: (Inclinez vos) têtes,
2 Le célébrant prie:

1 Seigneur notre Dieu,
2 artisan de toute créature,
3 écoute notre supplication:
4 accorde à ton fidèle serviteur N.
toutes ses demandes en vue du salut,

4 δώρησαι αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα
5 καὶ (6) /124v / ἀξίωσον αὐτὸν κρῖναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐθήτητι,
6 πρὸς τὸ εὐάρεστόν σοι γενέσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς
διαπράττεται (7),
7 πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ἐλεημοσύνης πτωχοῖς (8) καὶ δεομέ⟨νοις⟩ (9)
ἐπιδεικνύμενον,
8 καὶ τοὺς ἐξυπηρετουμένους αὐτῷ
ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὑπακοῇ διάγειν εὐδόκησον,
9 πλήθυνον συνήθως τὰ γεννήματα τῆς γῆς
πρὸς εὐθηνίαν παντὸς τουν λαοῦ σου.
(Ἐκφώνως)
10 Ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος
11 καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία (10) καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα.
12 (EBE ad τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ.)

(6) κ. bis BES.
(7) ἐ.π.ο.δ.: πᾶσιν διαπράττει POR.
(8) πτωχῷ POR.
(9) δεομένοις COI EBE BAR POR.
(10) desinit POR.

[H3:2]: BES 124v (STA 282, GOA 731) [COI 39 (DUN 56), EBE 164v, BAR 371 (POR caret)]:

1 ⟨Ὁ⟩ (1) διάκονος (2)· Τὰς κεφαλάς (3),
2 ὁ ἱερεὺς (4) εὔχεται (5)·

1 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,
2 ὁ πάσης κτίσεως δημιουργός,
3 ἐπάκουσον τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν·
4 καὶ χάρισαι τῷ πιστῷ σου δούλῳ τῷδε (6)
πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα,

(1) Ὁ omm BES EBE.
(2) Ὁ δ.: Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος BAR.
(3) ὑμῶν ad EBE: ἡμῶν BAR.
(4) ἀρχιερεὺς COI EBE.
(5) ἐπεύχεται EBE: ἐπέυχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς BAR.
(6) τ.: τούτῳ BAR.

5 rends-le digne d'administrer d'après ta volonté
l'autorité qui lui a été confiée
6 et de devenir participant du règne céleste.
(Doxologie:)
7 Car tu es notre Dieu et à toi nous rendons gloire:
8 (au Père et au Fils et au saint Esprit,
maintenant et toujours.)

H3:B): Rubrique finale (BES COI EBE):

1 Ensuite prend le patriarche l'épitrachîlion
déposé sur l'antimension
2 et le donne au maître des cérémonies,
3 celui-ci l'impose au patrice
4 qui s'incline, salue le patriarche,
5 reçoit la communion et se retire.

Autres prières du patriarche pour le basileus

H4): Prières du patriarche pour le basileus à Pâques (BES COI EBE BAR):

H4:Aa): Titre et rubrique initiale en rédaction longue
(BES COI EBE):

1 Prière que fait le patriarche
chaque fois qu'il visite le basileus,
2 spécialement le jeudi du renouveau([24])

([24]) Le jeudi après Pâques. La graphie correcte devrait être διακαινησίμου.

5 ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ σὸν θέλημα
τὴν πιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἀρχὴν οἰκονομῆσαι
6 καὶ μέτοχον γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας.
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
7 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν (7) ἀναπέμπομεν.
8 (COI ad τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι
νῦν καὶ ἀεί.)

(7) desinit BAR.

H3:B): BES 124v (STA 282, GOA 732) [COI 39 (DUN 56), EBE 164v (BAR POR carent)]:

1 Εἶτα ἐπαίρει τὸ ‹ἐπιτραχήλιον› (1) ὁ πατριάρχης
κείμενον εἰς τὸ ‹ἀντιμήνσιον› (2)
2 καὶ δίδωσι τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως
3 καὶ βάλλει ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸ τῷ πατρικίῳ
4 καὶ οὕτω προσκυ⟨νεῖ⟩ καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὸν πατριάρχην,
5 καὶ κοινωνεῖ καὶ ὑποχωρεῖ.

(1) ἐπιτραχήλιν BES COI.
(2) ἀντιμίσιν BES.

= Sequuuntur in BES orationes patriarchae pro rege: H4), H5), H6); in COI oratio in «secreto» vel aula patriarchali, postea vero H4), H5).

H4): BES 124v-125 (STA 283-4, GOA 733), COI 39v-40 (DUN 57-58), EBE 165-165v, BAR 363-370.

H4:Aa): BES 124v (STA 283, Goa 733) [COI 39v (DUN 57), EBE 165]:

1 Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ γινομένη ὁσάκις ἔλθῃ ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸν βασιλέα,
2 ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῇ Ε′ τῆς διακινησίμου (1),

(1) διακαινησίμου DUN.

3 après les salutations
4 et lorsque le réferendaire a fait la synaptie.

H4:Ab): Rédaction courte de la même rubrique (BAR):

1 Prière pour le basileus
2 chaque fois qui va chez lui le patriarche.
3 Ayant fait le diacre la synaptie,
4 prie ainsi le patriarche:

[H4:1]: 1ère prière du patriarche pour le basileus:

1 Seigneur notre Dieu
2 roi de ceux qui règnent
et seigneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie,
3 nous te supplions et invoquons:
4 sauve nos rois
5 que tu as jugé bon de faire régner sur la terre,
6 protège-les à l'abri de ta bonté,
7 soumets-leur toutes les nations barbares et belliqueuses,
8 fais-leur grâce d'un règne pacifique,
9 et accorde-leur de faire toujours ce qui t'est agréable,
10 conserve incorruptibles leurs archontes
dans l'obéissance et dans la crainte,
11 affermis l'armée envers toute nation des adversaires,
12 complais-toi de guider le peuple dans la sagesse et la paix,

3 μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν
4 λέγοντος τοῦ ραιφερενδαρίου συναπτήν (2).

(2) εὔχεται οὕτως· add EBE.

H4:Ab): BAR 363:

1 Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ ἐπὶ βασιλέως
2 γινομένη ὁσάκις εἰσέλθῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατριάρχης·
3 ποιοῦντος διακονου εὐχήν,
4 ἐπεύχεται ὁ πατριάρχης οὕτως·

[H4:1]: BES 124v (STA 283, GOA 733) [COI 39v, EBE 165, BAR 363]:

1 ⟨Κύρι⟩ε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,
3 σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν·
4 / 125 / σῶσον τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν
5 οὓς ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
6 φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος,
7 ὑπόταξον αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ πολέμια (1) ἔθνη (2),
8 χάρισαι αὐτοῖς εἰρηνικὸν ⟨τὸ⟩ (3) βασίλειον,
9 καὶ τὰ εὐάρεστά σοι πράττειν διαπαντὸς αὐτούς (4) καταξίωσον,
10 τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπακοῇ καὶ φόβῳ ἀδωροδοκήτους (5) διαφύλαξον,
11 τὸν στρατὸν (6) ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει πολεμίων (7) ἐνίσχυσον,
12 τὸν δῆμον ἐν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ διάγειν εὐδόκησον,

(1) κ.π. om EBE.
(2) κ.π.ἔ.: ἔ.κ.π. BAR.
(3) τὸ om BES.
(4) α.: αὐτοῖς BAR.
(5) ἀ.: ἀδοροκειτο BAR.
(6) σ.: στρατιωτην BAR.
(7) π.: πολεμίῳ BAR.

13 faisant don de toute abondance des biens de la terre
durant leur règne.
(Doxologie:)
14 Car il est béni ton tout saint nom,
15 glorifié est (ton règne:
16 du Père et du Fils et du saint Esprit.)

[H4:2]: 2ème prière du patriarche pour le basileus:

1 Le patriarche: Paix à tous,
2 le diacre: (Inclinez vos) têtes,
3 le célébrant:

1 Devant toi, unique juge philanthrope,
2 celui à qui a été par toi confié le règne,
3 a plié avec nous le cou,
4 et nous te demandons, maître de toute chose:
5 fais don de ta paix aux cœurs de nous tous
6 et accorde à ton roi toutes ses demandes en vue du salut,

13 πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν (8) τῶν ἀπὸ ⟨τῆς⟩ (9) γῆς ἀγαθῶν (10)
ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν δωρούμενος.
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
14 Ὅτι εὐλόγηται (11) ⟨σου⟩ (12) τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα (13),
15 δεδόξασθ⟨αι⟩ (14). (COI EBE add σου ἡ βασιλεία
16 τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ (15) τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.)

(8) ἀ.: εὐθηνίαν BAR.
(9) τῆς om BES.
(10) καὶ ad BAR.
(11) ηὐλόγηται BAR.
(12) σου om BES.
(13) desinit BAR.
(14) δεδόξασται COI EBE.
(15) desinit EBE.

[H4:2]: BES 125 (STA 284, GOA 733) [COI 40, EBE 165v, BAR 365]:

1 Ὁ πατριάρχης (1)· Εἰρήνη πᾶσι,
2 ὁ διάκονος (2)· Τὰς κεφαλάς (3),
3 ὁ ἱερεὺς (4)·

1 Σοὶ τῷ μόνῳ ⟨καὶ⟩ (5) φιλανθρώπῳ κριτῇ
2 ὁ ὑπὸ σοῦ πιστευθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλείαν
3 ὑπέκλινεν σὺν ἡμῖν τὸν αὐχένα,
4 καὶ δεόμεθά σου δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων·
5 τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δώρησαι ταῖς πάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις
6 καὶ (6) πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα
τῷ ὑπὸ σὲ βασιλεῖ ⟨παράσχου⟩ (7),

(1) Ὁ π.: Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν λέγει COI EBE BAR.
(2) Ὁ δ.: καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος BAR.
(3) ὑμῶν ad EBE: ἡμῶν τῷ Κ. ⟨ ⟩ BAR.
(4) ὁ ἱ.: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται COI EBE.
«ἐπεύχ.» ⟨ ⟩ BAR.
(5) καὶ om BES.
(6) παράσχου αὐτῷ add COI EBE BAR.
(7) τ.ὑ.σ.β. omm COI EBE BAR,
deficit verbum ⟨παράσχου⟩ in BES.

7 et fais qu'il puisse démontrer envers ses sujets
ce qui est propre de ta philanthropie.
(Doxologie:)
8 Car tu es le roi de la paix et le sauveur de nos âmes
9 (et nous te rendons gloire: au Père et au Fils.)

H5): AUTRES PRIÈRES DU PATRIARCHE POUR LE BASILEUS (BES COI EBE BAR):

[H5:1]: 1ère prière pour le basileus:

* Autre prière pour le basileus:
1 Maître Seigneur tout-puissant,
2 le Père de notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus-Christ,
3 nous te supplions et invoquons:
4 garde nos rois tes serviteurs très fidèles,
dans la paix, la justice et le courage,
5 soumets-leur toutes les nations barbares qui cherchent
la guerre,
6 augmente leur foi et dévotion,
7 affermis-les dans ta crainte,
8 donne-leur d'avoir de pensées pacifiques envers nous
et envers ton saint nom,
9 parle à leur cœur en bien de l'Eglise
et de tout ton peuple,
10 afin que dans leur sérénité
11 nous menions un vie calme et tranquille

7 καὶ κατάνυξον αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις·
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
8 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς εἰρήνης (8) καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν (9).
9 (COI ad καὶ σοι τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ.)

(8) desinit BAR.
(9) τ.ψ.ἡ. om EBE.

H5): BES 125-125v (STA 285-6, GOA 733-4), [COI 40-40v (DUN 58-59), EBE 165v-166, BAR 365-368.

[H5:1]: BES 125 (STA 285, GOA 733) [COI 40, EBE 165v, BAR 365]:

* Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ ἑτέρα (1) ἐπὶ βασιλέως (2)·
1 Δέσποτα Κύριε παντοκράτορ,
2 ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου (3) καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
3 σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν·
4 τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς πιστοτάτους / 125v / ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἀνδρ⟨ε⟩ίᾳ (4) διαφύλαξον,
5 ὑπόταξον αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη
τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα,
6 πρόσθες αὐτοῖς πίστιν καὶ εὐλάβειαν,
7 ἀσφάλισαι αὐτοὺς τῷ φόβῳ σου,
8 δὸς αὐτοῖς εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιόν σου ὄνομα (5),
9 λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου,
10 ἵνα ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν
11 ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν

(1) ε.: ἄλλη COI EBE BAR.
(2) β.: βασιλέων EBE,
COI ad εἰσερχομένου τοῦ πατριάρχου πρὸς αὐτόν.
(3) καὶ Θεοῦ ad BAR.
(4) ἀνδρίᾳ BES COI BAR.
(5) σ.ὀ.: ὀ.σ. BAR.

12 en toute piété et retenue.
(Doxologie:)
13 Que soit béni et glorifié le pouvoir de ton règne:
14 (du Père et du Fils et du saint Esprit,
15 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles des siècles.)

[H5:2]: 2ème prière pour le basileus (BES COI EBE BAR):

1 Et ayant dit le diacre: (Inclinez vos) têtes,
2 prie le patriarche:

1 Dieu des puissances,
2 roi des siècles,
3 incline ton oreille vers notre supplication:
4 et fais don de la paix à nos rois et à tout ton peuple,
5 pour que vivant selon ta sainte volonté
6 nous arrivions à tes biens éternels,
7 par les prières de la sainte Théotokos
8 et de tous tes saints.
(Doxologie:)
9 (Car tu es notre Dieu et Sauveur
10 et pour toujours est le règne:
11 du Père et du Fils (et du saint Esprit,
12 maintenant et toujours.)

12 ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι·
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
13 Εἴη τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας σου εὐλογημέ⟨νον⟩ (6) καὶ δεδο.
(COI EBE add ξασμένον
14 τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ (7) τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,
15 νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.)

(6) desinit BAR
(7) desinit EBE.

[H5:2]: BES 125 (STA 286, GOA 733) [COI 40, EBE 166, BAR 365]:

1 Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος· Τὰς κεφαλάς (1),
2 ἐπεύχεται (2) ὁ πατριάρχης (3).

1 Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων,
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων,
3 κλῖνον τὸ οὖς σου εἰς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν·
4 καὶ τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δώρησαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου,
5 ἵνα κατὰ τὸ θέλημά σου πολιτευόμενοι
6 τύχωμεν τῶν αἰωνίων σου ἀγαθῶν,
7 πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας ⟨ ⟩ (4) Θεοτόκου
8 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.
(Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
9 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν
10 καὶ διαμένει σου ἡ βασιλ⟨εία⟩
11 τοῦ Πατρὸς (5) καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. (COI EBE add καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,
12 νῦν (6) καὶ ἀεί.)

(1) ὑμῶν ad EBE.
(2) πάλιν ad COI: παλ. ἐπεύχ. EBE.
(3) π.: ἱερεὺς ταῦτα BAR.
(4) τῆς ad BES.
(5) desinit BAR.
(6) desinit EBE.

H6): PRIÈRES DU PATRIARCHE POUR LA VENDANGE ROYALE[25] (BES COI EBE BAR POR):

H6:A): Titre et rubrique (BES COI EBE BAR POR):

1 Prière que fait le patriarche
2 lorsque le basileus fait la vendange comme d'habitude
3 le 15 août à Blachernes.
4 Ayant dit le diacre: Prions le Seigneur, et la synaptie,
5 prie (le patriarche):

[H6:1]: 1ère prière pour la vendange royale
(BES COI EBE BAR POR):

1 Dieu notre sauveur,
2 qui t'es complu de ce que
ton Fils unique notre Dieu et Seigneur Jésus-Christ
se donnât l'appelation de vigne,
3 et qui par son moyen nous as fait grâce
du fruit de l'immortalité:
4 toi-même bénis aussi ce fruit de la vigne
5 et à nous qui de lui participons rends-nous dignes
6 de te remercier et de te glorifier sans condamnation
7 à toi le donneur et dispensateur de tous les biens
qui nous servent de nourriture,

[25] Cf. VOGT II, 175-176, mais cette vendange a lieu hors du palais.

H6): BES 125v-126v (STA 287-8, GOA 552-3) COI 112v-113, EBE 188v-189v, BAR 368-370, POR 110.

H6:A): BES 125v (STA 287, GOA 552) [COI 112v, EBE 188v, BAR 368, POR 110]:

1 Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου
2 ὅτε πρὸς συνήθη ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρυγὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς (1)
3 τῇ ΙΕ′ αὐγούστου (2) ἐν Βλαχέρναις (3).
4 Τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, καὶ (4) συναπτήν,
5 εὔχεται (5).

(1) καὶ add COI EBE.
(2) μηνὸς add COI EBE.
(3) τῇ ΙΕ′... Βλαχέρναις om BAR.
(4) Τ.Κ.δ.κ. omm COI EBE.
(5) ε.: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται COI EBE,
Τοῦ... εὔχεται: Ποιοῦντος διακόνου εὐχὴν, ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς ταῦτα· BAR.
Εὐχὴ... εὔχεται: Εὐχὴ ὅτε τελεῖ τὴν τρυγὴν ὁ ‹σασιν› POR.

[H6:1]: BES 125v (STA 287, GOA 552) [COI 112v, EBE 188v, BAR 368, POR 110]:

1 Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν (1),
2 ὁ εὐδοκήσας ἄμπελον κληθῆναι τὸν μονογενῆ (2) σου (3) Υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν (4) τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν (5) Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
3 καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καρπὸν ἀθανα- /126 / σίας ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος·
4 αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν καρπὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου (6) εὐλόγησον
5 καὶ ἡμᾶς τούτου μεταλαμβάνοντας ἀξίωσον
6 ἀκαταγνώστως εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν σὲ
7 τὸν δοτῆρα καί χορηγὸν πάντων τῶν πρὸς διατροφὴν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν σου (7)

(1) ἡ. om POR.
(2) μονογενὴν BAR. POR.
(3) σ. om POR.
(4) ἡμῶν add BAR POR.
(5) ἡ. om POR.
(6) τὸν κ. τῆς α.: τῆς α. τοῦ κ. BAR.
(7) καὶ ἡμᾶς... ἀγαθῶν σου om BAR.
καὶ τοῦτον τ.κ.... ἀγαθῶν σου om POR.

8 et à tes fidèles serviteurs nos rois
fais-les participants de la vraie vigne,
9 conserve leur vie sans offense,
10 les ornant de tes dons éternels qu'on ne peut pas enlever,
11 leur faisant grâce toujours de ta paix,
12 par les prières de la sainte Théotokos
13 et de tous tes saints
qui depuis toujours t'ont donné satisfaction.
(Doxologie:)
14 Par la bonté et la philantropie de ton Fils unique
15 avec lequel tu es béni
16 (avec ton tout saint et bon et vivifiant Esprit,
17 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles.)

[H6:2]: 2ème prière pour la vendange royale (BES COI EBE BAR):

1 Le célébrant: Paix à tous,
2 le diacre: (Inclinez vos) têtes.

1 Seigneur des puissances,
2 roi de la gloire,

8 καὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς πιστοὺς βαβιλεῖς ἡμῶν (8)
9 ἀνεπηρέαστον (9) αὐτῶν (10) τὴν ζωὴν διαφύλαξον,
10 ταῖς αἰωνίοις σου καὶ ἀναφαιρέτοις δωρεαῖς
‹αὐτοὺς› (11) κατακοσμῶν (12)
11 καὶ (13) εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς διαπαντὸς χαριζόμενος (14),
12 πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου
13 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων.
(COI ad Ἐκφώ⟨νως⟩: Ἐκφώνησις POR)
14 Ἀγαθότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ (15) τοῦ μονογενοῦς (16) σου Υἱοῦ
15 μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς (17) εἶ.
16 (COI EBE add σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ (18) ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι,
17 νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.)

(8) π.β.ἡ.: πιστοτάτους ἡ.β. BAR POR.
(9) ἀνεπερεαστον BAR POR.
(10) α. om POR.
(11) αὐτοῖς BES.
(12) κ.: κοσμῶν EBE.
(13) ταῖς αἰωνίοις... καὶ omm BAR POR.
(14) BAR POR add καὶ ταῖς αἰωνίοις σου καὶ ἀναφαιρέτοις δωρεαῖς τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν κατακόσμησον BAR.
(15) Ἀ.κ.φ.: Εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθότητι BAR.
(16) desinit POR.
(17) desinit BAR.
(18) desinit EBE.

[H6:2): BES 126 (STA 288, GOA 552) [COI 113, EBE 189, BAR 369 (POR caret)]:

1 Ὁ ἱερεὺς (1)· Εἰρήνη πᾶσι,
2 ὁ διάκονος (2)· Τὰς κεφαλάς. (3)

1 Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων,
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς (4) τῆς δόξης·

(1) Ὁ ἱ.: Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς COI: om EBE.
(2) Ὁ δ. om EBE,
Ὁ ἱ... διάκονος: Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος BAR.
(3) ὑμῶν ad EBE: ἡμῶν BAR,
ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται ad COI: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ad EBE: ἐπευχεται πάλιν ‹αὐτὸς› ταῦτα BAR.
(4) ὁ.β.: βασιλεῦ BAR.

3 ceux à qui tu as confié le règne terrestre
4 garde-les en toute piété et paix,
5 conduis-les vers le port de ta volonté,
6 fais-leur don de la juissance des biens célestes,
7 et à nous qui invoquons ton tout saint nom
8 rends-nous dignes de la participation du fruit de la vigne devenu mûr par ton action
9 ainsi que de tes biens universels et inéffables.
(Doxologie:)
10 Car tu es le roi de la paix et le sauveur de nos âmes
11 (et à toi nous rendons gloire:
12 au Père et au Fils.)

3 τοὺς τὴν ἐπιγείον (5) βασιλείαν ὑπὸ σοῦ πιστευθέντας (6)
4 ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ διατήρησον,
5 ὁδήγησον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ λιμένα θελήματός σου (7),
6 δώρησαι αυτοῖς τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν,
7 καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομά σου
8 ἐν τῇ μεταλήψει τοῦ ὑπὸ σοῦ τελεσφορηθέντος τῆς ἀμπέλου καρποῦ
9 μετὰ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων σου ἀγαθῶν καταξίωσον (8).
('Εκφώ⟨νως⟩ ad COI)
10 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ (9) σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.
11 (COI EBE add καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν (10) ἀναπέμπομεν
12 τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ.)

(5) ἐ.: ἐπὶ γῆς BAR.
(6) π.: πιστευθησαν BAR.
(7) BAR ad καὶ.
(8) καὶ ἡμᾶς ... καταξίωσον om BAR.
(9) desinit BAR.
(10) desinit EBE.

APPENDICE

Témoignage de Syméon de Thessalonique († 1430)([26])

ONCTION (ΧΡΙΣΙΣ) ET PROCLAMATION (ΑΝΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΙΣ)([27]) DU BASILEUS.

Schéma de la cérémonie:

CH. 143: *Quand et comment reçoit la communion le basileus à l'intérieur du sanctuaire.*

Il ne le fait que le jour de son couronnement; il communie de la main du patriarche comme les diacres, mais après eux; il prend le pain sur la main et boit directement d'un calice spécial à lui destiné; cet honneur est dû à l'onction reçue, car il prend le «locum dominatoris»([28]) de l'Eglise; en plus il est appelé δεφένσωρ (defensor) de la même Eglise et χριστός (unctus) du Seigneur; il est ainsi considéré comme faisant partie du clergé (τῷ κλήρῳ συνηριθμήθη).

CH. 144: *Comment est proclamé le basileus.*

Il l'est par le roi (régnant) dans le cas de succession; puis en présence du peuple il est soulevé sur un bouclier militaire soutenu par des dignitaires; étant là il est salué et acclamé par l'armée et par le peuple et il reçoit l'offrande des dons; après il est conduit à l'église, comme serviteur de Dieu qu'il est, puisque le Christ est le roi

([26]) *De sacro templo*, ch. 142-151, PG 155, 351-356 (cf. APA 151-153). N.B.: Si bien la traduction latine de MIGNE que la neo-héllenique de APA laissent beaucoup à désirer.

([27]) La terminologie de Syméon est nouvelle par rapport à l'Euchologe.

([28]) MIGNE 352 lit δεσποτάτου τόπον, APA 151: δεσπότου; très probablement il faut lire δεποτάτου (locus deputati) — ordre ecclésiastique inférieur, équivalent à celui du céroféraire —, cf. BES 46v (GOA 198): Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ κηροφόρου καὶ δεποτάτου; selon GOA 225, n. 52 et ZER 691, le δεποτάτος (δεπουτάτος d'après ZER) est une espèce de suisse chargé de faire chemin au patriarche au milieu de la foule. Cf. J. DARROUZES, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'Eglise byzantine*, Paris 1971, 215 et appendice, passim; VERPEAUX 264; VOGT I, 12-13.

éternel de ceux qui règnent, l'élu entre dans le temple du Christ comme dans son règne pour recevoir ce qui est propre du règne.

CH. 145: *Comment le basileus est couronné par l'Eglise.*

Il est d'abord reçu par l'évêque qui a l'autorité et le pouvoir de sanctifier puisque possédant l'Esprit divin; le candidat doit d'abord confesser la doctrine orthodoxe et professer sa docilité et sa disponibilité à pratiquer la justice; et ceci se fait de parole et par écrit.

CH. 146: *Pourquoi le basileus reçoit l'onction avec le myron et devient roi par la récitation des prières.*

La proclamation, l'onction avec le myron et les prières ont lieu sur l'ambon au milieu du peuple qui va être gouverné. L'onction se fait après la première en versant l'huile sur la tête en forme de croix car c'est le Christ qui oint le basileus, le rendant invincible par sa croix, lui donnant son pouvoir et faisant de lui la tête de tous; et c'est pour cela qu'on ne oint que la tête en prononçant le mot Ἅγιος, car le roi est sanctifié par le Saint et consacré par le Christ pour être roi des sanctifiés. Ensuite on ceint la tête de celui qui sera à la tête de tous, mais aussitôt il incline cette tête couronnée en signe de soumission au Seigneur et l'on dit la seconde prière.

CH. 147: *Pourquoi le nouveau basileus est conduit à l'onction par les rois ses parents ou par les chefs de l'armée.*

Pour éviter la tyrannie et respecter la légalité.

CH. 148: *Auparavant on disait aussi des prières pour les dignitaires.*

Après élection et proposition royale, ils étaient conduits à l'église et l'on mettait un antimension sur une table devant les saintes portes (du sanctuaire) et le patriarche disait les prières et leur donnait la bénédiction

Mais le basileus, après avoir été oint et béni et avoir reçu la couronne sur la tête et la croix (dans la main) reçoit aussi l'*akakia*, — c.-à-d., de la poussière dans un linge(29) —, pour signifier l'humi-

(29) Selon Du Cange il s'agit d'un paquet d'étoffe rouge ou de feuille de papier, liée avec un mandylion, contenant de la terre ou du sable; Migne 356 traduit ἀκακία par candeur ou innocence; même inteprétation dans une paraphrase compliquée dans APA 153. Cf. dans Brehier 58, les cas où le basileus dans sa droite portait le globe avec la croix. D'après le chap. 46 (37)

lité et la corruptibilité du pouvoir. Le basileus se retire après avoir été acclamé.

CH. 149: *Pourquoi revêt le basileus le saint mandyas*(30) *audessus de ses vêtements royaux et pourquoi reçoit-il un bâton mou.*

Comme signe de sa fonction (liturgique) de δεποτάτος(31) et de sa piété le premier, de la douceur nécessaire dans le gouvernement le second.

CH. 150: *Pourquoi accompagne le basileus les saints (dons).*

Il précède les saints dons (dans la procession de l'offertoire) pour montrer la bonne guide et la pacification de l'Eglise et l'action contre ceux qui créent confusion; en ayant la tête découverte il manifeste sa disponibilité de service et son obéissance filiale envers l'Eglise; il arrive à l'entrée du sanctuaire et se place à côté des célébrants qui prient pourqu'il obtienne le règne du Christ, dont peu après (lors de la communion) il va recevoir le gage.

CH. 151: *Le basileus reçoit la communion dans le sanctuaire.*

Il pénètre dans le ciel (symbolisé par le sanctuaire) et devient participant du règne du Christ; il devient définitivement roi par la communion, puisque selon le divin Denis tout est perfectionné par elle.

ESSAI DE COMMENTAIRE

I. Les Rois

A. Le couronnement.

Première prière [*H1:1*]. Elle débute par le paragraphe n. 2: «Roi de ceux qui règnent et Seigneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie»

du Livre des Cérémonies (Vogt I, 175) dans les fêtes, le basileus porte dans sa main gauche le scèptre et dans la droite la ἀνεξικακία.

(30) Le μανδύας est la chape des moines, qui sous une forme plus ornée est portée aussi par les évêques. Cf. Verpeaux 264.

(31) Migne 356 et APA 256 lisent de nouveau δεσποτάτον (dominatorem).

(traduction de Crampon); ce double titre est attribué au Père dans 1 Tim 6: 15; semblable et plus classique est celui de «Roi des rois et Seigneur des seigneurs» que l'Apocalypse (19:16) attribue spécifiquement au Verbe de Dieu, vainqueur des nations à la fin des temps, tandis que le même Apocalypse (1:5) appellait Jésus Christ «Prince (ἄρχων) des rois de la terre». Des titres semblables se trouvaient déjà dans l'Ancien Testament: «Dieu des dieux et Seigneur des seigneurs» (Deut 10:17), «Dieu des dieux et Seigneur des rois» (Dan 2:47) et «Roi des rois» (2 Mac 13:4;3 Mac 5:35).

Le titre du n. 2, qui reviendra dans les prières [H2] et [H4:1], relativise l'importance du celui qui était le suprême magistrat de l'empire.

Le nn. 3, 4 introduisent le motif historique de la prière: l'élection et l'onction du roi David, comme typologie de la présente élection; dans les deux cas le roi est un subalterne du vrai roi et seigneur qui est Dieu. En évoquant l'onction réelle de David on sollicite pour le basileus une onction spirituelle et mystique, comme l'a été aussi l'onction des apôtres d'après la prière de consécration du saint myron [B8:1] (nn. 15, 16), où, en parlant de l'huile d'allégresse avec laquelle furent oints les prêtres, les prophètes et les rois, on affirme qu'avec elle Dieu oignit aussi les apôtres(32); rien de bien étrange puisque le Christ lui-même n'a reçu lors de son baptême qu'une pareille onction mystique. Au n. 16 on demandera aussi une armure spirituelle pour le basileus.

Toutes les demandes comprises entre les nn. 11 et 25 se réfèrent aux qualités d'un bon chef d'un peuple chrétien, qui se doit de veiller à la pureté des dogmes (ce qui n'était pas en trop si l'on pense à tous les hétérodoxes qui avaient occupé le trône et qui avaient été un danger réel pour l'Eglise); on cherchera en vain cependant dans nos textes l'idée d'une quelconque royauté messianique propre à celui de qui plus tard les commentateurs voudront fair la tête de l'univers chrétien. Pour finir, au n. 26, on suggère que le basileus se contente de devenir un héritier du royaume des cieux, comme tout autre chrétien.

(32) Cette onction mystique n'a pas été comprise par les éditeurs vénitiens de l'Euchologe, ou peut-être déjà par les copistes des mss qui ont servi pour l'édition; ceci a provoqué la suppression de la phrase d'abord et tout récemment celle de la prière tout entière; cf. OCP 1989: 326-7.

Seconde prière [*H1:2*]. Elle n'ajoute rien de bien nouveau à [H1:1]. Les nn. 9-13 sont une citation de 1 Tim 2:2, qui se rapporte aux rois en général et à toute personne exerçant le pouvoir; la citation revient dans [H5:1].

B. Autres prières du patriarche pour le basileus.

Première série:

Première prière [*H4:1*]. Elle débute avec le texte de 1 Tim 6:15 comme la première prière du couronnement [H:1]: «Roi de ceux qui règnent et Seigneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie». On prie pour les rois au pluriel, car il ne faut pas oublier que dans l'histoire de Byzance le trône a été le plus souvent partagé entre plusieurs associés; la formule en tout cas comprenait toute la famille royale, ce qui en cas non hypothétique de rivalité à l'intérieur de celle-ci permettait à l'Eglise de ne pas montrer acception de personnes.

La prière reste dans un ton général de faveur divine envers le basileus et les siens, mais on prie aussi pour ceux de qui dépend la stabilité du royaume: les dignitaires et les militaires, et précisément pour l'honnêteté des archontes et pour les succès de l'armée; mais le peuple, si inquiet, de Constantinople n'est pas oublié non plus; aucun basileus pouvait ignorer le sort de ses prédécesseurs: plus que de mort naturelle ou sur le champs de bataille on perdait à Byzance le trône et la vie par les intrigues de palais et les émeutes populaires.

Seconde prière [*H4:2*]. Dans cette prière de *kephaloklisia*, au n. 5 l'on demande la paix pour tous les présents, parmi lesquels se trouve naturellement le basileus.

Au n. 6 l'on suppose que le roi, ici au singulier, ait lui aussi une initiative de prière, et l'on intercède pour que ses demandes «de salut» — du corps et de l'âme — soient exaucées.

Au n. 7 le basileus apparaît sous une lumière nouvelle, comme une image de Dieu et de sa bienveillance envers les hommes; c'est une conséquence du fait qu'il est un peu à la place de Dieu en possédant un règne qui lui a été confié par Dieu (n. 2).

Seconde série:

Première prière [*H5:1*]. Prière très semblable à [H4:1] car elle parle des régnants au pluriel et parce que pratiquement on demande les mêmes choses; cette fois-ci on ne parle plus des colonnes du trône, — les dignitaires et les militaires — mais bien (n. 5) des ennemis

étrangers de toute race qui endémiquement ménaçaient si bien l'empire que la ville elle-même. Une dernière pensée (nn. 8-9) est pour la hiérarchie et pour l'Eglise toute entière, si exposées aux caprices et rétorsions du pouvoir civil.

Seconde prière [*H5:2*]. Il s'agit d'un texte très simple de demande de paix — sujet commun aux prières de *kephaloklisia* — pour les régnants, au pluriel, et pour le peuple (n. 4). Une allusion peu fréquente dans les prières de l'Euchologe: aux nn. 8-9 on introduit l'intercession de Marie, nommée avec extrême concision, et celle de tous les saints.

La vendange de la cour.

Première prière [*H6:1*]. Il s'agit d'une prière pour la vigne et son fruit arrivé à maturation; dans les nn. 2, 3 on trouve une inévitable allusion à l'appropriation faite par Jésus de l'image de la vigne et à ses résultats souhaités; aux nn. 4-7, à l'emploi du raisin comme nourriture, mais sans manquer une voilée allusion à la boisson et à son possible abus; suit une application spirituelle probablement fondée sur Ps 103:15. Seulement en guise d'appendice, aux nn. 8-11 on appliquera aux rois ce qui précédemment semblait destiné à tous. Ici aussi on fera recours aux prières de Marie et des saints.

Seconde prière [*H6:2*]. Toute la première partie de la prière (nn. 3-6) est destiné aux rois, sans aucune allusion au raisin; on revient sur ce thème au n. 8, mais alors comme don fait à tous et symbole de tous les bienfaits divins. L'Euchologe (BES 119) possède d'autres prières pour la moisson et pour la vendange; la vendange de Blachernes avait le caractère d'une fête du palais, qui malgré la complication du cérémonial de la cour byzantine, permettait au basileus un retour aux joies de la vie champêtre des rois paysans des temps classiques(33).

II. Les nobles(34)

Prière unique [*H2*]. Cette prière, sans *kephaloklisia* ni rubriques explicatives (elle aurait dû comporter l'imposition d'une couronne,

(33) Cf. Vogt II, 175-176.

(34) Les titres et fonctions de césar et de nobilissime, parfois cumulés dans la même personne, sont d'origine romaine, et ont été attribués au début aux

au moins dans le cas du césar), possède le même début (n. 2) des prières royales [H1:1] et [H4:1]: «Roi de ceux qui règnent et Sei-

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fils naturels ou adoptifs des empereurs, avec différentes modalités et nuances, comme à des successeurs nés des mêmes; ces titres passeront à la nouvelle Rome avec le même sens et avec la même imprécision (cf. BREHIER 42-45), au moins pour ce qui est de la période dite ancienne (du V au VII siècle; cf. BREHIER 93 ss.); le curopalate a pris son importance comme chef de la garde palatine et responsable de la sécurité du basileus sous le règne de Justinien (BREHIER 98). A un second moment, dans ce que BREHIER (118) appelle la «nouvelle hiérarchie» (VII-XI siècle) et dont le témoin est Philothée l'architricline (IX s.) (cf. *Cletorologion*, éd. BURY, Londres 1911), ces titres sont de simples dignités palatines honoraires ou «par brevet» (ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείων: conférées par donation de diplome et d'insignes) au sommet d'une liste de 18 autres titres qui n'ont pas une fonction précise; c'est une espèce de noblesse viagère mais non héréditaire (cf. BREHIER 122-125), par opposition aux dignités «par édit» (ἀξίαι διὰ λόγου) qui comprenaient les 60 classes de charges ou fonctions des chefs de service du palais et de l'empire (cf. BREHIER 125-128); charges qui n'étaient pas à vie. Il faut encore remarquer qu'en général les fonctionnaires étaient tous titulaires d'une dignité «par brévet». Il est possible que l'Euchologe reflète cet état de choses, en considérant dans le rite du césar, nobilissime et curopalate les dignités honoraires, tandis que celui des archontes aurait été destiné aux dignités avec charge ou fonction; le titre de patrice (qui était une dignité par brevet) serait alors un cas anomale; il figurerait dans le rite des fonctionnaires, pour justifier que ceux-ci en principe devaient être aussi porteurs d'un titre honoraire: on aurait donné une fonction en incorporant d'emblée l'intéressé dans la classe honoraire des patrices. Nous sommes d'avis cependant que le texte des prières employées dans chacun des deux rites est bien antérieur à l'état de choses décrit par le *Clétorologe* de Philothée. D'après le *Livre des Cérémonies* (VOGT II, 26-28), les césars sont crées par le basileus dans le tribunal, avec participation du patriarche qui dit une première prière — dont le *Livre des Cérémonies* donne seulement un incipit qui ne concorde pas avec [H2] — et prend de l'antimension le χλανίδιον (traduit par «chlamyde») et l'agrafe et les remet aux vestitores pour que le basileus les impose. Suit un prière de *kephaloklisia* sans indication de texte, après laquelle on met sur la tête du césar les «kaisarikia» ou περικεφαλαία (espèce de bandeaux). Le Pseudo-Codinus (VERPEAUX 276) ne parle pas de cérémonie liturgique mais seulement de l'imposition de la couronne au palais par main du basileus. L'imposition de la «chlamyde» et de l'agrafe au nobilissime est semblable à celle du césar, mais il n'y a pas de seconde prière ni d'imposition de bandeaux pour le tête, cf. VOGT II, 33-36. D'après le *Livre des Cérémonies* (VOGT II, 37-39), le curopalate est crée au palais sans participation du patriarche; un préposé lui fait enlever son χλανίδιον et revêtir le διβητήσιον remis auparavant par le basileus, qui fixe de sa propre main l'agrafe; sortant du palais le curopalate se rend dans plusieurs églises en suivant un itinéraire précis; finalement il se présente au patriarche qui fait une prière pour lui et lui donne la communion.

gneur de ceux qui exercent la seigneurie»; les nn. 3-10 proposent une théorie du pouvoir terrestre articulé entre le roi et ses subalternes et collaborateurs, qui serait une projection de l'ordre qui gouverne les cieux; pour le dignitaire désigné([35]) (qu'on suppose soumis au roi sans l'expliciter) on sollicite des grâces importantes comme pour quelqu'un qui est revêtu d'une grande dignité (n. 13) et qui a une autorité comportant responsabilité (n. 16) et décision sur les autres (n. 19).

Il n'est pas à exclure à priori que les rubriques aient été omises car elles étaient semblables à celles du roi H1) ou à celle des archontes H3), mais ce n'est pas dans les habitudes de l'Euchologe, qui était une espèce de mémento et qui n'a pas peur de se répéter (comme par ex. dans les ordinations), de supposer de choses non dites, spécialement si elles avaient une certaine importance. Serait cette prière à compléter avec les rubriques royales, il resterait encore le problème de la prière de *kephaloklisia* manquant; la prière des rois [H1:2] ne pouvait pas convenir aux subordonnés; il aurait été plus aisé de se servir de la *kephaloklisia* des archontes [H3:2]. Dans ce cas resterait le problème de l'imposition de la couronne non prévue dans le cas des archontes.

III. Les chefs([36])

Première prière [*H3:1*]. Cette prière fait allusion à l'autorité des patrices (n. 3) après s'être référée à l'autorité divine (n. 2) sans nommer celle du roi, comme si l'archonte avait eu un pouvoir propre et non délégué; cela avait bien été le cas des patrices par naissance de l'ancienne Rome, mais non celui des patrices de Constantinople. Le n. 4, comme le n. 6 de [H4:2], prévoit que l'archonte prie pour son propre salut comme tout chrétien, mais aussi peut-être pour sa propre vie. Le n. 5 mentionne une des principales fonctions de l'archonte: celle de juge; déjà dans la prière [H4:1] on avait fait allusion à l'incorruptibilité des archontes comme garantie de la stabilité du royaume; dans le n. 7 on le voit dans une fonction proche à celle de l'ancien diaconat de l'Eglise ou de notre assistance sociale. Dans le

([35]) On emploie le terme προχείρησις comme pour le basileus.
([36]) Cf. la note antérieure.

n. 8 l'archonte ou patrice est un chef qui doit savoir gouverner et faire vivre le peuple.

On sait que les archontes à Constantinople remplissaient fonctions très diversifiées qui changeaient avec les temps; cette prière qui semble ancienne, brosse l'image d'un chef ayant de grandes responsabilités et jouissant d'une certaine initiative de gouvernement.

Seconde prière [H3:2]. Cette prière de *kephaloklisia* confirme que l'archonte peut et doit prier pour son propre salut et qu'il administre une autorité déleguée, sans trop préciser par qui, quoique dans le contexte général on puisse supposer que c'est le ciel à la lui accorder.

Conclusions sur le couronnement royal et sur l'ideé de l'Église à propos de la royauté dans la Seconde Rome

La date de composition de ces prières doit être antérieure au VIII siècle, quand le ms BAR a été rédigé; on aurait pu suggérer que les rubriques plus longues de BES (pour le couronnement des associés au trône) soient aussi postérieurs, car elle font défaut dans BAR; mais nous ne sommes pas sûrs du bien fondé de tel raisonnement, vu le caractère périférique et éclectique de BAR, et vu aussi que les associations au trône se sont toujours pratiquées, car elles faisaient part de l'héritage romain.

Autre critère de datation pourrait être la présence de certaines dignités, comme celles du césar et du nobilissime, postérieurement déchues, et l'absence de charges crées plus tard, comme celle du *sebastokrator*, qui deviendra plus importante même que celle de césar.

Sur les origines et l'histoire de la cérémonie religieuse du couronnement royal à Byzance, nous pensons que le sommaire de Louis Bréhier([37]) est plus qu'acceptable pour situer le rite décrit par nos manuscrits de l'Euchologe.

Il s'agit d'un rite relativement simple qui correspond assez bien au schéma général de la plus part des rites de la Grande-Eglise, composés essentiellement de deux prières dites par l'évêque (ou en certains cas par le prêtre), la seconde desquelles est une prière de *ke-*

([37]) BREHIER 6 ss.

phaloklisia, comportant ensemble avec l'idée de la bénédiction divine une certaine réponse à la requête présentée dans la première des deux prières.

L'imposition du manteau après la première prière et de la couronne après la seconde rentrent aussi dans le schéma général de l'Euchologe; c'est les cas de chacun des degrés du sacrament de l'ordre, par exemple, où, après les deux prières d'ordination, on impose à l'ordonné les insignes du ministère reçu; ou encore celui du rite matrimonial, avec l'imposition des couronnes nuptiales.

La communion aussi était normale, soit à l'intérieur d'une liturgie complète, comme dans les ordinations et dans le baptême, soit dans une liturgie des présanctifiés pour d'autres cas comme le mariage, l'afrèrement ou fraternité adoptive, le couronnement royal, la promotion à archonte, etc.; ce n'est que plus tard que le couronnement royal sera célébré au cours d'une messe complète.

L'onction avec le saint myron n'est pas témoignée par l'Euchologe, même pas par le plus tardif EBE; si elle a été introduite, comme affirme Ostrogorskij, en 1209 lors du couronnement de Théodore Lascaris à Nicée, après l'onction en 1204 du roi latin Baudouin I de Costantinople, et peut-être un peu par imitation de celui-ci, il est plus que normal qu'elle n'ait pas été acceptée dans la rédaction officielle des livres liturgiques. Qu'elle ait existé ne fait pas de doute, puisque elle est bien témoignée dans l'ouvrage capital, quoique non officiel, de l'archevêque de Thessalonique Syméon; celui-ci donne une interprétation du rite qui certainement était commune à l'époque, mais qui a un arrière-goût de tard empire, qui rêvait de ce qu'il ne possédait presque plus.

A la belle époque, à laquelle appartiennent nos mss, celle qui a précédé l'occupation latine de la Polis, l'inauguration du basileus était une cérémonie simple, car la personne du suprême magistrat, malgré l'immense pouvoir qu'elle détenait, était aussi une figure théologiquement parlant simple, qui restait dans la conception propre à tout le Moyen Age européen, celle du roi serviteur de Dieu parmi les autres serviteurs de Dieu, qui sont les membres du peuple de Dieu, peuple sacerdotal et royal par excellence, composé de personnes consacrées par le baptême et par l'onction de l'Esprit; et c'est la raison aussi pourquoi ni les évêques ni les prêtres byzantins n'ont jamais reçu d'onction lors de leur ordination.

Miguel ARRANZ, S.J.

K. HATTERSLEY-SMITH and V. RUGGIERI S.J.

A Byzantine City near Osmaniye (Dalaman) in Turkey. A Preliminary Report

In the autumn of 1986, we visited the Carian and Lycian coasts with a view to identifying urban sites of the Byzantine period. One of the sites we visited lies about 1 km. to the south of the small village of Osmaniye and to the east of the Baba dağ ridge(1). This site was visited by nineteenth and twentieth century travellers and scholars(2), and Louis Robert, in 1937, studied the available evidence and tried to identify the site, but without ever visiting it(3).

In the first part of this report, we have attempted to set the site in its historical and geographical context with the help of ancient, medieval and modern literary sources, and to try identify the site. In the second part, we have provided for the first time detailed descriptions, plans and measurements of the surviving buildings.

The village of Osmaniye is situated on a paved road which

(1) Our visit to this site took place in late September 1986. We are grateful to Dr. M. Kirinez of the Agricultural Department of Dalaman for providing us with information on the area. The maps have been drawn by Dr. G. Sbaraine.

(2) R. Hoskyns, *Narrative of a survey of part of the south coast of Asia Minor in 1840-41, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 12 (1842), 144-45; L. Duchesne and M. Collignon, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure, BCH*, 1 (1877), 364; *Collignon, Notes d'un voyage en Asie Mineure, Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 (1880), 11-13; F. von Holbach, *Alter Wart- oder Leuchttùrm auf der Papas-Insel, Ath. Mitt.*, 34 (1909), 393-98; P. Roos, *Topographical and other notes on south-eastern Caria, Opuscula Atheniensia*, 9 (1969), 69-70.

(3) L. Robert, *Une ville médiévale de Carie*, in *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris (1937), 503-12, refers to the site of Osmaniye as "les ruines de Baba Dağ Iskelesi". He also quotes, in full, the descriptions of the site by the earlier travellers mentioned above.

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leads off from the main road to Fethiye about 2 km. east of Ortaça and a further 18 km. south down a valley. Parallel to the paved road is a newly dug channel wich presumably follows the same course as the small river of Sarisu, referred to by Collignon(4). The main part of the site is located on a rocky hill overlooking a sandy beach, and is largely hidden from view. Only a few outlying buildings can be seen from the road. The south-western limit of the walled city lies about 200 m. from the sea, while its extra-muros quarters are situated to the north-east on the hill slopes. Beyond these hills, the Dalaman plain stretches out and is crossed by the Dalaman Çay (river). The river flows into the sea about 2 km. south-east of the city site. It gives its name to the coastal plain through which it runs and, as in antiquity, has many tributaries(5). The Dalaman (the ancient Indus) and the Büyük Menderes (the Meander) form the natural boundaries of central Caria.

To the north-west of the Dalaman river lies the lake of Köyceğiz — 9 km. from south to north and 4 km. wide — which is separated from the flood plain by a low range of limestone mountains. Since the plain of Dalaman is agricultural land today with a canalized system of irrigation, the course of the river and its tributaries are unlikely to be as they were in Antiquity(6). Seismic activity may be another factor that altered the topography of the area over the centuries(7). For, although a detailed study of the region around

(4) Collignon, *Notes*, 11-13. See also Robert, *Études*, 508. 'Sarisu' means yellow water.

(5) Pliny, *Naturalis Hist.*, V, 29, mentions 60 perennial streams and more than 100 torrents as tributaries.

(6) For example, the channeled stream (the so-called 'Sarisu, see n. 4) which runs parallel to the road for our site no longer follows a direct course to the sea but deviates from the road as it approaches Osmaniye and goes round tot he north-east of the hills surrounding the site.

(7) N. Pinar, *Les régions sismiques de l'Anatolie orientale*, Publ. Bur. Centr. Seismol. Int., a. 18, Strasbourg (1951); L. Dudley Stamp, *Asia. A Regional and Economic Geography*, London/New York (1952), 77-9; E. Ilhan, *Earthquakes in Turkey*, in *Geology and History of Turkey*, ed. A. S. Campbell, Tripoli (1971), 433ff. The dates of earthquakes proposed by Ilhan often do not correspond to those in V. Grumel, *Chronologie*, Paris (1958), 479; N. C. Fleming, N. M. G. Czartoryska, P. M. Hunter, *Archaeological evidence for eustatic and tectonic components of relative sea level change in the south Aegean, Marine Archaeology*, ed. by D. J. Blackman, London (1973), 22ff.; R. Dalongeville and P. Sanlaville, *Les changements de la*

Osmaniye has not yet been undertaken, we have noticed variations of sea level greater than 50 cm. at the following sites: a) the shore of Sultaniye (Küçük Karağaç, also known as Ilica)(8) to the south-west of Köyceğiz lake; b) Köyceğiz adası, once called Gâvur adası(9); c) Göcek bay, at the northern end of Fethiye gulf; d) Lydae bath, in the southernmost bay of the gulf; e) Domuz adası bath in the same gulf; f) the sea channel between Domuz adası and Tersanı adası; g) Göcek adası in the north-eastern bay of the island; h) Gemile, Karacaören adası and Ölüdeniz, in the gulf south of Fethiye(10). The most dramatic evidence for topographical change at the site near Osmaniye is the advance of the sand dunes, which now block the harbour entrance and cover part of the medieval city's south-eastern quarter(11). Given these geographical changes, the description of this region by ancient geographers and historians may not always tally with what can be seen today.

In ancient times, it is known that this coast was populated with urban settlements. Between Caunus and the Gulf of Macri (the site of ancient Telmessus; modern Festiye) a number of placenames are listed in the ancient sources, some of which survived into the medieval period. The problem under investigation is the identity of the medieval remains we found at the site near Osmaniye. Visible evidence suggests that there had been a Hellenistic period of occupation, though the preponderant evidence for occupation relates to the early/middle Byzantine period(12).

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ligne de rivage en Mediterranée orientale, à l'époque historique. Exemple de la cote levantine, in Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et Archéologie, pub. by Coll. Int. du C.N.R.S., Paris (1980), 19-32.

(8) Roos, *South-eastern Caria*, 66-7.

(9) Ibid.

(10) We hope to discuss some of these places elsewhere. Our thanks are due to Mrs. B. Simavi for her kindness and information about Domuz (volcanic origin) and Tersane islands. A number of important geological changes took place in Köyceğiz lake, the effect of which are clearly visible, see C. Vita Finzi, *Archaeological Sites in their Setting*, London (1978).

(11) For a silted harbour similar to that at the site near Osmaniye, see C. Foss *Ephesus after Antiquity; a late Antique Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge (1979), 185ff.

(12) The remains of Hellenistic walls and buildings were noted by Hoskyns, see Robert *Études*, 507, and by Duchesne and Collignon, see Robert, 507-508. Hoskyns also mentioned a Hellenistic wall which he described as surrounding "le sommet d'une faible colline". This wall may have been

Caunus is our point of reference since it is not only known from ancient sources but can still be seen today(13). It lies roughly half way between Köyceğig lake to the north and the coast. The lake's outlet forms a navigable channel which skirts round to the east of the promontary that shelters the silted up harbour of both ancient and medieval Caunus before reaching the sea. Among the geographers of the first century A.D., Strabo and Mela both locate it near the river Calbis(14). Strabo also refers to the town's sheltered harbour, for which it had been noted by Skylax as early as the third century B.C.(15).

The site near Osmaniye lies on the coast at a distance of about 20 km. south-east of Caunus. As has already been noted, the Dalaman Çay flows into the sea about 2 km. south-east of the site near Osmaniye. This river is generally identified with the Indus river mentioned both by Livy and Pliny(16).

In their attempts to identify the ruins in question with places mentioned in the ancient sources, Hoskyns, who visited the site in 1876, and Collignon and Duchesne, in 1876, suggested Pisilis and Panormus Cauniorum respectively(17). The actual location of these two places is not known. The only information we have about

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part of the square fort observed by Holbach in 1909 "au sommet d'un éperon", see ROBERT, 510. See also ROOS, *South-eastern Caria*, 69 and fig. 13.

(13) For B. OGUN'S excavation reports, see *Anatol. Studies*, from 1968 and *Turk Ark. Derigisi*, from 1970.

(14) STRABO, *Geographia*, XIV, 651: εἶτα Καῦνος, καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον Κάλβις βαδύς; Mela, *De Chorographia*, I, 16, 83: "secundum Calbim amnem Caunus oppidum valetudine habitantium infame".

(15) STRABO, XIV, 651: νεώρια καὶ λιμένα κλειστόν. In the Periplus of Skylax, Caunus appears as λιμὴν κλειστός, see A. BASCHMAKOFF, *La Synthèse des Periples pontiques*, Paris (1948), 74. A. MAIURI (*Escursioni nella Caria, Rovine di Caunos, Annuario Sc. Arch. di Athene*, III (1921), 263ff.) and G. E. BEAN (*Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus, JHS*, 73 (1953), 11, n. 3) interpreted κλειστὸς as 'sheltered' as well as 'closed with a chain'. For a detailed account of the harbour, see COLLIGNON, *Emplacement et ruines de la ville de Kaunos, BCH*, 1 (1877), 340-42.

(16) LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XXXVIII, 14, 2-3; PLINY, *Naturalis Historia*, V, XXIX.

(17) HOSKYNS, *Survey of the south coast of Asia Minor*, 145; DUCHESNE and COLLIGNON, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, 364; COLLIGNON, *Notes d'un voyage*, 157.

Pisilis is that in Strabo: Κάλησδα πολις. εἶτα Καῦνος καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον Κάλβις βαδύς, ἔχων εἰσαγωγήν, καὶ μεταξὺ πίσιλις[18]. We have taken this to mean that Pisilis lay somewhere between Calynda and Caunus, and if so can not be identified with the site near Osmaniye, since this lies to the east of Caunus. Panormus, on the other hand, is situated in the *Stadiasmus*[19] on the coast between the Ancon (Kurtoglu Br.) of the Glaucus gulf and Caunus. In other words, Panormus Cauniorum lay to the east of Caunus and therefore on the same stretch of coast as the site near Osmaniye.

The early charts and Italian portulans of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries[20] do not mention either Panormus or Pisilis, but they do provide us with the names of other harbours and places along this stretch of coast: Physcus, La Rosa, Prepia[21], Laguia[22], Penadale, Copis and Macre.

Of these, Laguia might be associated in all probability with the Hagia mentioned in Constantine's *De Thematibus*[23] and in the *Notitiae*[24]. In the *De Thematibus*, Hagia is listed after the inland cities of Stratonicea, Mogola (ancient Mobolla; modern Muğla) and Pisye, and therefore appears to have been located somewhere near the modern town of Köyceğiz; while in the *Notitiae*, Hagia has received the title of bishop of Caunus. If the Italian name of Laguia is the same as that of the tenth century Byzantine Hagia, then it is

(18) STRABO, XIV, 651.

(19) *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. MÜLLER, Paris (1855), I, 494-95.

(20) K. KRESCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin (1909); G. MARCEL, *Choix de Cartes et de mappemondes du XIVe et du XVe siècle*, Paris (1896); V. SPHYROEAS, A. AVRAMEA, S. ASDRACHAS, *Maps and Map-makers of the Aegean*, Athens (1985).

(21) The name appears in a variety of spellings: Prepia, Prepie, Propia, Propria, Prepla, see KRETSCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane.*

(22) Ibid, for the different spellings: Laguia, Aguia, Guia.

(23) *De Thematibus*, ed. A. PERTUSI, *Studi e Testi*, 160, Città del Vaticano (1962), 79. According to the information in Constantine, ROBERT, *Etudes*, 510, n. 3, suggests that Ἁγία should be located towards the northern end of Köyceğiz lake.

(24) J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris (1981): *Not.* VII, 333 ("l'évêche Ἁγίας a deux évêques en 879: Ménas et Georges", 279); IX, 215; X, 263; XII, 267. Usually Caunus is listed in sixth place among the Lycian bishoprics. For the appearance of ἤτοι, see V. RUGGIERI and F. NETHERCOTT, *The metropolitan city of Syllion and its churches*, *JÖB*, 36 (1986), 134ff.

in conflict with the information contained in the Portulans, since in order to be included in their list Laguia must be assumed to have been situated on the coast. On the other hand, it is possible to assume that the site near Osmaniye was a different settlement known also as Hagia (Laguia).

The problem, however, remains as to which of the places mentioned in the Portulans refers to the site in question. The two most informative excerpts from the Portulans are those of Sanudo([25]) and Rizzo([26]). Sanudo describes the coast from south-east to north-west: "From Copis to Guia is a distance of 20 miles; it has a good, well-defended harbour, abundant water as much as in the island and plain adjacent to the coast. From Guia to Prepia is a distance of 10 miles; it has a good harbour during summer, and on the landside is well protected. Then one can enter the river, since it is seven feet deep. In this way, the ships can put in (to be loaded) with wood for transport to Egypt". Rizzo's description, on the other hand, runs in the opposite direction: "And [the distance] from the gulf of Physcus to the mouth [of the nearby river] of Propia is 15 miles north-east. Almost half way along this route there is the harbour of Marchano, and above Propia, five miles east/south-east there is a mountain called Vermeglia. Between Marchano and Propia there is a small island called Fata. From Propia to the cape Pendale is a distance of 20 miles east/south-east". Although Prepia is the only place mentioned in both Portulans, by combining their evidence concerning the distance between places we might arrive at a possible suggestion as to the identification of the site near Osmaniye([27]). Moving from

([25]) Marino Sanudo, text in KRETSCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane*, 246: "De Copi usque Guiam milliaria sunt viginta; bonum habet portum, ex parte terrae securum, aquamque affluentur, tam in Insula, quam etiam astaria. A Guia usque Prepiam milliaria sunt decem; habet aestivo tempore bonum portum, dum ex parte terrae securitas habeatur. Deinde intratur flumen: quod septem pedum altidunis habet aquam. Hocque modo detantur navigia, quae deferunt lignamina in Aegyptum".

([26]) For Rizzo's text, see KRETSCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane*, 524: "E dal fischo ala foxe de propia per grego milia 15. E in quella via si e lo porto de marchano quasi in lamita dela via e soura propria milia 5 entro levante e siroco si e una montagna che a nome vermeglia. Entro merchano e propia si e una ixoleta che a nome fata. Da propria al chauo di pendali entro leuante e siroco e sonovi de chamin milia 20".

([27]) It is assumed that the distances referred to by Rizzo and Sanudo are in nautical miles i.e. 1 nautical = 1,852 m.

west to east we have from Physcus (modern Marmaris) to the estuary of Prepia 15 miles (c. 28 km.), from Prepia to Laguia 10 miles (c. 18.5 km.), from Laguia to Pendale 10 miles, from pendale to Copis 10 miles. The given distances permit us to identify the site near modern Osmaniye tentatively with Laguia. There is, however, a difficulty. As has been noted by Robert some of the other fourteenth and fifteenth century charts place Laguia to the west of Prepia(28). It was on the basis of this information that he opted to identify the site in question with Prepia rather than Laguia. On the other hand, Sanudo mentions an island opposite laguia which could be identified with Baba Adası that lies opposite the site near Osmaniye(29). In the Portulans, Prepia is not described as having an island. If this is so, this seems to exclude the possibility of Prepia being the site in question.

In conclusion, therefore, we would suggest that the site visited near Osmaniye can tentatively be identified with Laguia mentioned in the Portulans. But for a positive identification and whether its ancient name was Panormus Cauniorum, or a different one, we must await further investigation.

The area we surveyed comprises the main city-site on the rocky hill; the harbour to the north; the long wall and niched basilica to

(28) ROBERT, *Etudes*, 511-12 and n. 3. Another medieval chart is the Paraplus von Armenien, ed. G. M. THOMAS, *Der Periplus des Pontus Euxinus*, in *Abh. der philos.-philol. Classe der K. Bay. Ak. der Wiss.*, X, Bol. 1, Munich (1866), 286: "G. di macri — mentireme — prepia — laguia — larosa". Also of interest are the seventeenth and eighteenth century maps of the area consulted by SHYROERAS, AVRAMEA, and ASDRACHAS in *Maps and Map-makers*. As with the early portulans, the information contained in these later maps is difficult to interprete. For example: G. DELISLE (1683-1761), 142-43 locates Prepia near Prepia river with Guia to the east; F. GROGNARD (1745*, 177 mentions 'Baba ou Prepia'; J. B. B. d'ANVILLE (1756), 186-87 locates Prepia inland next to a river with Laroso (island) to the south-east followed by Ecueil de baba (situated opposite 'cinq eglises' on the mainland); L.S. de la ROCHETTE (1791), 198-99 places Prepia on a river at some distance from Baba to the south-east; R. FERRAIOS (1797), 202-03 identifies the following places along the coast: Πρεπια Καϊγγέ, Περ. του Μπαμπα, a gulf of Καῦνος Πεντεκκλησιᾶς, a promontary Πεντουλε Ἀκ., a gulf of Δαίδαλα. Καῦνος Πεντεκκλησιᾶς and the 'cinq églises' opposite Baba adası would appear to refer to the same place ie. the site near Osmaniye.

(29) The remains on this island are few and unrecognisable (mausoleum or lighthouse), see ROOS, *South-eastern Caria*, 70.

the west of the harbour; the extra-muros quarter to the east of the harbour; and finally the fortress to the north-west.

General description of the main site (figs. 1 and 2).

The main part of the Byzantine city is situated on the rocky hill that lies between the sandy beach and the valley. Immediately to the north of this hill, the ground slopes down into a marshy depression, which we have identified as the site of the town's harbour and which F. von Holbach in 1909 described as a "large pond"(30). Today, the hill is largely covered in pine and laurel trees which grow in among the mass of standing and collapsed walls. These building ruins cover an area roughly 180 x 120 m. A massive wall (1.80-3 m. thick) defines the northern, western and southern perimetre of the town; while to the east and south-east the wind blown sand dunes have encroached upon the buildings. Here, a few bits of wall are still visible in the sand. The complete or partial outline of four square bastions can be seen at a distance of 30-40 m. from each other along the ramparts' northern side.

The extant architectural remains are preserved to varying degrees; in some places the walls stand to a height of c. 10-11 m., whereas elsewhere they survive as indistinguishable mounds on the ground. What follows is a description of those "quarters" of the town which we were able to draw in plan. We shall begin with the quarter on the eastern side of the site stretching from north to south (area 1). To the west of this area is another group of buildings also bounded by the northern city wall (area 2). The third quarter of buildings which we shall describe is located along the site's western to south-western side (area 3).

A striking feature of all these areas is the parallel and perpendicular arrangement of streets which suggests that the city was constructed according to some general plan.

Area 1

The extant remains in this part of the site cover an area roughly 72 m. from north to south and 27 m. from east to west. They are

(30) Robert, *Études*, 509; Roos, *South-eastern Caria*, 68.

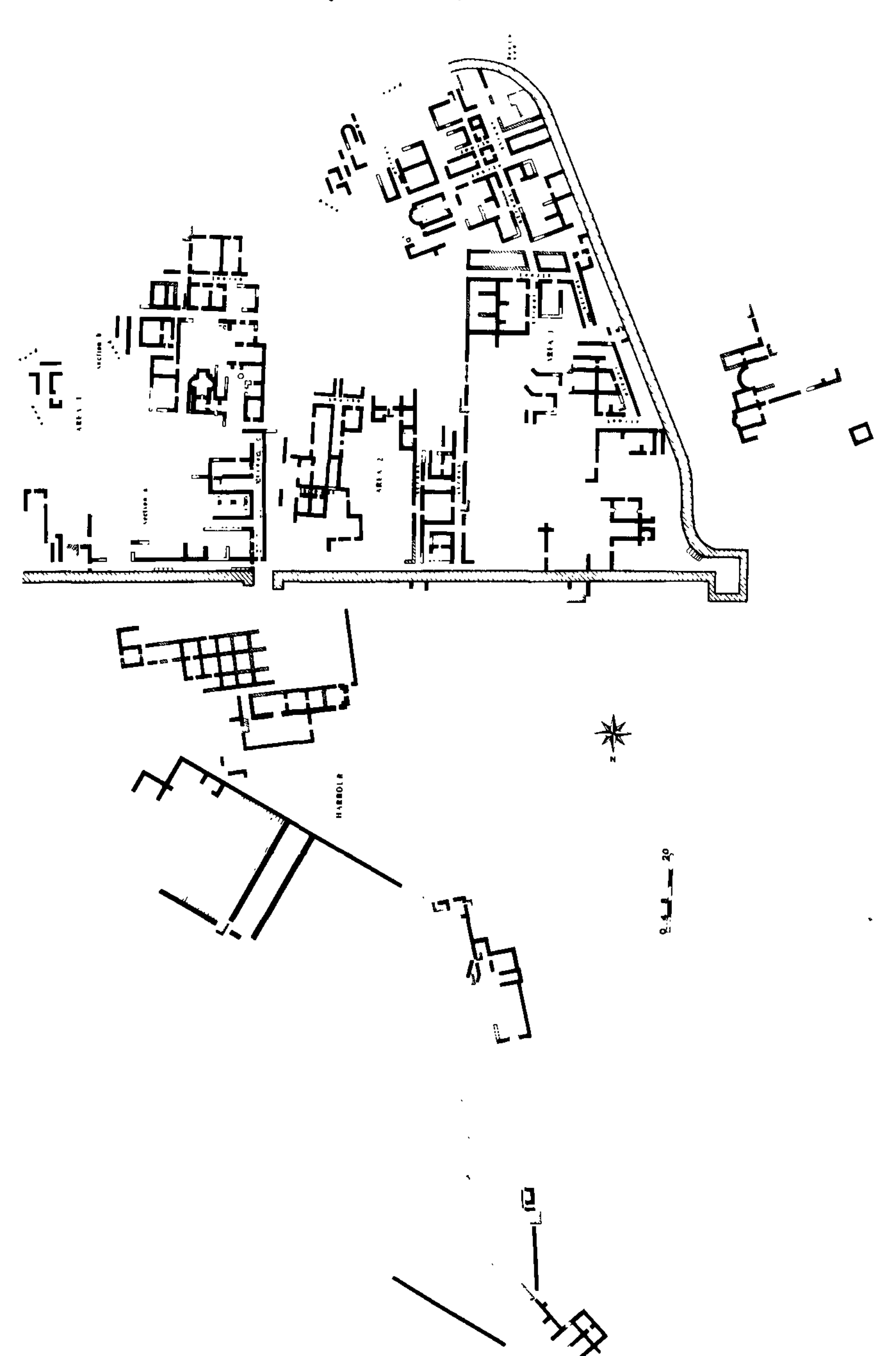


Fig. 1 - Main city-site, harbour and large niched hall.



Fig. 2 - Main city-site.

bounded to the north by the city wall which stands to a height of c. 2.50 m. Traces of steps ascending the wall were found in two places, approx. 16 m. apart. Unfortunately, the eastern and southern limits of this area have been obscured by sand dunes. Nevertheless, from the surviving monuments it would seem that this had originally been a prosperous area of the city.

For ease of description, we have divided area 1 into two sections: section 'a' lies at the northern end and comprises the buildings in the vicinity of the large underground cistern; section 'b' lies to the south and includes a small double apsed structure together with surrounding buildings.

Section 'a'

Along the northern side of section 'a', a high wall (hereafter wall A) runs in an east-west direction parallel to the city wall. A passageway c. 2.40 m. wide divides wall A from the city wall and it is from here that the two flights of steps to the top of the ramparts could be reached. Today, the western end of this passageway is partially blocked by a roughly built transverse wall which appears to be an addition. Wall A extends slightly beyond this point to join a third wall (hereafter wall B) which extends southwards for c. 28 m. There are a series of walls running parallel to wall B with a street 2.70 m. wide in between. Two cisterns lie immediately underneath this street. The larger cistern is approx. 16.50 x 2.00 m., with a barrel vaulted roof of large, roughly hewn stone. At a distance of 5.40 m. to the south is the second cistern (2.50 sq.m.) which was cut into the bare rock. Its roof has collapsed. Slightly beyond this second cistern, wall B makes a right angle turn eastwards and continues in that direction. A street lies between it and the buildings in section 'b' to the south.

Within section 'a', which is partly bounded by walls A and B, the remains of several buildings are visible. On the north side of section 'a', abutting out to wall A, are a number of transverse walls originally forming a series of rooms. The most westerly transverse wall is pierced by two archways. Their poor state of preservation makes it impossible to determine whether these arches were purely decorative or whether they served as a communicating arcade between the street to the west and the courtyard (?) to the east. Other features of interest along wall A are found in the last building. This

appears to have been a rectangular structure at least 12.50 m. long × 3.50 m. wide. What may have been its north-eastern corner and half way up the wall (i.e. wall A) there is a window topped by a small blind arch. An alternating band of brick and white stone frame the curve of the arch which can be seen from both sides of wall A. The semi-circular area between the decorative band and the top of the window is filled in with stones and mortar. Also stretching across the wall are a series of seven rectangular holes of varying sizes: four are aligned to the west, level with the top of the window; two are on either side of the window arch and therefore slightly higher up as is the last hole to the east of the window. The most likely explanation for these holes is that they served for horizontal beams and that the building originally had two storeys.

The other main feature of interest within section 'a' is an underground cistern immediately to the south of the arcaded courtyard (fig. 3). The remains of a wall define the open space (5.60 × 12.90 m.) above the cistern. In 1897, M. Collignon visited the site and may have had this cistern in mind when he described staircases descending down into vaulted and water filled caves(31). A more recent visitor to the site was P. Roos (1965-67), who reported the existence of a big underground building to the south of the pond (i.e. the ancient harbour) by which we assume he meant the cistern(32). Today, part of the cistern's roof has collapsed so that some light filters through below. For closer observation, we were able to descend into the cistern by means of a ruined staircase in the south-western corner. The cistern is composed of two barrel waulted rectangular chambers with their longer axes (7.50 m.) extending east-west (photo a). The southern chamber is 2 m. wide; while

(31) ROBERT, *Études*, 508.

(32) ROOS, *South-eastern Caria*, 68, notes the discovery of an inscription near the cistern; later published by ROOS and P. HERRMAN, *Zusätzliches zum Südöstlichen Karien, Opusc. Athen*, 10 (1971), 39-40, and recognised as a milestone. The latter was broken and only the 'KA' of what probably belonged to the placename could be read. Although another fragment of the same lilestone was found, it provided no further clues as to the identity of the site. ROOS, *South-eastern Caria*, 69 and n. 54, also reports the discovery of several coins from the site near Osmaniye and announces his intention to publish them in a forthcoming *Numismatic Chronicle*. We have been unable to find this article.

the northern one is slightly narrower at 1.70 m.. They are divided by a wall with two large arches which share a central pier (1.00 × 0.75 m.) and are supported by half pilasters at their western and eastern ends (0.50 × 0.75 m.). There are four holes on each side of the two chambers at the starting point of the vaulting which suggests that the barrel vaulted roofs were once supported by crossed beams.

The whole of the cistern's interior is plastered and two pipes (20 cm. in diameter) were found in the north-western and north eastern corners of the northern chamber. It seems clear, then, that the cistern was used as a water depot.

Part of the cistern's southern wall is scratched with graffiti, including two crosses and two short lines of illegible Greek letters.

Section 'b'

To the south of the group of buildings described above, we found the ruins of a small double apsed structure. It comprises two chambers lying on a north-south axis. An arched passageway leads into the northern chamber from the west. This chamber is 3 sq.m.

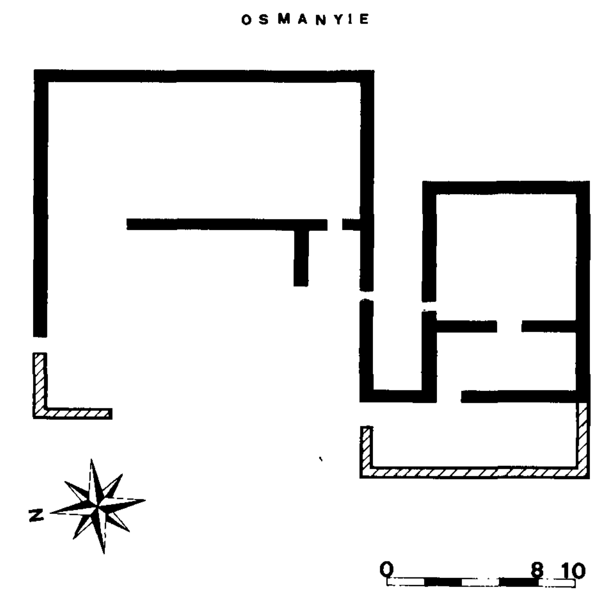


Fig. 3 – First architectural complex along foothills to north-east of main city-site.

and may originally have served as an entrance hall into the main chamber. The latter is irregular in shape with small apses on its eastern and western sides, and a rectangular niche to the south (photo b). The apses themselves are not symmetrical since the southern wall of the western apse has several stepped recesses whereas that of the eastern apse has only one. Furthermore, a small rectangular opening pierces the wall of the western apse. The eastern apse, on the other hand, has a window 0.70 m. wide × 1.40 m. high. On the south side, there is an aperture in the wall but it is not clear whether this formed part of the original construction.

Due to the ruined state of the building we were unable to determine the arrangement of its ground floor which probably lies 1-1.50 m. below the present level of fallen masonry. Apart from the usual stones and mortar, bricks and tiles had also been used to construct the walls. Unfortunately, none of these building materials survive in their entirety. However, we were able to measure several large fragments of brick revealing an average size of c. 7 cm. thick × 45-50 cm. × 55-60 cm. and tile, c. 3.40 cm. thick × 50 cm. long × an unidentifiable width. Of particular interest was the discovery of a broken half of a round terracotta brick, 7 cm. thick, with a hole in the middle estimated to have been 27 cm. in diameter. Since this piece of brick was found among the building's collapsed walls, it probably belonged to the original construction. Moreover, this type of brick is the only one of its kind that we found on the site (photo c).

The remains of what appear to have been arched passageways or channels bound the building along its western and eastern sides. These features would seem to support our identification of the building either as a fountain or small bath. That the area also had its own water supply is suggested by the well-head found in situ c. 9 m. to the west of the western apse.

The relationship between the fountain-like structure and the surrounding buildings is unclear; only excavation can provide the answer. The alignment of extant walls does, however, suggest that they formed part of a langer complex. If this was the case, then the building which is situated 12-16 m. south-west of the fountain-like structure may represent the complex's southern limit. Here, the best preserved part is the building's south facing wall which survives to a height of c. 5-6 m.. It reveals an interior that was divided into at least three levels. The lowest level is partly occupied by an under-

ground vaulted channel or cistern, the function and size of which remain unclear. On the second level, slightly to the west of the cistern, are two arches and part of a third one. Although they probably stood on the building's ground floor, these arches are now largely filled in by centuries of accumulated deposits. The third level occupies the area above these arches and stretches across over the cistern. Today, this uppermost level looks like the top of a crenelated wall which suggests that originally it was a windowed facade (photo d). Holes for beams provide further evidence for a storey at this level.

A gap wide enough to be a street and stretching in a straight line from west to east divides the building of three levels from the architectural remains to the south. The latter appear to belong to a row of rectangular-shaped buildings or houses which also had two-storeys. To the south of this row of houses we traced another parallel street, flanked by buildings on the opposite side. Unfortunately, the sand has covered the rest of what may have been a residential quarter of the city stretching out to the south and east.

The average thickness of the walls in area 1 is between 60-70 cm.. Stone and mortar are the main building materials together with fragments of brick and tile. There are a few blocks of stone which may originate from the Hellenistic remains that lie one km. to the north-west of the site, not far from the newly paved road. A more common feature are the windows in the upper parts of the buildings. In one building, which lies to the south-west of the fountain-like structure, two niches instead of windows are set into the eastern wall. As in wall A's window, an alternating band of stone and brick pieces was used to frame the curve of both arched niches. The same decorative technique was observed over the arches of the three-level building as well as the doorways and windows of other buildings in area 1 (photo e).

Area 2

To the west of section 'a', area 1, is another group of buildings which given their size and close relationship to one another may have served a public function. The largest among them is approx. 13 m. x 4 m. with its longer axis running north-south. To the north of this structure and its adjoining rooms, lies a street which is perpendicular to the main axial orientation of the complex and has

rock-cut steps at its eastern end. Arched doorways lead off from the street, which is itself partly vaulted over, thus creating an impression of intersecting arcades or passageways.

Along the western limit of area 2, two parallel streets stretch from the city's northern wall southwards for some distance before disappearing in the general confusion of fallen rubble and stone. The space between these two streets and the city's north-west corner bastion is largely occupied by indistinguishable architectural remains, except for one building that measures c. 6 m. × 4.50 m. That it was originally two storeys high is evident from the line of beam holes around the walls. There are doorways on all four sides, although the main entrance seems to have been from the east and is marked by an arched opening with a second door or large window on top.

Area 3

This area of our plan begins about 30 m. to the south of the north-west bastion and continues for another 90 m. along the city's western wall to the point where it curves round to the east and disappears under the sand. A number of buildings abutt onto the wall, including a doorway arched in stone which may have led into a short passageway or street alongside and parallel to the city wall.

The parallel and perpendicular arrangement of streets is still clearly visible in this part of the city; some of them roughly following the line of the ramparts. In width the streets vary from 2.50 m. to 0.60 m.; the latter being little more than pedestrian alleyways with high buildings rising up on either side. We also observed several points where the intersection of streets formed crossroads or T-junctions.

Since most buildings are outlined by streets and passageways, their ground plans are generally rectangular or square in shape. A few walls still stand as high as 10-11 m., pointing to the existence of two and even three storied-houses in this quarter of the city. Holes for beams are evident in all these cases. It seems that some houses were also equipped with an outside staircase leading up to the second floor directly from the street (photo f). The height of these staircases is about 1.90 m. from top to bottom with nine steps each measuring c. 20 cm. high × 60 cm. wide. They are built into the side of the wall and usually pass a ground floor window which suggests that the second storey functioned independently from the floor be-

low. It may be that certain houses were divided into apartments and occupied by a number of families.

A detailed understanding of the internal arrangement of these houses will only be possible through excavation. Some dividing walls survive indicating the existence of smaller rooms or chambers, but we were unable to find any evidence for inside staircases or any other means of communication between the floors. A noticeable feature of these houses is the different sizes of windows on the upper and lower storeys. Slit-type openings are more common on the ground floor, while larger windows let light into the rooms above.

Among the houses in area 3 we identified the remains of a small single-naved chapel. Its foundations have been carved into the rock, on the slope of the hill. Streets bound the building to the east, south and north, while a long chamber with a doorway opening to the east lies along its northern side. The church measures 7.50 m. long × 5 m. wide, with high northern and southern walls. Windows along the upper parts of these walls allowed light in. To the east there is an apse, 4 m. wide, with an opening for a large single or biforate window. The main entrance into the church is from the west through an elegant archway, 2.70 m. wide (photo g).

The roofing of the chapel is entirely missing as is most of the floor which has collapsed into an underground cistern. Small stones, bits of bricks and mortar were used to construct the cistern's vaulting system which originally spanned an area almost as large as the nave. It may be that the roof was also vaulted, particularly since the same building materials have been used for the rest of the chapel including a number of larger stones in the north and south walls. Although patches of plaster still cling to the inside of these walls, none was seen to line the cistern therefore raising the question of whether it served as a water reserve or in some other capacity. To the north-east of the long chamber's door, we found the only pieces of decorated stone during our survey of the site. They are all limestone, and included a truncated mullion, presumably from the window of the apse, a piece of revetment (photo h) with leaves in relief, and a flat slab with roundels along its edge.

A few meters to the south-east of the chapel's apse, near the city rampart, is a curved bit of wall with an arched niche in the middle. The west and east sides of the structure are lost. It would appear to stand at the end and in between two parallel streets; the one on the left coming from the direction of the chapel. In appearance and in

its relationship to the streets, the niched wall reminds us of a small public fountain.

The extra-muros church to the west of the city wall

Approximately 18 m. beyond the western rampart, opposite the northern limit of area 3, lie the ruins of a three-aisled basilical church with an eastern apse. Its position outside the walls is somewhat surprising, for although there is a reasonably steep decent to the west and south, this would not have deterred the determined attacker. It also suggests that at the time of the church's construction the city's inhabitants were not too worried by external threats.

Due to the trees and bushes that cover the area, and the ruinous state of the walls, particularly on the southern and western sides, a complete plan of the church could not be drawn. From the extant remains it is clearly much larger than the chapel within the city walls, and measures c. 16 m. x 13 m. excluding the apse and a possible narthex. The apse's dimensions are singular: 3.15 m. deep x 5.50 m. wide, while the remains of plaster in the upper part suggest that it was decorated with fresco. The main body of the church is divided into a central nave and two lateral aisles. Only the wall of the southern aisle survives to any height, revealing a square window with an arch framed in stone and mortar above it.

At the eastern end of the northern aisle a doorway leads to a small rectangular chamber which extends beyond the outer curve of the apse. Next to this chamber, on its northern side, is a slightly bigger room with an apse to the east and a doorway to the west. This would appear to be a small chapel which, although connected to the main church via a door in the northern aisle, may have had its own dedication and use. The function of the first chamber is not clear, except possibly as a baptistery. An unexplained opening at the eastern end of the south aisle points to the existence of a similar chamber on this side as well.

The building materials are the familiar stones, mortar and bits of tile. A few pieces of well-carved local stone were seen lying amongst the rubble within the church. But in common with the other churches on the site, there is no evidence for the use of round column shafts. This suggests that the dividing walls between the aisles were either of solid construction or of thick piers supporting arches.

The harbour

As has already been suggested, the marshy depression to the north of the urban centre is the site of the city's harbour. Below the modern paved road bits of extant wall help to define the harbour's north-western limit; while to the north-east it probably extended as far as the extra-muros quarter of the city in the surrounding foothills (see below).

Most of the harbour buildings are situated between the southern city wall and the water front. Among the better preserved buildings, two appear to have been large store-houses with two floors and a number of chambers inside(33). We were also able to distinguish the general outline of several rows of rooms with streets running between them. To the south of this series of store-houses was an unusually shaped building with a trefoil ending of which only two apses are clearly visible.

Poking up above the muddy sediment that now fills the harbour are traces of two long jetties of c. 30 m. They stretch out towards the north-east in the direction of the most southerley of the complexes we surveyed along the foothills (see below). Perpendicular to these jetties is a break-water, c. 18 m. long, to provide shelter and safe anchorage. Smaller jetties are situated slightly to the south. We assume that the wall which crosses the central part of the harbour was also a jetty. The configuration of the jetties can be better understood if it is remenbered that they probably acted as moles against onshore winds.

The familiar stone, mortar and tile pieces were used as building materials for the harbour buildings and the jetties.

Buildings to the north of the main city-site

About 300 m. before the main site and 10 m. to the right of the newly paved road, are the remains of a long wall. It runs roughly parallel to the road in a north-south direction. Several rooms and structures of undefined character adjoin the wall. All the buildings

(33) The store-houses at Caunus and at two sites in the gulf of Bozburun (at Göl, see RUGGIERI, *Rilievi bizantini nel golfo di Simi*, OCP (1989) 96-100; 345-349), are also situated along the harbour edge.

are constructed of stone, mortar and tile pieces, with an average wall thickness of c. 60 cm.

As the road nears the rocky hill of the main site, there is only just enough room for it to pass between the marshy depression (i.e. the ancient harbour) to the left and the rising ground to the right. At the foot of this slope, approx. 25 m. to the west of the harbour, are the impressive ruins of a large niched hall (photo i). It measures 13.60 x 7.85 m., with a north-south axial orientation. The shorter, northern side has two arched niches places one above the other thus pointing to a two-storey building. Both niches are 2.10 m. wide and although the lower niche is partly filled in it was probably the same height of 2.50 m. as the upper one. Stone blocks of varying sizes have been used for the arches and the remains of frescoes with traces of red painted lines were observed in the lower niche. On either side of the second storey niche there are two square windows similar to those found on the upper floors of other buildings.

The western wall of the niched hall rests on bare rock and survives to a height of c. 5 m.. A series of windows or large beam holes stretch along the length of the wall level with the top of the lower niche. Unfortunately, the eastern wall of the hall has completely disappeared so we were unable to determine whether there was a corresponding series of openings on this side.

The foundations and walls of numerous rooms and buildings adjoin the southern side of the apsed hall. The best preserved structure is a chamber, 5.10 sq.m., with its west, north and south walls all standing to a height of c. 5 m.. A line of large beam holes along its western side suggests that there was once a second storey. Opposite this building and placed at an angle to the principal north-south axis are the foundations of a room with what appears to be a rounded end pointing out in a north-easterly direction.

Strewn over the site of this complex are many small stones and pottery fragments. Only one piece of worked stone was found.

The identity of the niched basilica and its adjoining buildings, with their commanding view over the harbour, is a problem. What can be said is that they probably served a public function.

On the left-hand side of the road, along the foothills to the north-east of the main city-site, are a number of architectural complexes. The first of these lies approx. 300 m. east of the long wall described above (fig. 3). Despite the ruinous state of its walls, the outline of a large rectangular enclosure, c. 19.20 m. x 16.60 m., ad-

joining a smaller building to the south is visible. A wall running north-south divides the larger structure in two, and in the south-west corner of the eastern room there is a rounded flat stone that looks like part of an olive press. Due to the sloping nature of the ground, both structures seem to have had several floor levels while their walls are partly built out of the natural rock.

A door on the southern side of the western room opens into a corridor or passageway that stretches between it and the smaller building. An opening at ground level in the latter's nothern wall suggests that it also communicated with the corridor. The interior of this smaller building is divided into two rooms, with a rock cut cistern under the floor of the main room. Other features of interest are to be found along the well-preserved northern wall where a line of beam holes clearly indicates that the building had two storeys (photo j). Immediatly below this line of holes there is a small window whcih is wider on the inside than on the outside. The wall's upper level reveals two rectangular niches, one above the doorway and the other placed slightly to the east. They in turn seem to be topped by two further windows, but this remains uncertain since the wall does not survive to a higher level. A third niche decorates the upper storey of the building's smaller room at the western end of the northern wall (photo k). It is better preserved than the niches in the next door room and reveals a carefully constructed arch of stone and mortar. The same materials, together with bits of tile, have been used for the walls which vary in thickness from 60-70 cm.

About 20 m. further up the hill, to the east of these two buildings is a complex comprising a chapel with adjoining chambers or rooms on its northern and southern sides (fig. 4). The ground slopes away quite steeply here, and in certain places the foundations have been cut into the rock. Elsewhere the natural 'steps' in the rock have been levelled out to form terraces. Although we did not find any direct evidence for the buttressing of these terraces, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were partly supported in this way. The fact that the western-most walls of the complex have largely fallen down the slope suggests that this was indeed the case.

The main part of the extant remains are situated to the north of the chapel. Holes in the walls once again point to the existence of a second storey. A rectangular niche, similar to those found in the

buildings described above, is set into the southern wall of the larger of the two chambers.

The chapel has a single nave with an apse, 3.15 m. wide × 1.60 m. deep to the east. Its western and most of its southern walls are no longer standing. Below the window in the apse there are traces of fresco. Although less well preserved, the colours of this fresco are similar to those in the lower niche of the large niched hall. In the chapel fresco, a monochrome band of reddish ochre runs along the lower register of the apse; two vertical bands join the horizontal one to crate three separate panels. In the central panel, it is just possible to make out the lower part of two standing figures (angels?) on either side of what may have been a central form (photo 1). The beginnings of another apsed building can be seen immediatly to the south of the chapel's apse. Unfortunately, there is nothing on the ground to indicate what the rest of this second apsed building looked like. A wall, c. 2 m. away, probably marks the southern limit of this complex.

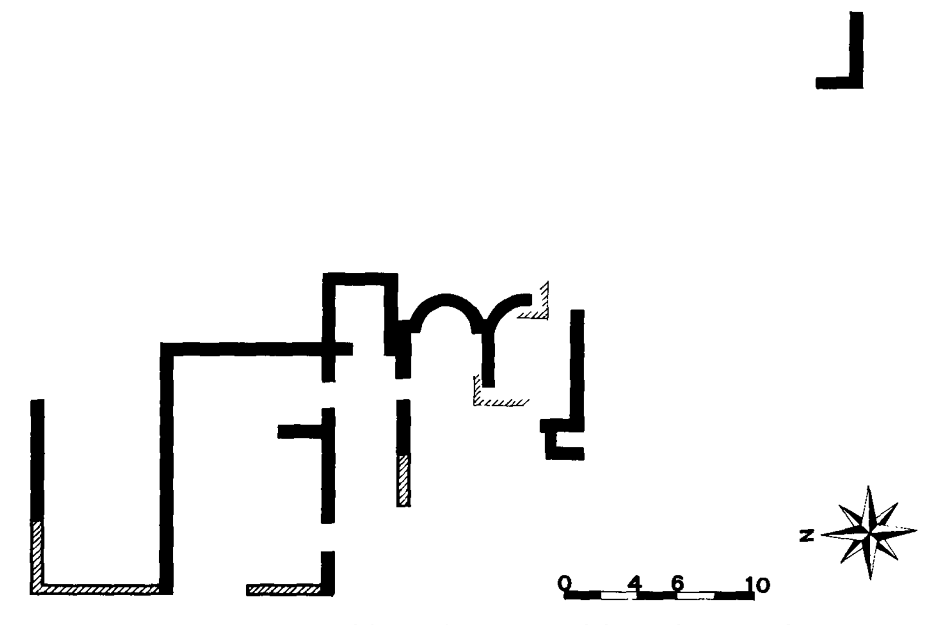


Fig. 4 – Second complex comprising a chapel and adjoining chambers along foothills to north-east of main city-state.

Twenty meters to the south-west of the chapel complex, in an area of fairly level ground, are the impressively high walls of a large rectangular building, 7.40 m. wide × 11.40 m. long (fig. 5). Its prin-

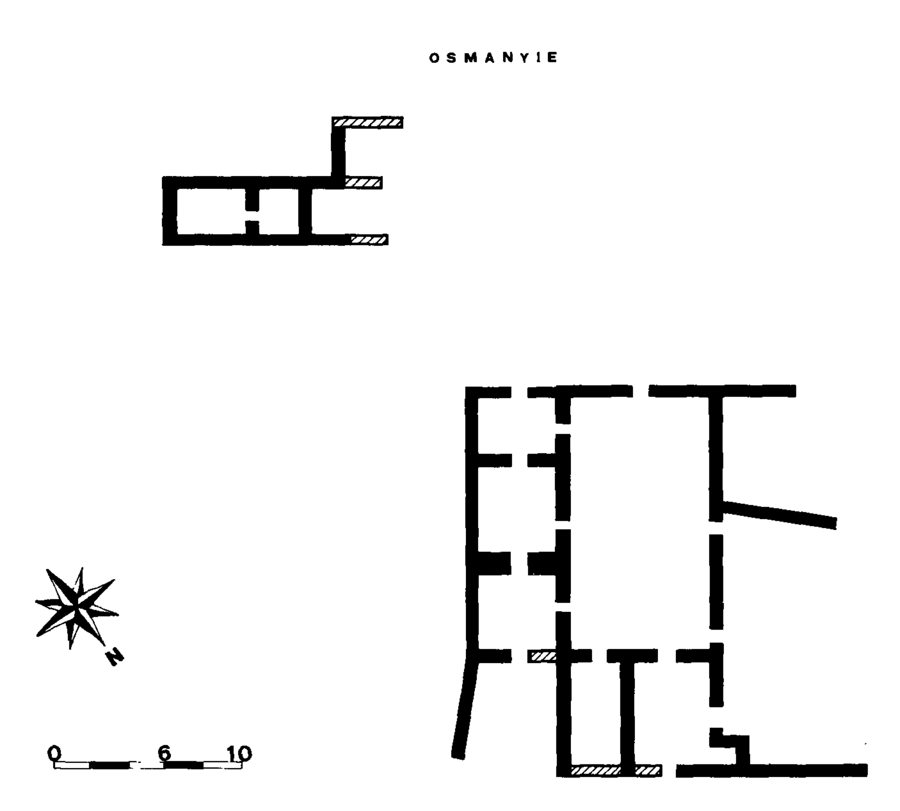


Fig. 5 – Large rectangular building along foothills to north-east of main city-site.

cipal axis has a south-east/north-west orientation. The building's ground floor level is no longer visible but the existance of two lines of beam holes up its western, eastern and southern walls suggest that it once had two storeys. Two rectangular windows survive virtually intact on the southern and eastern walls of the building's south-east corner. They are situated at the top of what was the ground floor, underneath the lower line of beam holes. The stones across the top of the eastern window have been arranged radially. To the west of

the southern window is the lower half of a large door; the wall above has fallen away.

Outside the building, the ground level is higher than inside since the walls of the adjoining structures have mostly collapsed. Three chambers, each connected by a door, stretch down the building's eastern side. Another door opens to the south and is flanked on both sides by bench-like projections on the outside of the wall. At the northern end of these chambers, there are traces of a wall set off at angle to the main building's south axis.

The northern side of the large rectangular hall leads into two further rooms. Their walls are not preserved to any great height, except in the north-west corner of the western room. Here we found what is perhaps the most interesting feature of the whole complex: a niche, 1.25 m. high × 60 cm. wide, standing just above the present ground level, with neat brick work decorating its arch (photo m). The bricks (3 cm. × 25-27 cm.) inside the curve of the arch are horizontally laid, while those framing the outside of the curve are radially set with a single line of brick running round the edge. The wall surrounding the niche is made up of the usual stones and mortar. Of further interest, are the bands of plaster etched with lines that mark the general outline of the stones. This kind of decoration was not noted anywhere else on the site, although we saw something similar on the island site of Gemile, in the bay of Ölüdeniz to the south of Fethiye.

The chambers to the west of the central enclosure are mostly lost, except for a wall that lies at an angle to the building's western side.

Once again the function of this complex is lost to us, but its impressive size suggests it was a public building.

At some distance to the south of the two-three storied rectangular hall are the badly preserved remains of a basilical church, c. 18.70 m. × 15.10 m. (fig. 6). The narthex cannot be accurately defined, although it seems to extend across the full width of the church and to have a depth of c. 8.80 m. It is clear that the church had a central nave flanked by two lateral aisles. The foundations of a rectangular chamber can be seen half way down the southern side of the church where we suppose the aisle to have been. To the east of the nave there is a single apse, 5.70 m. wide × 3.00 m. deep. The north-east corner of the church ends in a rectangular room which extends out for 1.40 m. beyond the northern wall as well as to the

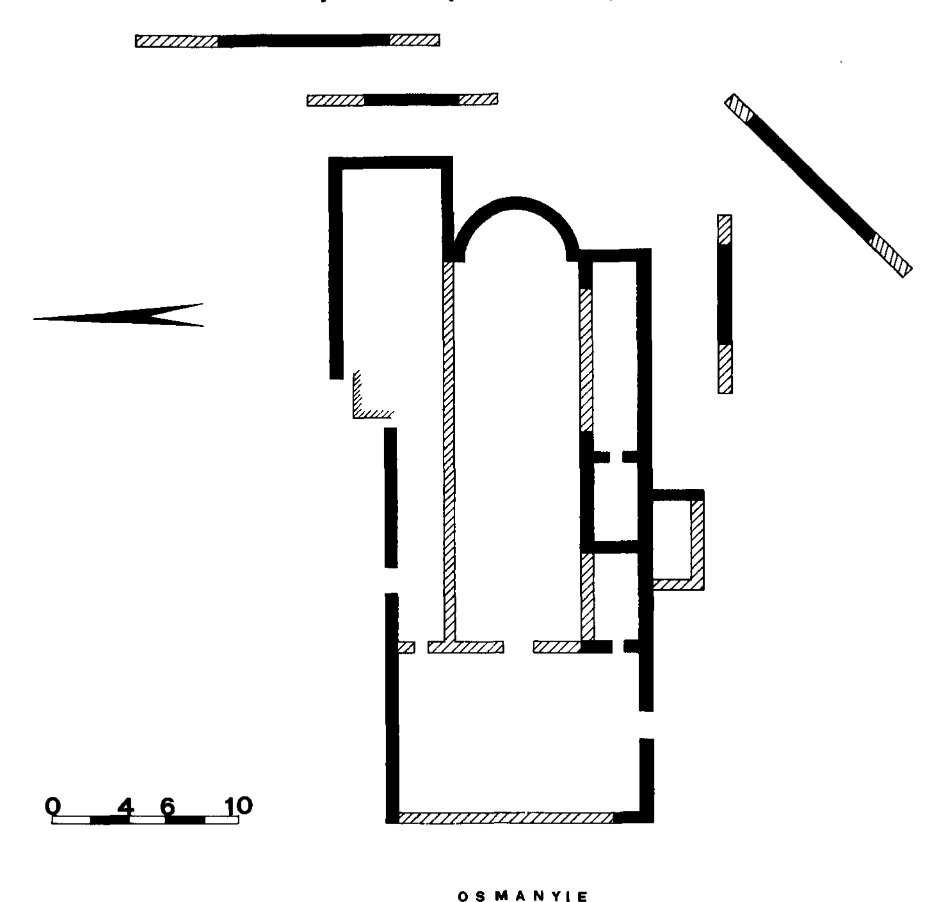


Fig. 6 – Basilical church along foothills to the north-east of the main city-state.

east of the apse. Where the main entrances into the narthex and the church were situated cannot be ascertained unless through excavation. There is, however, a small door on the south side of the narthex.

To the east and south-east of the church there are the remains of four different walls. Their original function is unclear, although their direction and proximity to the church suggest that they may have been part of an enclosing structure.

No evidence of decorative or worked stone was found; the building was entirely of stone, mortar and bits of brick or tile. It

would appear, then, that if the basilica had three aisles, they were divided not by colonnades but by solid or arched walls.

Finally it should be noted that this seems to be the city's largest church.

Further up the slope, to the north of the basilical church, are the remains of a small apsed building which is partly enclosed by a series of rectangular chambers to the west and a long wall to the north. This wall continues up the hill for some distance, but we were unable to trace its full extent. Its western end forms a corner with one of the rectangular chambers. The latter was a two storey building with a barrel vaulted roof which has since collapsed. Two niches are set into the upper part of the northern and western walls. The other two chambers to the west of the apsed building are less well defined, although they are larger than the vaulted room.

The slope of the ground means that the buildings were constructed on several levels. In the case of the apsed building the bare rock has been used for part of its foundations, while the rooms to the west are built on a lower level.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the apsed building was a chapel, and that furthermore it belonged, to a private house.

The final group of ruins that we recorded along the foothills to the east of the road stand at the edge of the high ground before it descends into the marshy plain to the south and west i.e. the site of the Byzantine harbour (fig. 7). Beyond the southern limit of the area planned, the ground curves round to form a kind of bay which is today filled with canes and long grasses. Overlooking the bay is a wall, c. 3.90 m. high, running east-west for a distance of c. 17-90 m., with a slight kink in the middle possibly as a result of following the ground's contours. This wall is the most prominent structure among the immediate group of ruins, and is equipped with slit-type windows across its upper section. At its western end, two stone blocks — one with a square-cut slot — mark the setting of a doorway. For the most part, small stones, mortar, and bits of tile are the building materials used.

Not far to the south-west of the wall, at a slightly lower level, stands a barrel-vaulted chamber which is preserved to its full height and rises above the present ground level for 3.50 m.. There are no windows or entrances into the chamber except for a hole at the top of the vault's western end. It is completely plastered inside.

At the eastern end of the wall, a narrow gap separates it from

Photo a.



Photo b.

Photo c.



Photo d.

Photo e.



Photo f.

Photo g.

Photo h.

Photo i.



Photo j.



Photo k.

Photo l.



Photo m.

Photo n.



Photo o.

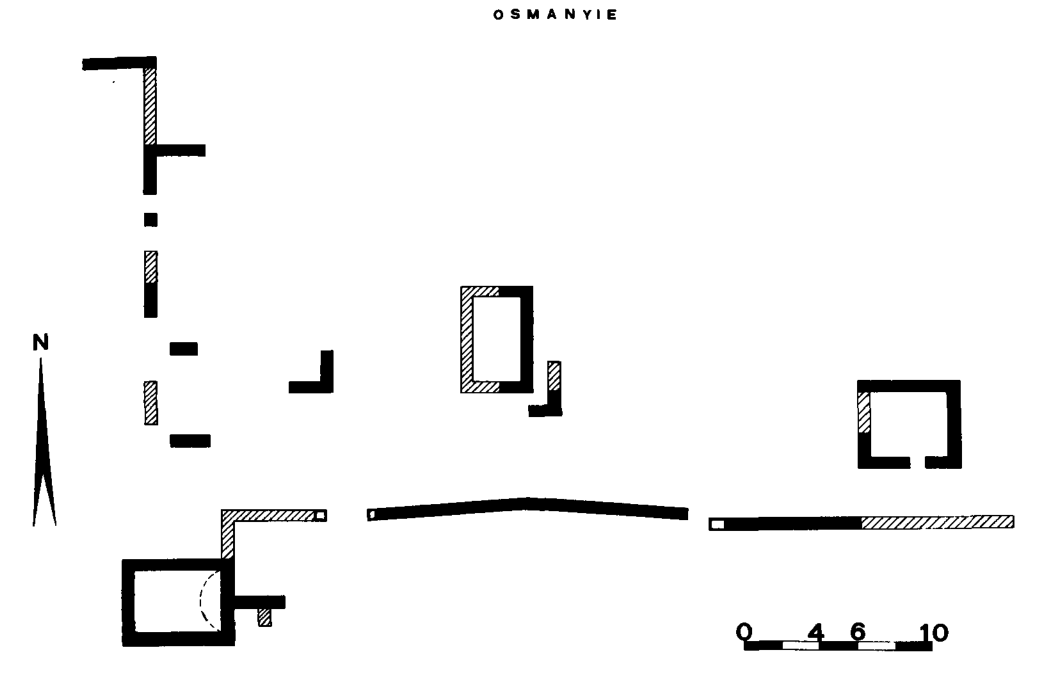
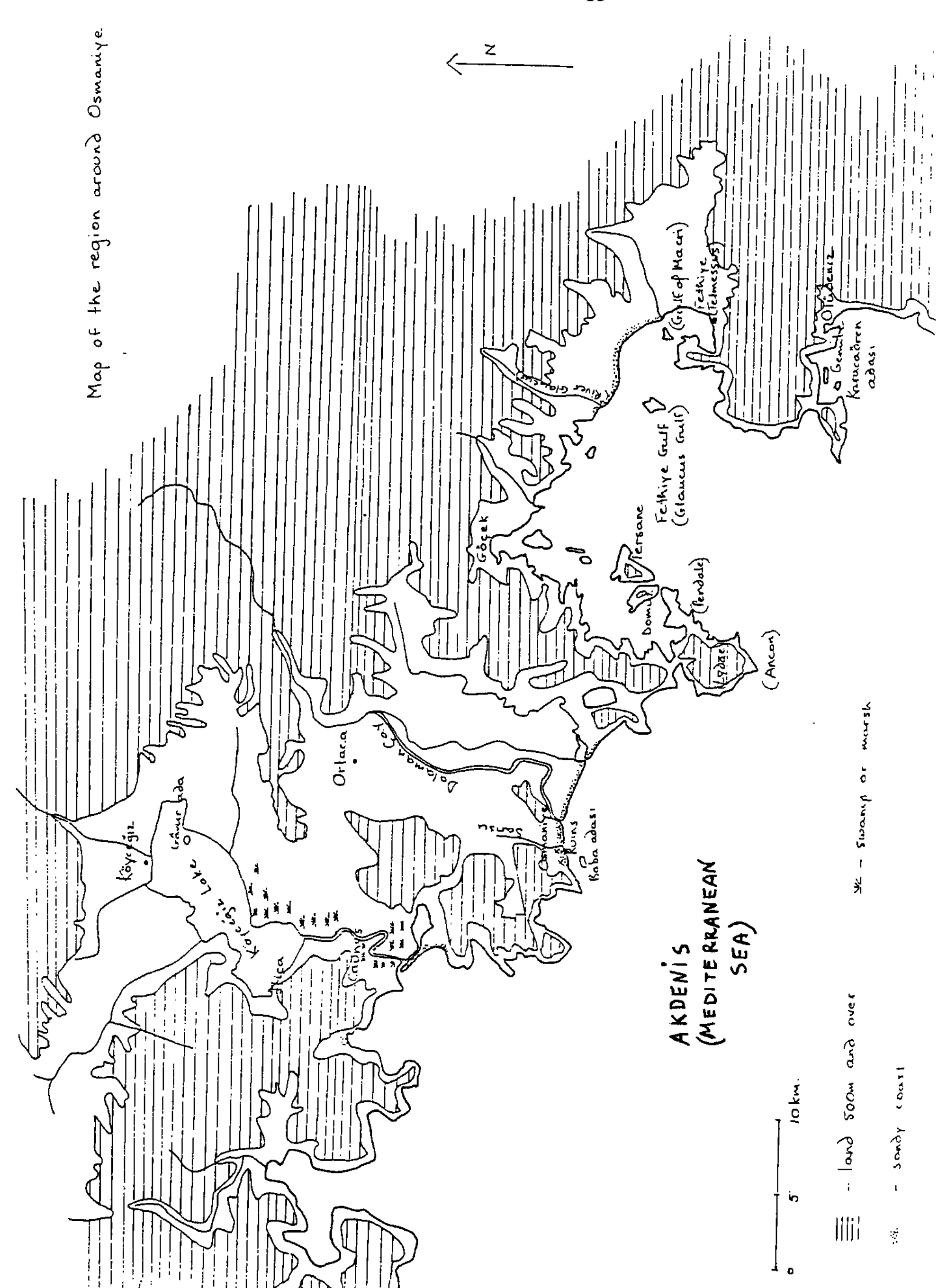


Fig. 7 – The most southerly group of ruins along the foothills to the north-east of the main city-site.

the beginning of a second wall that can be traced eatwards for a few metres. To the north of this second wall is a small rectangular room, 3.50 m. × 4.20 m., of one-storey with doors in its western and southern sides. About 18 m. to the south of this rectangular room, the south-east corner of another building rises up to height of c. 3.70 m.. Not much else of its plan can be determined, except that it stood over an underground cistern. The latter's roof has partly collapsed and the inside is mostly filled with rubble.

The western limit of this area revealed a number of wall foundations and a great deal of rubble. Could these have been buttresses?

It is not clear to us whether this area was part of a defensive system, or an embarkation point. The former identification is suggested by the walls to the south which block direct contact with the sea, and the tall corner structure which may have been a tower. On the other hand, the walls are not very substantial being only 60-


Map of the region around Osmaniye
N
AKDENİS
(MEDITERRANEAN
SEA)
Fethiye Gulf
(Glaucus Gulf)
(Gulf of Macri)
Fethiye
(Telmessus)
Ölüdeniz
Gemili
Karacaören
adası
River Glaucus
Göçek
Tersane
Domuz
(Pendale)
Lydae
(Arcon)
Dalaman Çayı
Ortaca
Köyceğiz
Gâvur ada
Köyceğiz Lake
Sarsu
Osmaniye
Ruins
Baba adası
Caunus
0
5
10km.
- land 500m and over
- swamp or marsh
- sandy coast

70 cm. thick, and they do not extend round the whole area. This, together with the location of the barrel-vaulted chamber so near the harbour-edge would seem to favour the second suggestion.

The fortress

From a position near the long wall on the right side of the newly paved road, one can just make out a line of fortifications on the hilltop to the north-west. Large amounts of rubble stretching down the slope are what remain of other possible buildings. It is not clear to us whether the walled opening of an underground channel half way up the hill was part of the city's external water supply.

The fortress itself covers an area roughly 60 m. × 40 m. (photo n) and its walls are equipped with two square bastions to the north-west and south-east (photo o). The view from the top of the bastion walls, c. 80 cm. thick, extends over the plain to the east; the coast to the south, including the northern part of Fethiye, gulf; and the nearby hills to the west and north. No architectural remains are visible within the fortress, which suggests that it was used more as a watch point over the surrounding area than as a settlement site.

The technique employed for building the walls is similar to that found in the city, except for the absence of tile and brick pieces. There is no evidence for the re-use of Hellenistic or Roman stone blocks. The fortress would therefore seem to be contemporary with our Byzantine city.

Conclusion

The plan of the Byzantine city site near Osmaniye, with its perpendicular and parallel streets points to a single period of urban construction; most probably the fifth century. The existence of urban quarters, including ecclesiastical and secular buildings, and a large harbour beyond the fortified centre of the site also suggests a time when there was little threat from attack.

Our examination of the site's ruins revealed that most buildings are rectangular or square in plan. There is a lack of architectural embellishment, and where arching occurs it tends to be restricted to windows, doorways and decorative niches. This contrasts with sites further east along the coast from Osmaniye where a variety of archi-

tectural features including passageways and alcoves are arched(34). In these latter cases different types of masonry have been used, such as ashlar blocks. These are not found on our site. The utilitarian nature of its public and domestic architecture is further suggested by the solid walls which were capable of supporting two to three storeys, and the insertion of slit windows on the ground floor with larger windows reserved for the upper levels.

As has also been noted, the materials and techniques of construction are fairly uniform throughout the site, and there is little discernable evidence for different phases of construction. However, there would appear to be anomalies within the architectural uniformity of the site. For, although most arches are horse-shoe shaped, some, as in photo 'e', are less rounded. These flatter arches with brick and white stone pieces framing the curve are not thought to be earlier than the eleventh century. The niche in the two to three storeyed rectangular hall in the extra-muros quarter of the city may also belong to this period. Unfortunately, the traces of fresco still visible in the double-apsed hall and in the chapel apse are too badly preserved to be dated. Nor is it clear whether any structures were built or re-built in the course of time. It should be remembered that the from the mid-seventh century onwards the Lycien and Carian coasts were the target of constant Arab attack, while, according to the geological record, the region suffered a series of severe earthquakes in 740(35). What effect these events had on the city is not known. For a better assessment of the site's history, we must therefore await the results of excavation.

Vincenzo RUGGIERI S.J.
Kara HATTERSLEY-SMITH

(34) This is particularly evident on the island sites at Gemile and Karacaören, see note 8, which we hope to discuss elsewhere.

(35) On Lycia, see R. M. HARRISON, *Churches and chapels of Central Lycia, Anat. Studies*, 13 (1963), 118-24; IDEM, *Aspects of late Roman and early Byzantine Lycia*, in *Türk Tarih Kongressi*, Ankara (1979), 525ff.; IDEM, *Town and country in Late Roman Lycia*, IX *Türk Tarih Kongressi 1981*, Ankara (1986), 383ff.

SOPHIA SENYK

The Ukrainian Church and Latinization

On 11 June 1595 the hierarchy of the Kievan metropolitanate after five years of discussions among themselves took the decision to seek communion with the Roman Church. The bishops asked for an assurance of the rights of their Church in a document of thirty-three articles dealing with both religious and civil issues(1).

A few days after the synod, one of the most dedicated supporters of the union, bishop Ipatij Potij of Volodymyr and Brest, wrote to his friend, prince Constantine Ostroz'kyj, to justify the hierarchy's action. The bishops had avoided open discussion of their plans (unwisely, as hindsight was to prove), and various rumors were circulating about their intentions. Potij's letter to the most influential Ruthenian magnate was intended to allay groundless fears. "Lately people have been disseminating unfounded reports about us all, that we have accepted fully the Roman faith and celebrate mass on azymes". After vindicating the right and indeed the duty of the bishops to seek means of renewing their Church, Potij returns to the same charge.

> Do not be moved by anger, but calmly and benignly read those articles; there you will see no novelty regarding our faith, save for the single matter of the calendar, which is not an article of faith, but a usage which God's Church can change without violating conscience(2).

(1) Polish and Latin texts in *Documenta Unionis Brestensis eiusque auctorum*, ed. Athanasius G. WELYKYJ (Romae 1970), p. 61-75.

(2) The letter of 16 June 1595 ibid., p. 75-78. On the questions of the calendar, the bishops had written that they wished to preserve the Julian, but if Rome insisted, they would not allow this matter to obstruct the union.

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Already earlier Potij had written to Ostroz'kyj: "This agreement [...] is not of the kind by which we would be expected to become totally transformed into something else, but remaining wholly [as we are], to correct only a few things"(3).

The charge of altering the rites and usages of the Greek Church and of introducing of set purpose Latin practices, as these citations show, has been leveled at the Ruthenian Church from the very moment of its decision to enter into union with Rome. The problem of foreign borrowings or of latinization is often reduced to accusations as facile as they are false. The aim of this article is to present some of its complexities.

The Union of Brest and the Preservation of the Rite

The Kievan Church in the last decade of the sixteenth century was beset by many evils, of which the chief, the root of many others, was the lack of education — the absence of church schools and seminaries. This lack was common to all the Eastern Churches, but in other countries it did not pose such an urgent problem. Ruthenian territories, alone of lands of eastern Christendom, were incorporated into a state with Latin Catholic culture. The wealthier classes of Ruthenian society, having no schools of their own, frequented Latin schools, both in Poland-Lithuania and abroad. Once the Catholic revival following the Council of Trent began to bear fruit in the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Ruthenian clergy and monks, and consequently the hierarchy, appeared in an increasingly disadvantageous light in any comparison with their Latin counterparts.

For the wealthy and the educated among the Ruthenians, especially the nobility, the attractions of western culture, hence too of the Latin Church, an integral part of that culture, were proving irresistible. Ancient and illustrious families — Ostroz'kyj, Sapieha, Tryzna, and others — whose members piously took the monastic habit on their deathbed and were commemorated among the benefactors of numerous Ruthenian monasteries and churches, now in the course of only one generation fully absorbed the Latin faith and Polish identity. The prospects for the Ruthenian Church, if matters were left to

(3) Ibid., p. 53.

fate, were a total suffocation by the culturally more advanced Latin Church. There was besides a certain threat of Protestant and Anti-trinitarian influence.

Bishops with any pastoral awareness could not remain indifferent to these external dangers or blind to the internal stagnation of their Church. The secular clergy, with few exceptions, had only home instruction, while monasticism threatened to become an empty shell of outward observances empty of spiritual understanding.

The conviction that only from the West, from Rome in particular, could they hope for effective aid in improving the condition of their Church was one of the chief impulses that directed the thought of the bishops towards union with Rome. In the letter to Ostroz'kyj already cited, Potij makes a point often reiterated. The hierarchy in synod considered, he says,

> that very little help is forthcoming to us from our East. And no wonder, since the tyranny and enslavement imposed by the infidels for such a long period have destroyed everything(4).

Strange as it may appear to those familiar with the cliche-ridden literature on the union of Brest, what the hierarchy hoped for from the West was the opportunity to recuperate its own eastern patristic tradition. The Ruthenian Church, like the other eastern Churches, had preserved the rites and forms of the Greek Church, but, again like its fellow Churches of the East, it had lost the sources that gave life to that rite.

The religious and cultural revival that began in Ruthenian lands in the last decades of the sixteenth century prompted the founding of Greek-Slavic schools. Prince Ostroz'kyj had the means to entice Greek teachers to the school he founded at his ancestral residence Ostrih. But of Ostroz'kyj's search in Greece for teachers the later metropolitan Joseph Veljamyn Rutskyj wrote: "there at the present time even with a candle you can't find anyone. [...] All Greek learning is now found in our [Greek] College"(5). The Lviv brotherhood, the first with a well-ordered organization and the most ambitious in its projects, tried through its contacts likewise to obtain

(4) Ibid., p. 77.

(5) *Epistolae Metropolitarum Kioviensium Catholicorum* (=EM), 1, ed. Theodosius T. HALUŠČYNSKYJ and Athanasius G. WELYKYJ (Romae 1956):22.

teachers from Greece. Though the brotherhood counted among its *bratčyky* members of the Greek merchant families who had settled in Lviv, these, to judge from surviving documents, were not qualified to teach to others the language of Basil and Chrysostom.

In the years following the union of Brest a number of the bishops made similar attempts at founding schools and met with the same difficulties. The near-impossibility of finding appropriate teachers proved to be one of the chief obstacles in setting up a seminary(6). Though teachers of Greek could be found in the West, it was another matter to induce them to share their learning amidst rigors of climate and standards of life far short of what they were used to.

Throughout his years as metropolitan (1613-1637) Rutskyj strove for a return to the sources of eastern tradition. He sent money to the Basilians studying in Rome to procure for him the edition of the Greek Fathers then in course in Paris.

> We already have the Greek-Latin texts of St Basil, Nyssenus, John Chrysostom printed in Paris; we don't yet have Gregory Nazianzus; we've heard that St Dionisius the Areopagite too has already come out in two volumes, perhaps Damascene will also appear. [...] We already have Ephrem of the same edition; we want to have the full set of all the holy Greek Fathers of this Paris edition, if you can find them(7).

There were, in the meantime, texts in Slavic. Metropolitan Rutskyj, while awaiting a cadre of ecclesiastics learned in Greek and in Latin, did not undervalue native means. He wrote with pride about the school for candidates to the priesthood that he opened at Navahrudek, the residence of the metropolitans.

> We have taken St Damascene in Slavic, and the four books of his De Fide Orthodoxa are read, in which not only can all dogmatic questions be found, with commentaries on the text, but also the entire Summa Theologiae of St Thomas. And we have enough Slavic terms, so that we don't have to go begging from other books(8).

(6) On the efforts to set up a seminary in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Sophia SENYK, *The Education of the Secular Clergy in the Ruthenian Church before the Nineteenth Century*, OCP, 53 (1987):387-416.

(7) EM, 1:23.

(8) From a letter of Rutskyj to Basilians studying at the Greek College, 7 May 1624, ibid., p. 104-105.

The study of St Damascene in Slavic, useful as it might be in itself, was nevertheless inadequate for the times. It did not prepare the student to discuss intelligently the difference between Eastern and Western Churches and to defend the traditions of the Eastern Church. Contemporary needs demanded another type of education.

To stem the tide of the educated passing to the Latin Church, their own Church had to be presented to them in the language of the learned. Not only was a command of Latin required, but also of the categories and terminology of Latin theology. The Ruthenian noble, after some years in Latin schools at home and perhaps also abroad, thought in categories of matter and form, substance and accidents. The rejoinder that this was not Eastern theology could only sound as an evasion of a Church which had no sounder claims to his loyalty.

Some early polemics against the Union blamed its adherents for abandoning the simplicity of learning derived solely from church books in favor of vain reasoning based on pagan authors. But Orthodox leaders too, while they appreciated the literary brilliance in the writings of the Athonite monk Ivan Vyšens'kyj, could hardly take seriously his counsel to be content with the traditional school manuals, the books of the Office: "časoslov, psaltyr', oktoix"(9).

These learned Orthodox ecclesiastics, chief among them Peter Mohyla, have come in for sharp criticism by Orthodox of other traditions for their adoption of Latin learning(10). Without a thorough mastery of western theological language, however, it is difficult to see how Mohyla and his circle could have answered the turncoat Cassian Sakovyč in his attacks on the practices of the Greek Church. Sakovyč in his *Perspektiwa*, printed in Cracow in 1642, had heaped ridicule on the backwardness of the Eastern Church, its priests ignorant even of what was required for the validity of a sacrament. The authors of *Lithos* cited recently printed church books where these matters were properly explained(11).

(9) Ivan VYŠEN'KYJ, *Začapka, Sočinenija* (Moskva 1955), p. 202.

(10) Cf. Georgij FLOROVSKIJ, *Puti russkogo bogoslovija* (Pariž 1937), p. 44-56; English tr., Robert L. Nichols, *Ways of Russian Theology*, pt 1 (=Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, 5; Belmont 1979), p. 64-85.

(11) See, e.g., on the eucharist, *Lithos*, in *Arxiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, pt I, 9 (Kiev 1893): 58-59.

Could these church books and the answer of the learned monks have been formulated differently? They adopted the categories of scholastic theology because Greek theology was unsystematized, without any stable technical terminology. Apologetics, like pastoral concerns, forbade the rejection of the Latin structure without providing an alternative. And an alternative the East was not prepared culturally to provide. That the system of the Kiev theologians dominated theological thought in the Orthodox world for several centuries is proof of this.

As the turning to western learning did not signify rejection of patristic traditions, at least in intent, so union with the Latin Church was not a readiness to alter any rites.

The hierarchy that accepted the Union of Brest, then and in the following decades, firmly defended the customs of their Church. The articles of union prepared by the hierarchy demonstrate its concern that all the rites and the discipline of their Church be preserved in their integrity.

Ten years after the Union Ipatij Potij, now metropolitan of Kiev, repeated:

> They say that we corrupt the orthodox faith and the ceremonies of the holy Eastern Church. [. . .] As regards the ceremonies and rites of the holy Eastern Church, those people must be blind if they refuse to see how these are celebrated, in which no change has occurred and will not for all ages, let them only abandon their imaginings and look with their eyes (12).

Besides attachment to their own tradition as something valuable in itself, the very cause of the Union demanded strict observance of all rites. To win the populace it was important to demonstrate, in the face of easily spreading rumors, that nothing of the "rus'ka vira" was being changed. For the people at large attachment to this "Ruthenian faith" was primarily attachment to the forms of worship in all their particulars. The efforts of the Uniate hierarchy, especially of metropolitan Rutskyj, to come to an understanding with the Orthodox hierarchy after its reconstitution in 1620 likewise required faithful observance of the rites. Only such fidelity could convince the opposite side that the Union was indeed unity with, not absorption by the Roman Church.

(12) From the foreword to his publication in 1605 of the letter of metr. Mysail of Kiev in 1476 to pope Sixtus IV, reprinted ibid., 7:194.

The degree of the care taken not to become a stumbling block in the cause of the Union may be measured by trivial incidents. In the final days of December 1629 metropolitan Rutskyj, on a visitation near Kiev, decided to visit Kiev itself. Though a parish church in Kiev was officiated by uniate priests and there were uniate monks at the monastery of Vydubyci near Kiev, the majority of the population, following the influential Kiev Lavra, remained opposed to the Union. On the feast of St Basil, 1 January, Rutskyj abstained from celebrating in the cathedral of St Sophia only because he had left his mitre behind, and to have celebrated without one would have confirmed all the rumors about alteration of the rites; he merely preached at the end of the service. But for Epiphany, 6 January, a mitre was found for him, and a crowd gathered to observe how he celebrated. To their amazement, they could note no changes(13).

The hierarchy was intent on preserving not only the rites of their Church, but also its discipline. In the articles of the Union of Brest the hierarchy sought assurances that the bishops would not need to be confirmed by Rome; only the metropolitan would need confirmation from the Holy See.

The problem of hierarchical structure came up often in the seventeenth century, during the reiterated attempts to "reunite Rus' with Rus'", Catholics and Orthodox. The eastern concept of the local Church being joined to the center of church unity, the bishop of Rome, through an intermediate hierarch, the patriarch, was alive throughout the seventeenth century and was proposed under various guises in the many projects of total union. Indirect dependence on the Roman See, however, seemed to Roman Curia officials as a wavering over the doctrine of Roman primacy(14).

Differences of outlook appeared also over other matters. Rutskyj's coadjutor, bishop Raphael Korsak, declared in 1631 that it was not opportune to introduce the constitution on matrimony of the Council of Trent in the Ruthenian Church. The publication of this constitution would contradict the hierarchy's repeated statements that the Union of Brest did not involve introducing anything new into the Ruthenian Church beyond what was established at the

(13) The entire affair is described by Rutskyj himself, EM, 1:243.

(14) For examples, see J. Krajcar, *The Ruthenian Patriarchate*, OCP, 30 (1964):65-84.

Council of Florence; besides, the practice of the Eastern Church with regard to matrimony was somewhat different from that of the Latin([15]). The Curia officials who sent the constitution for publication had thought only in terms of obedience to a conciliar decision. Korsak, speaking for his Church, replied with pastoral concerns — persons who had not accepted the union and those who had would both fear an erosion of their Church's customs and the very idea of union would suffer. (Besides, he added, the constitution was not observed everywhere even in Latin lands).

Rutskyj wrote at the end of 1636, shortly before his death: "From the time the union [with Rome] was renewed forty years have passed, yet we who are united retain our rite, even though some private persons among us seem to latinize"([16]).

The Break in the Mid-Seventeenth Century

A leaning of some individuals towards Latin practices was unavoidable in Ruthenian lands, where two cultures were in continuous contacts, mutually influencing each other. The influence was indeed not in one direction only, as witness the widespread cult of icons in the Polish Church. But a far stronger influence was bound to be exercised by the more advanced culture and the state Church.

The favoring of Latin usages by some private persons — and Rutskyj in the above quote had in mind priests, especially Basilians, acting without authorization — could not be harmful as long as it was kept in check by church authorities. Every Eastern Church has borrowed and continues to borrow from the West. In the mid-seventeenth century, however, a heavy blow was inflicted on the Uniate Church, which altered its image of itself.

The political consequences of the great Cossack insurrection raised by Bohdan Xem'nyc'kyj in the spring of 1648 and of his accord with Muscovy in Perejaslav in January 1654 led to a profound crisis of identity among the leaders, that is, the hierarchy and the Basilians, of the Ruthenian Catholic Church.

Just as in the West the variety of political and social causes of

([15]) EM, 2:78-85.
([16]) Ibid., 1:380.

the Thirty Years' War was expressed in religious terms, so also in Ukraine the whole range of national and social dissatisfaction became concentrated in the intent to destroy the Union.

The demands of the Cossacks for the abolition of the Union, the willingness of king and diet to accede to those demands, with only the nuncio protesting, the invasion of Belorussia by Muscovite forces that compelled uniate bishops, monks, nuns, and priests to flee the country — all these convinced the leaders that the East, to which they were tied by church traditions, by language, by ethnic bonds, presented only a threat to the existence of their Church. The sense of being a part of eastern christendom, so alive in the first half-century of the Union, waned; the gaze now was directed solely towards the West.

The real perils of destruction that the Ruthenian Catholic Church suffered in the mid-seventeenth century were not the sole causes of this change of outlook. The accomplishments of the half-century of union were disheartening. The central seminary, on which so many hopes had been pinned, remained practically unrealized. Prominent families continued to pass to the Latin Church — an abandonment that had a demoralizing effect. Metropolitan Antony Sjeljava, 1641-1655, was sickly and lacked the vision and will to action of his predecessors, and when he died, soon after the outbreak of the war, the Kievan see remained vacant for ten years, the Church left leaderless in a period of great danger. While the bishop of Xolm, Jakiv Suša, showed admirable spirit and activity, the rest of the hierarchy then and in suceeding decades lacked breadth of outlook([17]).

The division of Ukrainian territories into Right Bank and Kiev with Left Bank, made permanent at the treaty of Andrusovo between Poland and Muscovy in 1667, had direct consequences for the Church. All further efforts to "unite Rus' with Rus'" by reaching an ecclesiastical understanding were rendered impossible by the political division. After the accession of the western Ukrainian eparchies to the Union (Peremyšl' 1691, Lviv 1700, Luc'k 1702), Ukrainian territories became homogenous in the religious sense: western

([17]) Cf. the letters of bishop Jakiv Suša to Rome in this period, in *Litterae Episcoporum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes* (= LE), ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj, 2 (Romae 1973): 121-123 (1658), 248 (1662), and others.

Ukraine was Catholic, eastern Ukraine and Kiev were Orthodox, while in Belorussia the Union was advancing. A concern for the opinion of the other side, hence, ceased to matter. The complaint that the unauthorized introduction of Latin practices by private individuals was a scandal to the Orthodox and kept them away from the Union lost its force.

No longer conscious of an Orthodox presence, except for a dwindling minority in Belorussia, the Ruthenian Catholic Church no longer judged its own development by the criterion whether this helped or hindered others to accept the Union. In the eighteenth century the very awareness of the existence of a Ukrainian Orthodox Church appears to have vanished, to say nothing of knowledge of what was happening within it. Together with other factors, this loss of contact between the two Churches in Ukraine unavoidably led to a greater predisposition in absorbing Latin usages in the Ruthenian Catholic Church.

Needless to say, the consequences of this division for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were even graver, as not by choice it was compelled to abandon its particular traditions.

The Rising Tide of Latin Practices

An uncritical adoption of elements that were not consonant with or could not be adapted to eastern practice set in after the mid-seventeenth century. These borrowings were made by individuals and not authorized by any church authority nor approved by any synod. But this was no obstacle to their dissemination.

Not so much the borrowings themselves as the mentality that adopted them shows how far the ideals of the initiators of the Union of Brest and of metropolitan Rutskyj had been abandoned. Indeed, what marks the Ruthenian Catholic Church after the mid-seventeenth century from what it had been before is not the introduction of this or that borrowing from the West; the expediency or usefulness needs to be looked at individually and set in its cultural context. The most striking mark is the change of outlook: Latin practices are now viewed as normative.

Already metropolitan Cyprian Žoxovs'kyj (1674-1693) regarded the absence in the Eastern Church of Latin devotional practices, the products of the baroque, as a mark of religious backwardness and

ignorance(18). This sense of something lacking, in comparison with the Latin Church, explains why we see the Basilians already in 1667 marking special occasions with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and with the forty-hour devotion(19).

But the clearest expression of this outlook comes in the decrees of the Synod of Zamość in 1720. The Synod did not latinize; the fathers of the synod saw as one of their tasks putting a stop to the private introduction of innovations. At the same time, the reasoning of the synodal decrees seeks support solely in the decisions of the western councils, Trent in particular, and clearly makes of Latin norms the standard. Two examples suffice.

The Synod begins its treatment of the sacrament of confirmation thus:

> The sacrament of confirmation, instituted by Christ the Lord, which parish priests in the Eastern Church by special right and faculty delegated by the bishop, by dispensation of the Holy See, administer immediately after baptism . . .(20)

And of marriage:

> Since the rite of administering this sacrament is almost the same as that in the Latin Church, it has no need of any corrections or changes(21).

The synodal fathers, children of their age, in their absorption of a Latin outlook retained at the same time a sense of acting within a specific tradition. The same synod rejected the prayers for the rites of minor ordinations introduced by the Orthodox metropolitan Peter Mohyla in his Trebnyk (1646) on the grounds that these were a departure from ancient texts and current Greek practice(22).

The contradictory convictions contained in these statements reflect not a conscious desire to alter their rite, but a vacillation arising out of a lack of confidence in their Church. This is the great

(18) See Cyprian ZOCHOWSKI, *Colloquium Lubelskie* (Leopoli [1680]), p. 27-28.

(19) *Arxeografičeskij sbornik dokumentov otnosjaščixsja k istorii severo-zapadnoj Rusi* (=AS), 12 (Vil'na 1900):93, 99 (Vilna).

(20) Tit. III, no. 2, Joannes Dominicus MANSI, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 35 (Parisiis 1902): 1490.

(21) Tit. III, no. 8, ibid., p. 1503.

(22) Tit. III, no. 7, ibid., p. 1499.

difference between the Ruthenian hierarchy of the early eighteenth century and their predecessors of a hundred years earlier.

Whatever might be the synodal decisions, the underlying uncertainty of the church leadership was bound to lead in church practice to the same vacillations between eastern custom and western norms. One example must suffice.

In the mid-eighteenth century the question was raised whether Ruthenian monks and parish priests were bound to recite the canonical hours and whether this was an obligation under pain of mortal sin(23). Both nuncio Alberico Archinto, who posed the question, and metropolitan Florijan Hrebnyc'kyj, who responded, would have considered a simple "No" as proof of unbecoming laxness in the Ruthenian Church, in contrast to the discipline of the Latin. The Latin frame of reference, here and in other cases, forbade a simple solution in line with eastern tradition. The nature and length of the Byzantine office made it obvious to all except a few rigorists that neither monks outside of choir nor parish priests could be bound to recite it. Yet the existence of a different Latin norm did not allow the matter to rest in this undefined way, and in time the view prevailed that the office was obligatory(24).

The Ruthenian Catholic Church, which in the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian state could not even aspire to equal treatment with the Latin, found itself obliged at every step to prove that it indeed was Catholic. The inequality of the two rites in practice was continuously demonstrated by the application of different criteria to the two sides in interritual contacts. Ruthenian priests, to confess Latins, had to have authorization from the respective Latin bishops; needless to say, Latin priests were not bound by an analogous obligation. After all, as nuncio G. B. Lancellotto put it, "such a demand on Latin priests would be taken ill by Latin bishops"(25).

(23) See *Congregationes Particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae Spectantes* (=CP), 2 (Romae 1957): 156, 161, 165, for various opinions.

(24) The Lviv provincial synod of 1891 decreed that "whatever may have been the opinion until now concerning the obligation of the office", henceforth all those in major orders were obliged to recite it, Tit. IV, ch. III, no. 5, *Čynnosty i rišennja* (L'viv 1896), p. 119-120.

(25) *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes* (=LN), ed. Athanasius G. WELYKYJ, 4 (Romae 1960): 237-238 (1626).

The burden of attaining equal treatment naturally led to emphasizing outwardly that the Ruthenian Church was like the Latin, by adopting Latin practices.

Still another problem played a part: how in practice, without mixture of rites, to give evidence that Latins and Greeks formed one Church. The matter came up frequently. Throughout Ruthenian lands the Latin population, though culturally, socially, and politically dominant, was a minority (except in a few towns). Latin churches were sparse, and the problem arose of administering the sacraments to Latins who lived at great distances from their churches. A related problem arose in those Ruthenian sanctuaries, such as Žyrovyci in Belorussia, frequented also by Latins in large numbers. The prohibition of communicating Latins under two species and with leavened bread was absolute, as, with far greater reason, was the consecration of azymes by Ruthenian priests. The pastoral problem, however, remained; it became especially acute in ministering to the dying([26]). However it was resolved in practice (frequently by obtaining consecrated azymes from a Latin priest), it was bound to blur the boundaries between the two rites([27]). In the instance of the eucharist, the pastoral care also of Latin faithful did not involve a latinization of one's own rite, but it tended to instil an outlook that minimized ritual differences, hence was open to innovations beyond what was necessary and useful.

The consequences of the coexistence of two rites in the same

([26]) The matter was frequently raised in correspondence with the Holy See. A few typical examples: *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* (= MUH), 4 (Romae 1967): 89 (1679, Xolm); *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae Spectantes* (= LSCPF), ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj, 3 (Romae 1956): 141 (1720, Kiev region) — two divergent opinions from the Latin side; CP, 2: 157 (1748, on communicating the dying). The prohibition of mixture of rites in consecration was always upheld, but the frequent requests for a dispensation reveal the extent of the pastoral problem, see, among the many that could be cited, *Acta S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantia* (= ASCPF), ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj, 5 (Romae 1955): 89-90 (1776, with references to a response of 1754); LSCPF, 6: 294-295 (response of PF to archbishop Lisovs'kyj of Polock, 1788).

([27]) The consecrated azymes would then be reserved separately for use for Latin communicants, cf. AS, 12: 33-34 (Žyrovyci 1629); LE, 3: 44-45 (Xolm 1665); MUH, 5: 21 (Polick 1705).

territory were especially evident in the field of devotional practices. The Latins who frequented the major sanctuaries, who came to pray before miraculous icons, brought with them customs and attitudes which were bound to affect culturally the Ruthenian pilgrims. Bishop Jakiv Suša of Xolm writes in the 1660s that for the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, the titular of his cathedral, up to 10,000 persons of both rites would come to pray before the famed Xolm icon, and there were large concourses on other feasts as well. It is easy to imagine the Latin faithful singing their pious songs, praying their rosaries, and asking about indulgences (as Suša's letter testifies), as in their own churches.

There is yet another side to the coexistence of two rites. Latin landowners, moved by sincere religious motives, would found or endow parishes for the people — Ruthenians — on their lands. In return, the priest was generally obliged to have certain services or prayers for the founder. When the parish was uniate, the benefactors might request devotions foreign to the Eastern Church, like the Dies irae (to be sung in Slavic, though) after the liturgy for the departed of the founder's family, or the Angelus rung thrice daily, never dreaming that a Catholic Church might not practice what they were accustomed to in their own(28). Sometimes in the case of nobles whose ancestors had belonged to the Ruthenian Church, certain religious memories reappear in bequests, as well as the very choice of a Basilian monastery rather than another religious house for their benefactions. A very generous gift to the Basilian monastery in Brest is accompanied by the request to have the akathist, which the benefactors extol, sung on Marian feasts — but among these feasts they list, besides those common to East and West and those purely eastern (Conception, Pokrov, Synaxis of the Mother of God), also the Visitation. They also request the recitation of the rosary by the monks who are not priests(29).

Rome did not directly favor latinization; in fact, there is no dearth of explicit statements against arbitrary innovation in the rites(30). But as frequently happens, statements of policy and every-

(28) See *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju kommissieju*, 7 (Vil'na 1874):26 (Hrodna district 1713); 9:68 (Polock district 1756).

(29) Ibid., 11:242 (1684).

(30) The strongest such statement comes perhaps in the letter of Benedict XIV, *Demandatum Caelitus*, ibid., 16:158-163.

day decisions and acts were in unperceived disaccord. Matters were settled not on the basis of theoretical statements, but of attitudes towards the Eastern Churchs so deply rooted as to seem self-justified. Such was the tacit assumption that Latin canons possess universal validity, especially where they regard church discipline. But two other assumptions interest us here: the conviction about the superiority of the Latin rite and a distrust of the stability in union with Rome of the "Greeks", not dissipated by all that the Ruthenian Catholic Church endured in the seventeenth century. The random examples cited might appear trivial, but frequent petty acts are more telling than official declaration untranslated into practice.

The nuncio to Warsaw Mario Filonardi wrote in 1642 that he was opposed to prohibiting Ruthenians from passing to the Latin rite because this "would be very prejudical to the Catholic religion and to the salvation of those souls"(31). The conclusion can only be that the nuncio did not consider an Eastern Catholic Church really Catholic.

There is the case of a Dominican who wanted to transfer to the Basilians (1673); examination unearthed that he had been baptized and raised in the Ruthenian Church, then with his entire family had passed to the Latin rite and had entered the Dominican Order without any dispensation. His request to transfer to the Basilians was supported by the nuncio not on the grounds that they were of his native rite, but because Basilians and the bishops chosen from among them "are more stable in the union when they have relatives in the Latin rite"(32). Such favoring of individuals with personal ties to the Latin Church necessarily led to the promotion of persons with marked latinizing tendencies and in consequence contributed towards conformity to Latin practices and outlook.

Conformity to Latin practices was likewise fostered by the formation Ruthenian clerics received in the pontifical colleges. The observance of eastern fasts and feasts, to say nothing of participation in eastern liturgical rites, was not to be expected in international colleges abroad. The Greek College in Rome, however, should have been an exception, founded as it was exclusively for the "Greeks", but there too the Latin rite was imposed on the students(33). It is

(31) LN, 6:159.
(32) ASCPF, 2:39.
(33) The constitution of the College prescribed the observance of the

still more difficult to comprehend why the Theatine rector of the Lviv Pontifical Seminary for Armenians and Ruthenians should have requested and promptly received permission to have the students conform to Latin discipline throughout their years there([34]).

BELORUSSIA AND UKRAINE

In the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries the development of the Ruthenian Catholic Church was largely due to the Basilians. Monks have always been more influential in the East than the secular clergy; the Ruthenian Basilians moreover were the educated stratum in their Church and all the bishops were chosen from their ranks. The practices they adopted and propagated became the norm for the Church, since the parish clergy, poorly educated and largely excluded from administrative offices in the Church, was without wider influence. The introduction of Latin practices and Latin outlook, therefore, is rightly ascribed to the Basilians.

The Basilian monasteries of Xolm and Žyrovyci, as mentioned earlier, had miracle-working icons that drew large crowds of the faithful, among them many Latins. Xolm was an episcopal see, and bishop Jakiv Suša, one of the most vigilant about ritual observation, could restrain, though with difficulty, the tendency of the monks to meet the Latin faithful more than halfway([35]). At Žyrovyci there was no such restraint; the monastery was a religious center for the surrounding countryside. Already in 1684 the Žyrovyci monks requested permission to follow the Gregorian calendar, whereby they would have been in contrast to the observances of the rest of their Church. Even more surprisingly, they also asked that some among them be permitted to celebrate the Latin mass. This last request

Greek rite unless there was danger of scandal to the Latins (!), and, as J. Krajcar puts it, "the Latins were extremely susceptible to scandal in those times", *The Greek College in the Years of Unrest*, OCP, 32 (1966):20.

([34]) CP, 2:102-108 (1744); LSCPF, 6:100 (1780). For another treatment of the latinizing tendency, see Ioannes PRASZKO, *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665* Romae 1944), p. 243-308.

([35]) See his letters to Rome, e.g., MUH, 3:154, 230, for his complaints about the innovations and alterations by the Basilians.

was not for the benefit of the Žyrovyci monastery alone, but for all(36).

What is usually overlooked when such examples are cited, is that neither the Basilians nor the Ruthenian Church as a whole were homogenus. Ethnic and historical factors played their part in the development of church life in Belorussian and Ukrainian territories. The Union in 1596 took root mostly in Belorussia; the three largest Ukrainian eparchies joined the Union only a century later, and individual monasteries up to 1721. Until the eighteenth century, beyond western influences transmitted through the Polish culture with which they were in contact, neither the Basilians nor the Church as a whole in these regions had absorbed Latin practices. Even afterwards latinization in the Ukrainian eparchies, with the exception of Xolm, was much less extensive than in the Belorussian.

In 1744, a year after the Ukrainian province of the Basilians was united with the Belorussian (called Lithuanian), the Roman procurator of the former, Athanasius Čarkovs'kyj, wrote that the Council of Trent should not be cited in any resolution, because this would cause "fears and turmoils among the ignorant and the schismatics"(37). These words echo those of bishop Raphael Korsak a century earlier, quoted above, in spite of the abundant references to Trent at the Synod of Zamość in the meanwhile. A resistance to Latin ways was still strong in the Ukrainian eparchies.

In Belorussia, on the contrary, already in the 1630s, as we saw Rutskyj complaining, a few among the Basilians had been carried away by Latin practices, and with time that inclination became widespread. In the mid-seventeenth century at their chapters the Basilians ruled that superiors and visitators were to "root out all those abuses" introduced by some hieromonks on their own "and not allow these to be practiced", but such calls proved ineffective(38). In the second half of the eighteenth century the Latin element in their practices is pronounced. Thus, the Basilians in Maxirov (Po-

(36) *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielarusjae*, ed. Athanasius G. WELYKYJ, 1 (Romae 1960):270.

(37) C. KOROLEVSKIJ, *Catalogus archivi procuratoris generalis Ecclesiae Ruthenae in Urbe, Analecta OSBM*, 7, no. 1 (1949):111.

(38) As their repetition proves: AS, 12:48 (1650), 74 (1661), 96 (1667), and others.

lock eparchy) celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the archimandrite of Lješć near Vilna fostered the founding of a confraternity of the Sacred Heart(39). In other monasteries Latin feasts had supplanted those of the Eastern Church(40). By the beginning of the ninettenth century Latin elements dominated in the observances of the Basilians in Belorussia.

Besides the longer exposure of the Church in Belorussia to Polish-Latin influences, the difference is due to the far weaker national-historical consciousness in Belorussia. In Ukraine the memory of the princely period, the presence of Kiev as a religious center, and contemporary Cossack feats kept alive a sense of historical tradition and identity among all classes of society. One looks in vain for a similar consciousness in Belorussian folklore. Religious culture and tastes, be it emphasized once again, do not develop apart from all else; like every other aspect of social life, they reflect general cultural trends.

In Belorussia, finally, in constrast to Ukraine, many Latins entered the Basilian Order. While some of these were of Ruthenian origin baptized in the Latin rite, others were Poles and Lithuanians. Visitations of the mid-eighteenth century show that the knowledge of the Ruthenian language among the Belorussian Basilians was remarkable enough to be especially noted(41). The presence of Latins and the education of the ablest members of the Order in Latin schools led inexorably to increasing absorption of Latin customs.

To draw attention to differences within the Kievan metropolitan province and to the preponderance of latinization in Belorussia is not to deny the influence of Latin religious practices in Ukrainian territories. Examples of many kinds could be cited. Manuscript books of prayers or of pious readings, in which psalms and akathists alternate with devotions to St Antony of Padua and meditations on the joyful mysteries, show the penetration of Latin religious culture

(39) *Audientiae Sanctissimi de Rebus Ucrainae et Bielarusjae*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj, 2 (Romae 1965):49, 55 (both 1781).

(40) LSCPF, 6:238-239 (1786).

(41) In the Visitationum monasteriorum a R.mo Joanne Lukianowicz, visitatore provinciali peractarum a capitulo generali Brestense II anni 1751 usque ad capitulum anni 1755, quadriennium, in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlund, s.n., n. 3844.

in the personal piety of priests and faithful(42). Perhaps the popularity of St Antony in Poland can explain why even the Basilians in Xolm wanted to observe solemnly his feast(43). In Ukraine too monasteries that possessed renowned icons were inclined to enhance devotional practices for pilgrims with Latin borrowings, such as organs(44). But Latin influence there never reached the same proportions and general adoption as it did in Belorussia.

Some Final Considerations

However far ritual latinizations had advanced, the opposite current in the Ruthenian Catholic Church, that of eliminating elements not consonant with eastern tradition, never disappeared. In the second half of the eighteenth century the synod planned for 1765 in Brest intended a thorough examination of ritual matters. But this synod, because of undue interference by king Stanislas Poniatowski in its proceedings, was suspended immediately after its opening. Afterwards, the archbishop of Polock and later metropolitan Heraclius Lisovskyj also actively promoted a liturgical reform(45).

Lisovskyj's efforts, however well-meaning and laudable in themselves, were misguided for his times. The major portion of the Catholic Kievan metropolitan province passed under Russia in the

(42) See Iljarion Svjencickyj, *Opys rukopysiv Narodnoho Domu z koljekcii Ant. Petruševyča*, 3 (= Ukrajins'ko-rus'kyj arxiv, 7; u L'vovi 1911): 174-176.

(43) LSCPF, 4: 35-36 (1732).

(44) As at Hošiv, see Myxajlo Vavryk, *Po vasylijans'kyx manastyrjax* (Toronto 1958), p. 172.

(45) On these two attempts at liturgical reform, see Stephanus Wiwčaruk, *De Synodo Provinciali Berestensi* (Romae 1963); M. M. Solowij, *De Reformatione Liturgica Heraclii Lisowskyj* (Romae 1950). A note on what needs to be reformed: not everything that today is exclusive to the Ukrainian Church is a latinization, as is often presumed, as by Á. F. Xojnackij, *Zapadnorusskaja cerkovnaja unija v ee bogosluženii i obrjadax* (Kiev 1871). Only more detailed studies of the historical development of the liturgy can sort out ancient practices, legitimate development to which every Church has a right, and mistaken borrowings; an example of such an analysis for the eucharistic liturgy is Laurence Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province during the Period of Union with Rome* (Rome 1990).

partitions of the Polish state (1772-1795), and Russian Orthodoxy was fostered under the guise of a campaign to restore the true eastern rite, by which was meant Russian synodal usages. The sense of their Church being imperiled by enforced absorption into Russian Orthodoxy led its members to cling to those features that most set it apart, that is, to borrowings western in spirit. The reaction that had come after the perils of the mid-seventeenth century, thus, was repeated: in Belorussia before 1839, in the Xolm eparchy before 1875 (in which years the Union was suppressed). The persecution in these territories under the guise of a purification of the rite had the further consequence of an extremely cautious approach to any liturgical reform in western Ukraine under Austrian rule (though other factors also entered in). The very same reaction, for the same reasons, can be observed in the underground Church in western Ukraine since 1946.

In any period in the life of the Ruthenian Church — as of any other Eastern Church — elements can be picked out in liturgical rites, in legislation, in iconography, in short, in all aspects of church life, which first appeared in the Latin West. But is every borrowing from the West a disfiguring of the spirit of the Eastern Church and to be condemned?

To take the example of the West is not in itself an evil. A solution for a pastoral problem may have at first been found in the West; at other times, the West may lead in a return to authentic tradition. There is no doubt that the example of participation in the sacraments among the Latins influenced their slow revival in the Ukrainian Church. No one — justly — viewed it as a latinization, but as a step towards recovering the practices of the early Church, of the common heritage of East and West. Bishop Jakiv Suša, lauding the daily celebration by a deceased bishop, calls him an "imitator of the admirable ancient fathers"(46).

The example of Latin popular devotions with the active participation of the faithful had an attraction for the Ruthenian population. To counteract this attraction and the further loss of their faithful, the Ruthenian Church had to provide similar services. When in the seventeenth century metropolitan Peter Mohyla introduced into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church a Passion service for the Fridays of

(46) LE, 2:313, cf. 238, 331.

Lent, he channeled the devotional inclinations of his age in a service that in its structure and in its phrasing was completely faithful to Byzantine tradition. Similarly, in the Ukrainian Catholic Church the Moleben (Prayer Service) to the Mother of God, as it was drawn up in the early twentieth century, is an example of a new service, but faithful to tradition. Both services in their themes are dependent on the West, but both show how liturgical life can be developed to meet new needs without going contrary to the spirit of the Byzantine liturgy. Both contain ancient texts, arranged so as to be sung by the entire congregation; the services are reasonable in length, popular in style, and provide for instruction by homilies.

If the impulse to these and similar practices came from the West, the form and content are eastern, and only blind prejudice coupled with the most cursory acquaintance with these services can label them as latinizations. An attempt to freeze liturgical (and other) development in some imaginary ideal form reduces the liturgy to an archeological curio, not to a living instrument for the spiritual growth of the mass of the faithful. A blind disregard of the needs of the faithful in liturgical services in the nineteenth century by the Orthodox Church in Ukraine through the suppression of all native elements was one of the causes of a massive movement to sectarianism, in which the people could express their religious feelings in popular form.

The same consequences from the same causes are observable in other Orthodox Churches. "The nominal, incomprehensible, and often defective worship" is seen as one of the causes of the "massive apostasy" of the Russian people from the Church, and adaptations in liturgical practices are advocated out of pastoral concern to correct the "sad state of affairs prevailing today which makes the faithful 'attendants' rather than *participants* of the divine services"([47]).

Recognition for the pastoral success of the Ukrainian Catholic Church comes from an unexpected quarter: the Russian Orthodox Church Council of 1917-1918. During discussions about autonomy

([47]) Alexander SCHMEMANN, *On the Question of Liturgical Practices. A Letter to My Bishop, St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly,* 17 (1973):227-238. See also the comments of Aleksandr ELČANINOV, *Zapisi* (2nd ed., Paris, n.d.), p. 74-75.

for the Orthodox Church in Ukraine one of the delegates explained what it was that appealed to the people in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

> It seems to me, that the Union is strong primarily because it has assumed the character of a Church of the people. Everyone who has been to Halyčyna cannot deny that this is the primary reason for the strength of the Union. When you enter a church in Halyčyna, you hear the sermon in your native language, you feel that here the secret of being close to the people has been grasped. I remember one occasion, when on the first day of Christmas the liturgy was being celebrated in a uniate church in a small town not far from the front. The entire church was filled to capacity with [Ukrainian] soldiers. What a deep impression was made by the sermon, preached in a comprehensible language, and by the singing of all present. When all those soldiers, just come back from the front, sang "Glory to God in the highest", you felt a kind of immense spiritual exaltation. This is what the union is strong in: it has become truly the faith of the people; this is what makes the union dangerous. I think there can be no place for the union in [Great] Ukraine, but to ensure that, all efforts have to be directed to form there the same kind of church life, corresponding to the needs of the people(48).

In Ukraine attachment to traditional observances never displaced doctrine as the contents of the faith. This leads to a tolerant attitude towards differences in ritual practice. Two metropolitans, publishing liturgical books three hundred years apart, voice the same attitude towards rites.

> If some adversary should want to oppose [this trebnyk] by bringing up discrepancies with those printed in Lviv, Strjatyn, Ostrih, and Vilna: to such a person we answer that if there should be some faults or errors in those trebnyky, these do no injury to our salvation, [...] but only are not in agreement over ceremonies, keeping to their old customs(49).

> We have blessed and ordered the printing of this book, called Služebnyk, which contains everything necessary for the celebration of the divine liturgies as well as the office of matins and vespers, in conformity with the authentic and true eastern rite of the one, holy, catholic Church of Christ, and containing nothing contrary to it, but by no means rejecting what has lawfully been done differently(50).

(48) Peter T. Sheshko, *The Russian Orthodox Church Sobor of Moscow and the Orthodox Church in Ukraine*, AOSBM, 16 (1979):303.

(49) Peter Mohyla, Trebnyk, Kiev 1646, Introduction.

(50) The authorization of metr. Andrew Šeptyc'kyj in the Služebnyk, Lviv 1929.

To recognize only a relative, not an absolute value in church rites and to be in principle open to influences from elsewhere lays the Church open to the risk of accepting what is unnecessary or what cannot be harmonized with its own tradition. The presence of such practices has often served as sufficient grounds for dismissing or even condemning that Church. But the principle that rites are secondary is surely correct. Exaggerated ritualism is a graver distortion of the nature of the Church.

Pont. Istituto Orientale, Roma Sophia SENYK

GIUSTO TRAINA

Iscrizioni bizantine da Bargylia (Caria)

In ricordo di Jean Benoit

0. Si pubblicano qui in forma preliminare le iscrizioni poste su due plutei rinvenuti nell'estate del 1988 fra le rovine di Bargylia, nell'ambito della prospezione topografica del Golfo di Mandalya([1]). L'area del rinvenimento, già in parte conosciuta([2]), corrisponde a un complesso di edifici bizantini in stato di crescente abbandono (*Fig. 1*), da cui proviene l'iscrizione già conosciuta, e ancora in situ, con la dedica di un epistilio([3]). Presso quest'area è stato rivenuto un recinto di pastori, composto da blocchi di spoglio provenienti con ogni probabilità dalla sottostante chiesa, fra cui si trovano i due blocchi inscritti.

1. Il blocco A è un frammento di pluteo decorato a finta transenna. (*Fig. 2*). Misura cm 66 x 58 x 33. L'iscrizione si trova sul listello superiore, alto cm 5, 8, e su parte della banda laterale destra, larga cm 14, 5. L'altezza delle lettere varia fra i 2 e i 3 cm. L'iscrizione nr. 1, molto danneggiata, si legge:

καν]κέλλους συνποιῶσι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
κ(υρίο)υ δο–
μά–
των

2. Il testo si ricollega a quello delle iscrizioni del blocco B, che si trovano su entrambi i lati (*Figg. 3-4*).

([1]) La prospezione è guidata dal Prof. E. La Rocca (Università di Pisa), che qui ringrazio per avermi permesso di presentare i testi epigrafici all'attenzione degli studiosi. Il complesso della chiesa bizantina di Bargylia sarà studiato più a fondo in un lavoro in corso da parte del sottoscritto e della Dott. M. Falla Castelfranchi (Univ. di Chieti). Ringrazio V. von Falkenhausen, D. Feissel, V. Ruggieri per i suggerimenti.

([2]) Cf. da ultimo G. E. BEAN, *Turkey beyond the Maeander*[2], London-New York 1980, 62 ss.

([3]) In W. BLÜMEL, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* II, Bonn 1985, nr. 638, con bibl.

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Il blocco misura cm 70 × 58 × 33. L'iscrizione nr. 2 si trova sul lato non decorato, che presenta sul lato sinistro fratturato tracce del braccio di una croce (*Fig. 3*). Altezza delle lettere: ca. cm 6 alla l. 1, ca. cm. 4 alle ll. successive.

Αὐξίβιος ὁ ἐδεσιμ(ότατος) π(ρεσβύτερος)
ὑ]πὲρ σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ τῶν πεδίων μου
ἔστρωσα τὴν στοὰν
καὶ τοὺς κανκέλλους ἐ-
ποίη]σ̣α ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θ(ε)ο(ῦ) δομάτων
εὐχ]αρίστων τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἁγί-
οις

L'iscrizione nr. 3, in cattivo stato di conservazione, corre sul listello superiore della decorazione architettonica. Altezza delle lettere dai 3 ai 6 cm.

?ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἑαυτο]ῦ καὶ τωῦ π[εδ]ίων μου ἐπο̣[ίησα

La paleografia ci porta intorno al V-VI d.C.: lettere tipiche *alfa, kappa, epsilon* e *ksi*. Notevole la forma peculiare del *delta*.

3. I tre testi, che sembrano riferirsi a un unico contesto, si aggiungono così al dossier delle iscrizioni cristiane di Bargylia, rappresentato finora dal suddetto epistilio e dall'iscrizione con preghiera di Christodoulos([4]). Le formule dell'iscrizione, spesso ricorrenti nelle *Bauinschriften* del V-VI d.C., così come anche la formula ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (κυρίου) etc.([5]), non costituiscono particolari problemi. Il complesso della chiesa di Bargylia prevedeva una στοά lastricata e dei κάγκελλοι([6]) ossia, probabilmente, l'area relativa a un

([4]) *IvIasos* nr. 640, con bibl. I titoli nr. 637 e 639 provengono da altri contesti: il titolo 637, con la menzione di un *diakonikon* e di un vescovo, proviene «probablement» da Bargylia (Le Bas-Waddington nr. 498); il titolo 639, con la menzione del prete Giovanni e di almeno altri tre personaggi, proviene dalla chiesa installatasi sull'area del centro arcaico di Kindya, situata dall'altra parte della baia di Varvıl. I risultati preliminari della suddetta prospezione topografica mostrano che l'area costiera di Iasos e Bargylia era ben popolata da insediamenti ed edifici religiosi databili intorno al V-VI d.C.

([5]) Cf. Grégoire, *Recueil* nr. 123[6].

([6]) Per l'accezione di στοά cf. G. Downey, *Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms*, TAPhA 57 (1946), 22-36; v. anche Id., *The Architectural Significance of the Words Stoa and Basilike in Classical Literature*, AJA 41 (1937), 194-211. Il termine, come molti altri termini 'tecnici', resta fondamentalmente ambiguo, e solo la pulitura e il rilievo del complesso ecclesiale (programmati per le prossime campagne di ricerca) chiariranno il contesto delle iscrizioni. Il termine κάγκελλος (dal lat. *cancellus*), riferito ai plutei della chiesa, ricorre spesso in testi contemporanei. A Iasos è già attestato in un'iscrizione del II d.C. (*IvIasos* nr. 112.6), così

colonnato e le recinzioni dell'area presbiteriale, poi confluite in parte nel moderno recinto.

4. L'insieme delle iscrizioni coincide con lo stato della documentazione sull'evergetismo cristiano intorno al V-VI secolo, con cui si evolve il tessuto sociale della città ellenistico-romana(7): le decorazioni architettoniche, e la pianta della chiesa, sembrerebbero confermare questa datazione, come anche la paleografia(8). I δόματα del Signore utilizzati per la costruzione delle singole parti della chiesa mostrano la divisione dell'attività edilizia, controllata dall'autorità episcopale (cf. il congiuntivo esortativo συνποιῶσι dell'iscr. 1).

5. Il prete Auxibios reca un nome non comune, ma già attestato nel III a.C. a Delo(9), e nel II d.C. a Efeso(10). Il nome è forse influenzato dalla tipologia delle iscrizioni cristiane che iniziano con la formula Αὔξ(ε)ι(11): un nome Αὐξίνιον, da un'iscrizione della Frigia, è ritenuto come indigeno da L. Robert(12). La titolatura è ugualmente tipica dell'area.

6. Ciò che rende quest'iscrizione particolarmente importante è il riferimento al solo S. Pietro, nominato con «i santi», probabilmente gli Apostoli. Difficile comprendere la funzione di S. Pietro nel contesto della Bargylia cristiana: si può ipotizzare forse la presenza di una comunità religiosa ebraica, ma in ogni caso è necessario rivedere le *idées reçues* sul culto di Pietro in Oriente, certamente più esteso di quanto non si voglia immaginare sulla base dei modelli costantinopolitani(13).

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come a Efeso (*IvEphesos* nr. 3065.12, età traianea, relativa a edifici di spettacolo). Sempre in quest'ambito cf. un'iscrizione cristiana da Hydisos (*IvMylasa* nr. 957.4). Cf. anche C. MANGO, *On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople*, Zograf 10 (1981), 40-3.

(7) Cf. E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvrété économique et pauvrété sociale à Byzance. 4e-7e siècle*, Paris-La Haye 1977, 196 ss.; G. DAGRON, *Le christianisme dans la ville*, DOP 31 (1977), 1-25.

(8) Lo studio di M. Falla Castelfranchi, a cui devo queste precisazioni, confermerà meglio il contesto. Per la paleografia (riferita peraltro all'area greco-balcanica) cf. N. MOUTSOPOULOS, *La morphologie des inscriptions byzantines et post-byzantines de Grèce*, Cyrillomethodianum 3 (1975), 53-105.

(9) *IDélos* nr. 354.79.

(10) *IvEphesos* nr. 1600.44.

(11) Cf. G. DAGRON-D. FEISSEL, *Inscription de Cilicie*, Paris, 1987, 43.

(12) L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1963, 293 s.

(13) Cf. lo studio di V. von FALKENHAUSEN, *San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina*, SSAM 34 (1986) [1988], 627-58; discussione, 659-74. Si potrebbe immaginare, con ogni probabilità, un'influenza della Chiesa di Antiochia. Per l'esigenza di specificare le singole situazioni nei contesti d'Asia Minore cf. M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, in G. TRAINA-M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, *S. Giovanni di Efeso nel V d.C. Note critiche*, 'Atti del conv. di paleografia bizantina' (Erice 1988), c.s. Importante un'epigrafe da Kasisios, del VI d.C. (*IvMylasa* nr. 946), che cita Pietro, Paolo e tutti gli apostoli.

7. La datazione del contesto è suggerita dalla stessa situazione storica. Una ristrutturazione del territorio fra il Concilio di Calcedonia e l'età di Giustiniano è innegabile: e sappiamo dal *Synekdemos* di Hierokles che nell'eparchia di Caria vi erano due città battezzate Markianoupolis e Anastasioupolis. Poiché nella lista di Hierokles Bargylia (un cui vescovo Giovanni aveva partecipato al sinodo calcedoniano(14)) non compare, a differenza di Iasos(15), si è voluto ipotizzare un cambiamento temporaneo del nome di Bargylia.

L'ipotesi, già lanciata dal Ramsay e sposata dal Jones, è stata duramente criticata da altri studiosi, da ultimo il Robert(16); si tratta però, a mio parere, d'ipercritica eccessiva. Di fatto, non è necessario entrare nella questione dell'ordine geografico del *Synekdemos*, che non veniva sempre rispettato: nondimeno, la menzione di ben due (ri)fondazioni da parte di Marciano e Anastasio mostra come l'attività edilizia di questi imperatori contribuisse a ristrutturare almeno i territori costieri di una regione come la Caria, da sempre restia a controlli del territorio interno e interessata da un brigantaggio endemico(17). È anche probabile che una ristrutturazione di Bargylia fosse dovuta alle conseguenze del terremoto sofferto da Rodi nel 515/16 d.C.(18).

Le *Bauinschriften* di Bargylia confermano in ogni caso il processo in corso, che prevedeva una trasformazione delle aree urbane, e di un controllo di città e territori da parte delle autorità civili, con conseguente «liquefazione delle autorità civili»(19). In attesa di future ricerche sul territorio cario fra tardo antico e medioevo, questi titoli possono contribuire alla ripresa del problema.

Giusto TRAINA

Perugia

(14) *Acta concil.* II. 4-6. Nelle *Notitiae episcopatuum Eccl. Constant.* (ed. DARROUZÈS, Paris 1981), la città è chiamata Barbylia, con il nome che stava assumendo in epoca post-classica (1.303, 2.366, 3.484, 4.321, 9.262, 10.315, 13.318; fa eccezione 7.380., che nomina Bargylia): cf. L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², Paris 1962, 103.

(15) *Hierocl.* 689.6 s. HONIGMANN. Cf. L. ROBERT, *La Carie* II, Paris 1954, 338 n. 4.

(16) *Ibid.*, con bibl. precedente.

(17) Cf. STEIN, *Hist. Bas-Empire*² II, 474 s. L'interno della Caria sarebbe stato poi evangelizzato da Giovanni di Efeso, su spinta di Giustiniano, che sembra aver delegato alla Chiesa il controllo di una regione lontana dalla frontiera orientale, ma non meno 'di frontiera' per le sue caratteristiche geografiche e sociologiche.

(18) EVAGR. *HE* 3.43; Malal. 406.19-21 (che menziona espressamente l'attività ricostruttiva di Anastasio). Per le ricostruzioni di Anastasio cf. in generale C. CAPIZZI, *L'imperatore Anastasio*, Roma 1964, 92 s.

(19) Sintesi e bibl. in G. RAVEGNANI, *Castelli e città fortificate nel VI secolo*, Bologna 1983, 22 s.



Fig. 2 – Blocco A, iscrizione n. 1.



Fig. 3 - Blocco B, iscrizione n. 2.



Fig. 4 - Blocco B, iscrizione n. 3.

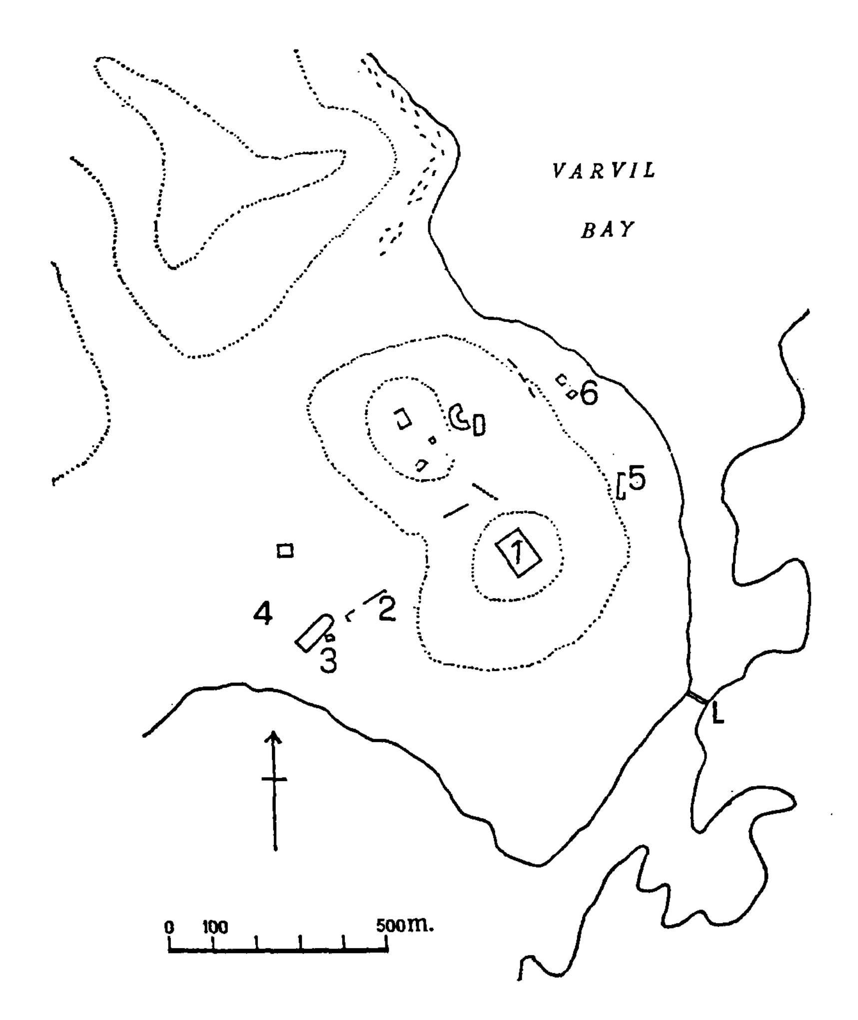


Fig. 1 - Pianta delle rovine di Bargylia (da Bean). - 1. Ochyroma byzantino. - 2. Muro bizantino. - 3. Chiesa. - 4. Luogo del ritrovamento delle iscrizioni. - 5,6. Edifici bizantini.

MIGUEL ARRANZ S.J.

Il concilio di Ferrara-Firenze a cinque secoli e mezzo di distanza

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Sotto questo titolo ha avuto luogo a Firenze — e per un poco a Ferrara — dal 23 al 29 settembre 1989 un colloquio internazionale (e interecclesiale).

Due eucaristie celebrate in giorni differenti a Santa Maria Novella, che fu la sede del concilio, la prima presieduta dall'arcivescovo della diocesi, Cardinale Silvano Piovanelli, e la seconda concelebrata dal metropolita ortodosso di Svizzera Damaskinos (Papandreou) e da quattro preti (due russi dell'emigrazione, un terzo del Patriarcato di Mosca e un quarto del Patriarcato di Bucarest), coll'assistenza ogni volta di tutti i membri del colloquio, hanno evocato le sofferte vicende di quel concilio di unione che non riuscì a portare i partecipanti alla comunione e tanto meno a rappacificare le due Rome.

La preghiera congiunta nella stessa chiesa davanti alla tomba di uno dei protagonisti del concilio, l'ottantenne patriarca di Costantinopoli Giuseppe, morto verso la fine dei lavori conciliari, rendeva consapevoli i presenti che i tempi di Dio non sono i nostri e che l'«homo ecclesiasticus» è ben capace di rallentare e anche di arrestare l'azione divina.

È emblematico che il 12 luglio 1439, una settimana dopo aver firmato la bolla d'unione, i Greci si siano rifiutati di commemorare papa Eugenio IV nei dittici della loro liturgia, nonostante l'insistenza dell'imperatore bizantino, Giovanni Paleologo, che durante i 15 mesi di lavori congiunti greco-latini fu un deciso e alle volte indiscreto fautore dell'unione. Questo rifiuto di mettere il papa in cima alla lista dei capi della Chiesa commemorati nella liturgia si prolungherà dopo il ritorno a Costantinopoli e là dove l'imperatore e il patriarca pro-unionista riusciranno a far commemorare il papa l'assistenza dei fedeli diminuirà.

Nel 1444 l'intrepido metropolita di Kiev e Mosca, il greco Isidoro, riuscirà a proclamare il decreto di unione e a commemorare il papa nella sua cattedrale dell'Assunta, nel cuore del Cremlino. Isidoro era stato ordinato vescovo dal patriarca di Costantinopoli poco prima e in vista del concilio, così come lo era stato Bessarione di Nicea (tutti e due dopo il concilio fatti cardinali di S.R.C. e divenuti validi diplomatici al servizio del papa), come pure l'anti-unionista radicale Marco di Efeso; i tre saranno i teologi di spicco della parte greca. Ma l'unionismo di Isidoro sarà senza seguito data la politica anti-unionista dello zar Basilio che ambiva l'indipendenza ecclesiastica dalla Chiesa madre di Costantinopoli dove basileus e patriarca stavano dalla parte dell'unione.

Quello stesso 1444 i patriarchi di Alessandria, Antiochia e Gerusalemme denunceranno e respingeranno l'unione raggiunta. Poi nel 1484 la Chiesa Bi-

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zantina, in nome dei quattro patriarchi, condannerà senza mezzi termini il concilio di Firenze e deciderà che i Latini che si fanno ortodossi siano di nuovo battezzati(1). Come mai spiegare questo voltafaccia, se voltafaccia fu? Era scopo del colloquio riflettere su questo doloroso problema.

È vero d'altra parte che nemmeno la Chiesa di Roma tenne fede ai suoi impegni e, *punctum dolens*, non solo conservò la gerarchia parallela latina in territori bizantini nonostante l'insistenza in senso contrario dell'imperatore, ma continuò a alimentarla successivamente.

È d'altra parte significativo che la Chiesa Romana abbia cercato di riparare i guasti del post-concilio non solo favorendo le oggi tanto contestate unioni con le singole Chiese orientali, ma anche accettando nella sua comunione singole diocesi o provincie ecclesiastiche a rischio — purtroppo non teorico — di approfondire il fossato fra Cattolicesimo e Ortodossia che si era tentato di superare con buona volontà nel 1439; e benché in tutti i documenti di queste unioni si sia sempre da parte romana evocato il concilio di Firenze, resta il fatto sorprendente che gli «acta» latini del concilio, degni di un posto d'onore nei famosi archivi vaticani, non siano mai stati trovati(2).

Il concilio di Firenze fu considerato dai Greci come «ottavo concilio ecumenico» ignorando i due concili costantinopolitani dell'869 e dell'879 — il primo canonicamente superato dal secondo, in cui il patriarca Fozio si era riconciliato con il papa di Roma — e naturalmente tutti gli altri concili occidentali, ivi compreso quello di Lione del 1274, dove mancando all'ultimo momento la lucidità dell'Aquinate si arrivò ad una effimera formula più di sottomissione che di unione. Accettò Roma a Firenze questa sconfessione dell'ecumenicità dei proprii concili dei secoli IX-XV? Difficile provarlo senza gli «Acta Latina».

Si sa che il concilio cominciò a Ferrara (perché i Greci volevano avere a portata le loro navi) l'8 gennaio 1438 in presenza di pochi prelati latini, prima dell'arrivo del papa e dei Greci, e che si concluse a Roma nel Laterano qualche anno dopo, appena il predominio cittadino dei Colonna permise a papa Eugenio, della famiglia Condulmer, di ritornare nell'urbe, ma non si sa con precisione quando finì; certamente dopo il 7 agosto 1445, data dell'ultimo documento conciliare esistente.

Fra il gennaio 1438 e l'agosto 1445 avevano avuto luogo la proclamazione della bolla d'unione(3) — dopo la firma di quasi tutti gli aventi diritto — il 6 luglio 1439 (la prima e ultima vera seduta del concilio di Firenze!) e la successiva partenza della maggioranza dei Greci. Un altro atto conciliare importante fù la sentenza definitiva contro il parallelo e rivale concilio di Basilea, avvenuta il 4 settembre 1439 con la partecipazione di 12 prelati greci che indossavano i paramenti episcopali. Seguirono le unioni con altre Chiese non

(1) Cf. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 49 (1983) 84-85.

(2) A dire la verità, la stessa lacuna è purtroppo da registrarsi anche per gli *Acta Graeca* ufficiali (N.d. Redaz.).

(3) Cf. testo latino in J. Gill, *Il Concilio di Firenze*, Sansoni, Firenze 1967, 491-494, cf. ibid. fra le pag. 360 e 361 la fotografia delle firme dei Greci.

bizantine: con gli Armeni il 22 novembre 1439, coi Copti il 4 febbraio 1442, coi Manichei della Bosnia dopo il 1 ottobre 1443, coi Caldei il 30 settembre 1444 e finalmente, il 7 agosto 1445, coi Caldei e coi Maroniti di Cipro. Altre unioni progettate, come quella con gli Etiopici, non sembrano siano arrivate in porto.

Papa Eugenio, aveva realizzato una opera titanica in favore della riunificazione della Cristianità del suo tempo; ma ragionevolmente preoccupato di rinsaldare l'unità del proprio «patriarcato» dopo la triste disfatta del «grande scisma» e la vittoria di Pirro dei concili di Pisa (1409) e di Costanza (1418), era caduto nel capestro del concilio di Basilea, che tante noie causava e che fu una delle ragioni dell'apparente mancanza di considerazione del papa verso la sensibilità bizantina. Eppure Eugenio riconosceva il merito dei Greci, che mentre erano sollecitati dai padri di Basilea a seguire il loro concilio piuttosto che quello del papa, avevano deciso, nonostante i prammmatici consigli dei Veneziani e la massiccia adesione delle corti europee — quelle corti su cui tanto contava Costantinopoli per salvarsi dai Turchi ormai incalzanti — di optare per il papa piuttosto che per Basilea che pur favoriva le loro istanze di indipendenza da Roma.

Infatti, come è stato suggerito durante il colloquio, alla conciliarità parlamentaristica di Basilea, orientata verso l'interesse delle singoli nazioni e comunque opposta al dirigismo centralista di Roma, i Greci avevano preferito il papa perché rappresentava il sistema conciliare classico che aveva fatto le sue prove nei sette concili ecumenici, in cui la libertà del singolo vescovo veniva espressa nell'ambito gerarchico del proprio patriarcato (specialmente a partire dal concilio di Calcedonia nel 451), e così il consenso avveniva a livello di Chiese patriarcali; si sa che i Greci erano arrivati a Ferrara pensando alla famosa pentarchia, non molto popolare a Roma, delle cinque sedi tradizionali: Roma, Costantinopoli, Alessandria, Antiochia e Gerusalemme(4). Essendo essi la seconda sede ma parlando pure in nome delle tre ultime sedi attraverso rappresentanti nominati fra i costantinopolitani, la vittoria «per quattro a uno» sembrava garantita. Costoro infatti, come ebbe a constatare con amarezza il basileus poco prima della firma della bolla d'unione, quando i Latini ormai sembravano avere il sopravvento, erano arrivati in Italia sicuri del fatto loro, e cioè della loro teologia tradizionalmente patristica, e promettendosi di superare facilmente la teologia latina che tanto si fondava sulla logica dei sillogismi. La sconfitta fu dunque più cocente e insopportabile.

Di tutto questo e di tante altre cose si è parlato nel recente colloquio; senza poter fare un resoconto dei contenuti dei singoli interventi, che saranno senza altro pubblicati dagli organizzatori (l'Istituto per le Scienze Religiose di Bologna e l'Académie Internationale des Sciences Religieuses de Bruxelles), e nemmeno nominare tutti gli intervenuti, si può senza altro anticipare che non

(4) Cf. V. PERI, *La pentarchia: istituzione ecclesiale (IV-VII secolo) e teoria canonico-teologica*, in «Settimane di studio del C. It. di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo», 34 bis, «Roma e l'Italia nell'A.M.», 3-9 aprile 1986, t. 1, Spoleto 1988, 209-311, qui 310.

ci sono stati discorsi di circostanza, ma che tutti i contributi erano frutto dello studio di punti finora poco considerati e il più delle volte, risultato di una ricerca personale nel *mare magnum* dei documenti anteriori, contemporanei e posteriori al concilio; ovviamente il punto di convergenza è stato un ritorno alle fonti dirette del concilio e cioè agli Acta (greci) e altri documenti superstiti; di grande aiuto è stata l'edizione del Pontificio Istituto Orientale; si è fatto ricorso a talune fonti importanti poco e male adoperate fino ad oggi, come per esempio alle «memorie» di uno dei protagonisti del concilio, il costantinopolitano Silvestro Syropoulos, tradizionalmente lasciato da parte come autore poco affidabile dagli studiosi cattolici, e viceversa esaltato come unico autore serio da quelli ortodossi. Silvestro è stato ora riscoperto nei suoi *ipsissima verba*(5) e riabilitato come testimone verace anche se scomodo e, se si vuole, parziale.

Nella prospettiva propria a tale tipo di colloqui, i diversi temi sono stati trattati secondo l'estro dei partecipanti, e cioè in maniera alquanto anedottica e selettiva, sia nello scegliere il tema che nello svolgerlo. Appartenendo i partecipanti alle due confessioni cristiane protagoniste del concilio, cattolici e ortodossi, ma anche a quella terza che in germe era già presente nei progetti abortiti di riforma dei concili precedenti, lo scambio di opinioni è stato appassionato anche se cortese e caritatevole.

Forse nelle loro analisi e sintesi, i cattolici, ormai edotti dal Vaticano II al coraggio di una sana autocritica, hanno avuto minor compiacenza verso l'operato conciliare della propria parte, che dopotutto fù quella vincente; ma anche da parte delle altre confessioni non sono mancate note di commovente sincerità storica. Sicuramente l'immagine del concilio di Firenze ne ha guadagnato, come esempio di sforzo ecclesiale per un difficile concilio di unione, ma anche come ammonitrice lezione per l'avvenire.

«Delusioni, tensioni, prospettive» era il sotto-titolo del colloquio. L'argomento è tutt'altro che esaurito.

Miguel ARRANZ S.J.

(5) V. LAURENT, *Les mémoires du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Eglise de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)* (Concilium Florentinum, «Documenta et Scriptores», serie B, vol. 9), Roma 1971.

RECENSIONES

Arabica

Paul KHOURY, *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de la controverse théologique islamo-chrétienne de langue arabe du VIIIe au XIIe siècle*, (= Religionswissenschaftliche Studien Hgb. v. A. Th. KHOURY und L. HAGEMANN, 11/1) Echter Verlag — Telos Verlag, Würzburg-Altenberge 1989, S. 414.

L'idea di rivisitare il patrimono letterario arabo cristiano sta felicemente sollecitando alcuni studiosi. E ci piace constatare come, a 35 anni dalla morte di Georg Graf († 1955), gli stessi arabofoni siano sensibili a questa testimonianza del loro passato. Penso al confratello Khalil Samir, alla sua collana di Fonti arabe cristiane, o al lavoro di Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité chez les théologiens arabes*, Paris 1985 (cfr. OCP 206-208). In questo volume l'A., docente universitario in Libano, raccoglie il frutto di una lunga familiarità con teologi arabi medievali, iniziata con uno studio sul Damasceno e approfondita con una tesi su Paolo d'Antiochia, vescovo melkita del s. XII. Proprio quella tesi, che pubblicava e traduceva nel 1964 cinque inediti di Paolo d'Antiochia, portò l'A. alla scoperta e alla valorizzazione della controversia islamocristiana in lingua araba.

Qui, dopo un *Avant-propos* (pp. 1-2), il primo capitolo, avvia il lettore a una comprensione del contesto storico-culturale in cui ha sviluppo la controversia (pp. 4-25). L'A. dedica il secondo capitolo alla risposta cristiana circa il rapporto fra rivelazione e fede, e sui fondamenti della certezza (pp. 26-189). Il terzo capitolo verte sui criteri della vera religione, applicati al Cristianesimo, in polemica con le obiezioni islamiche (pp. 190-380). Il deposito della rivelazione divina nel libro sacro, i caratteri della profezia, il mistero trinitario, l'incarnazione del Verbo, la morte salvifica del Figlio di Dio fatto uomo, la redenzione del genere umano, tutto ciò è oggetto della polemica islamica e della conseguente risposta dei teologi arabi cristiani. Né si creda che simile struttura logica dell'opera rimanga astratta e teorica. Il discorso è tutto sostanziato di numerosissime citazioni testuali di scritti cristiani e musulmani. Si tratta di passi di undici autori melkiti, da Giovanni Damasceno a Paolo di Antiochia; di cinque siri orientali, da Ibn Isḥâq a Elia di Nisibi; di cinque siri occidentali, da Abû Râ'ita a Isfahânî; e di cinque copti, da Ibn Muqaffa' a Ibn 'Assâl. Vi corrispondono, sul versante opposto, citazioni di 27 autori musulmani, come Tabarî, Gâhiz, Ghazâlî, Ibn Ḥazm ecc. Le citazioni rinviano alla bibliografia raccolta alfabeticamente nelle pp. 381-403.

L'opera è dunque un prezioso armamentario apologetico e, nello stesso tempo rinvia il lettore, desideroso di approfondimento, a un rapporto più diretto con il ricco patrimonio della letteratura araba cristiana.

V. POGGI S.J.

Irfan SHAHID, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C. 1989, pp. xxviii + 592 + mappe e foto.

È la continuazione di un lavoro di vasto respiro al quale l'A. si è andato preparando per anni, dandoci già i volumi, *Rome and the Arabs* e *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (cfr. OCP 1985, 219-220). Per precisare i rapporti tra Bisanzio e gli Arabi durante il secolo quinto, l'A. studia, nella prima parte, testi greci e latini di storia politica (pp. 3-143) e di storia ecclesiastica (pp. 148-230); quindi, nella seconda parte, i testi arabi (pp. 233-457). Così, per gli anni in cui regna Arcadio, l'A. ricorre a testi di Sinesio di Cirene, di Cassiano e della Vita di Pelagia. Per l'epoca di Teodosio II, rilegge la novella XXIV, che proibisce ai duci di sottrarre alcunché dall'annona dei federati, segno dell'importanza allora riconosciuta ai vassalli arabi. L'epoca è del resto testimone della carriera dell'arabo Asbepeto-Pietro, convertito da S. Eutimio, che ne guarisce il figlio. Aspebeto si sposta con i suoi in Palestina, diviene filarca a Paremboli, è consacrato vescovo e come tale partecipa al concilio di Efeso (pp. 40-49).

L'arabo Amorkesos, all'epoca di Leone, passa dal servizio del gran re di Persia a quello del basileus, con foedus sancito a Costantinopoli nel 473 (pp. 61-113). Il periodo di Zenone vede i conflitti bizantino-arabi del 474 e del 485 (pp. 114-119); mentre sotto Anastasio c'è la guerra persiana degli anni 502-506 (pp. 121-133). Il lakhmide Nu'mān assalta Sergiopoli ma viene sconfitto dal duca di Siria. Ghassan e Kinda, comuni alleati contro Bisanzio, sono vinti separatamente. Il ghassanide Areta diverrà più tardi, sotto Giustiniano, filarca-re, mentre ora, nel quinto secolo, sono piuttosto i Salīḥidi a godere dei privilegi dei federati, con il loro re Dawūd, padre di una poetessa di cui ignoriamo il nome, il generale Ziyād e personaggi come Ḥabūla, Ibn Mandala e Sabīt. I Salīḥidi, se si eccettua Usāma Ibn Zayd, rimarranno fedeli al Cristianesimo anche sotto l'Islam. I patti tra Bizantini e Arabi sono diversi, a seconda che si tratti di Arabi che stanno al di quà o al di là del *limes orientalis*. Le *Sancti Nili narrationes* riferiscono di un foedus con gli Arabi della penisola del Sinai (pp. 134-139).

L'opera ha una terza parte sugli Arabi federati, sia che appartengano alla cerchia interna o esterna (pp. 459-486); l'A. vi studia soprattutto la *Notitia dignitatum*.

Bisanzio ha contatti anche con Arabi della penisola arabica. Tratta con la Mecca attraverso la tribù di 'Uḏra; con Nağrān, tramite la spedizione commerciale di Ḥayyān e con Ḥimyār mediante l'invio del vescovo Silvano, al tempo dell'imperatore Anastasio.

In questo contesto, l'A. ricerca l'origine della scrittura araba: se l'iscrizione di Namara, che è del IV s., non è ancora araba, e quelle già arabe, come di Zabad, sono del VI, è da credere che proprio nel secolo V nasca a Ḥīra, grazie soprattutto alla tribù Iyâd, quella scrittura araba preislamica che l'Islam perfezionerà mirabilmente. La questione dell'esistenza di una traduzione araba della Scrittura e di una liturgia in arabo, fino dal quinto secolo, è posta sul tappeto da un testo di Ḥishâm, secondo il quale il poeta Barrāq

viene istruito da un rāḥib che recita brani di inğīl. L'A. è indotto a riflettere anche sul monachesimo arabo. C'è infatti a Ḥīra il Dayr Ibn Barrāq; c'é Dayr Dawūd a Turkumaniyya, Dayr al-Qunfūd o del Cinghiale, a Ayla, il monastero di Raitu nel Sinai e altri monasteri sono da ipotizzarsi nello Higiaz. Il monaco arabo Maris è igumeno di un monastero in Palestina. L'esistenza di una Chiesa degli Arabi nel secolo V è documentata da vescovi arabi al di quà e al di là del *limes*, che firmano atti conciliari: quattro a Efeso; due a Efeso II; sei e forse sette a Calcedonia. Perfino un patriarca, Elia di Gerusalemme, appartiene a tale Chiesa degli Arabi.

Non c'è dubbio che questo volume si impone alla attenzione per la somma di lavoro che comporta, per la documentazione raccolta, i problemi affrontati e per quella quarta parte dell'opera che costituisce una sintesi di oltre cinquanta pagine (pp. 487-539). Vi è poi un utile corredo di cartine, foto, liste dinastiche ed ecclesiastiche, bibliografia e indice analitico.

Resta a chiedersi se questa sia l'ultima parola su una problematica difficile, il cui dossier non è ancora completo e le cui diverse interpretazioni lasciano ancora quà e là alcune perplessità. Comunque, felicitiamo l'A. per aver condotto in porto anche quest'altro vascello e attendiamo il completamento dell'opera, ovvero sulle relazioni bizantino-arabe durante il sesto e il settimo secolo, fino all'avvento dell'Islam.

V. POGGI S.J.

Archaeologica

Robert W. EDWARDS, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (= *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* XXIII) Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. 1987, pp. XXXII + 288 con 78 disegni e cartine, 569 fotografie in bianco e nero e 48 fotografie a colori.

L'imponente opera che R. W. Edwards è riuscito a produrre è certamente un degno traguardo dopo lunghi anni trascorsi a rilevare e studiare le fortificazioni armene in Cilicia — quell'area che parte dai golfi di Mersin ed Iskenderum e si inoltra fino all'esteso entroterra montagnoso a nord del mare.

Il volume si divide fondamentalmente in due parti: nella prima si ha una lunga introduzione trattante sia lo sviluppo storico dell'insediamento armeno in questo territorio (dal tardo XI al XIII secolo), sia le caratteristiche architettoniche e logistiche delle fortificazioni — settantacinque in tutto —; nella seconda si presenta il catalogo delle varie fortezze. La metodologia usata per individuare e comparare le fortezze all'interno del catalogo è molto intelligente e facile da usarsi. Il testo del catalogo, inoltre è corredato di una buona serie di foto, di cui varie a colori, permettendo così visualizzazione di mura e di paesaggio, cornici importanti di questo tipo di architettura.

Da rilevare subito la peculiarità primaria di questo lavoro: lo studio è soprattutto di natura architettonica. Con ciò l'Autore non ha eluso le premes-

se storiche (esposte in gran parte nell'introduzione), né puntuali riferimenti alle cronache storiche (nelle voci del catalogo); il pregio del libro tuttavia è da riconoscersi soprattutto nell'analisi dettagliata delle caratteristiche costruttive e tipologiche delle fortificazioni. Due sono state le norme per individuare le vere (nel senso di costruite *ab imo*) fortezze armene: a) un'iscrizione dedicatoria lungo le mura o su qualche torrione; b) uno studio accurato delle cronache che certifichi una prolungata occupazione armena con relativa costruzione. Da questo punto di partenza metodologico l'Autore è riuscito a riunire 44 fortezze armene su 75; da queste 44 ha tratto venti parametri costruttivi tipici dell'architettura armena della fortificazione. Le altre rimanenti fortezze sono presentate per ciò che la susseguente occupazione armena ha prodotto in esse. I venti parametri costruttivi qui presentati non pretendono affatto di essere tutti d'invenzione armena. Molti erano già usati prima, ma due sono da attribuire all'inventiva armena: l'apertura superiore sulla porta della fortezza, donde scagliare pietre sugli assalitori (slot machicolation) ed il tipo di cappella semplice della fortezza (pp. 15-17).

Lo studioso di fortificazioni bizantine trova in questo libro ampi riferimenti sulla diversità di tecnica muraria usata. Pregevole è la classificazione ed illustrazione della tecnica muraria, cui il lettore può sempre fare riferimento nell'uso del catalogo. Vi sono, è vero, delle discrepanze nell'interpretazione di certe tecniche; notevole quella della fortezza a terra di Korykos, ove l'Autore propone la datazione del XII sec. contro la precedente interpretazione data da A. W. Lawrence che induceva a pensare ad una data anteriore al VI sec. (p. 166, nota 6). Casi come questo restano, a nostro avviso, senza risposta apodittica in quanto privi d'iscrizioni; l'analisi storica del territorio (cfr. LAWRENCE in *Annual Brit. School at Athens* 78 [1983] 177-180) può forse indurre a datare Korykos tra la fine del V° e gli inizi del VI° secolo. Un elemento che aiuta lo studio sul tessuto «urbano» del territorio è il fatto che gli Armeni preferirono per lo più risiedere sulle montagne (costume di questo popolo fin dall'antichità) e di lassù difendere le valli. Segno che la maggioranza della popolazione della Cilicia armena conduceva prevalentemente vita rurale e che la fortificazione costituiva un luogo di rifugio e di difesa, a salvaguardia dei villaggi di una determinata area.

Tre appendici chiudono il volume: la prima illustra i *mason's marks*, reperiti in varie fortezze; la seconda presenta un'analisi chimica di dodici campioni di malta prelevati in cinque fortezze (è conclusione dell'Autore che in uno stesso sito Bizantini ed Armeni usassero formule differenti per la preparazione della malta); la terza ripropone la lista degli invitati d'onore all'incoronazione del Re Levon I (1198/9). Quest'opera, dicevamo, raggiunge un traguardo ed al tempo stesso è un punto di partenza per una più dettagliata analisi e datazione delle fortezze della Cilicia armena. La carenza del legno nelle costruzioni ha scartato l'analisi dendrologica per una più esatta datazione; R. W. Edwards spera comunque che saggi di scavo possano portare alla luce utensili e monete, di modo che si possa sopperire a quelle incertezze cronologiche che la complessità di simili monumenti comporta.

V. RUGGIERI S.J.

Στελίου Α. Mouzakh, *Βυζαντινὲς-μεταβυζαντινὲς Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Τήλου.* Ἔρευνα καὶ προσθῆκες στὴν Δωδεκανησιακὴ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονική, Ανάτυπο από τα *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικα*, Ἀθῆνα 1987, σ. 72, con 27 fotografie in bianco e nero e 13 planimetrie.

Telo, piccola isola del Dodecaneso, situata nel milieu della Perea Rodia, è il campo di ricerca di S. A. Mouzakês. L'Autore, che incominció le sue visite all'isola nel 1983, presenta in questo utile libretto la descrizione di 12 chiese con la relativa discussione sull'architettura ecclesiastica dell'isola. È un'opera che amplifica ed aggiunge ulteriori informazioni a precedenti pubblicazioni su queste piccole cappelle che risalgono dalla fine del XIII secolo in poi. L'architettura è molto povera — si tratta di cappelle voltate a tutto sesto lungo l'asse longitudinale — e di dimensioni ridotte. La presenza di affreschi in alcune di esse segnala un patronato più accorto, facilitando così la datazione delle cappelle stesse.

Il testo del libro non è stato probabilmente rivisto prima della stampa definitiva. Segnalo alcuni errori palesi che si incontrano nelle prime pagine: p. 8, *pinakas I* = *pinakas 1*; p. 9, 436 deve leggersi 4, 36; p. 13, 180 = 1, 80; p. 16, 315 è ancora 3, 15; a pag. 17 si usa indistintamente il punto e la virgola per i numeri decimali. La punteggiatura non è sempre accurata (la virgola appare a volte dove non dovrebbe). Si riveda infine la pagina finale *Periechomena*: le ultime tre voci sono fuori posto, in quanto nessuna d'esse qualche foto sulla tecnica muraria, e si abbia più cura della nitidezza delle fotografie.

V. Ruggieri S.J.

Byzantina

Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art.* Published for: The College Art Association of America by The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London 1987, pp. 110 + 96 illustrations.

Taking his cue from the fondness for images drawn from natural history which came to distinguish early Byzantine art the author examines reactions to the portrayal of animals and plants in the later fifth and sixth centuries. This was an age when Christians felt scruples about using animals for Christ, because it seemed to them to result from a monophysite bias against His human nature, even if so-called "monophysites" like Severus of Antioch had decried the representation of the Spirit as a dove (p. 6). The way in which the author proposes to undertake this study is interesting: to correlate (mainly) floor-mosaics to the abundant early Christian literature on natural history in sermons and commentaries on Genesis. A one-to-one correspondence is ruled out because of the ambiguity and ambivalence of images. When a single image is presented just once, but with a double meaning, we have ambi-

guity; when an image shifts its meaning with its successive presentations, we have ambivalence (p. 9). On account of their ambiguity and ambivalence images may be compared to keys capable of unlocking more than one door. Indeed, images are more like metaphors than like modern traffic signs (p. 8).

A decisive step in this grammar of images is the unravelling of the "literal sense," developed as theory in partial opposition to Origen's allegorizing tendency. Thus, four rivers can mean the four principal rivers of the inhabited world, Gehon, Phison, Tigris and Euphrates, but they could also be invested with a symbolic meaning as the four rivers of paradise, the four Gospels and so forth. In the Basilica of Thyrsos at Tegea in Arcady the way in which the four rivers are arranged does not encourage the viewer to go beyond the literal meaning, in spite of their potential for symbolic interpretation, exploited elsewhere, for example, by St Cyprian, who sees in the rivers the waters of baptism (p. 28). From this the author deduces that symbolical interpretation is justifiable only when the context demands it (p. 26).

The next step leads to "partial allegory." Thus, while St Basil the Great (ca 330-379) usually prefers a literal interpretation, he could also moralize and see in the flowers's short life an image of life's shortness. So too Severian of Gabala, while rejecting a thorough-going allegorical exegesis, makes some use of it (p. 33). The floor of Sts Cosmas and Damian in Gerasa, Jordan, though not a depiction of paradise, nonetheless gives prominence to the vine as an allegory of Christ, the soul and the embraces of charity (p. 35). It thus fits the interpretative pattern of Basil's sermons on the *Hexaemeron*.

Matters become more complicated when we have "gridded" ambiguities of images that interlock, with the possibility of giving different interpretations. This interlocking goes back to those early Christian commentators who related what went on in the first creation to its being renewed by Christ (p. 42). In the nave of the East Church at Qasr-el-Libia in eastern Libya there is the mosaic occupying the eastern half of the floor which through overlapping symbols tries to link creation to salvation allegorically (pp. 44, 50), creating the physical and conceptual impression of a crossword puzzle (p. 55).

A new type of allegory emerges with the animals of the fifth day of creation, mentioned in Gen 1:22. Typical here is Severian of Gabala, for whom catechumens go to baptism like reptiles and return like birds (p. 59). The designer of the floor encourages us to understand the birds on the floor of the Justinianic basilica at Sabratha, North Africa, symbolically, because the accompanying crowns point to martyrs and to the just (pp. 62-3).

A striking quote from Philo about human domination over beasts sets the tone for the study of the relationship between humanity and nature. This theme is re-echoed in a sermon by St John Chrysostom (p. 69) and recaptured by the mosaics in the church of the priest John at Khirbat al-Makhayyat, Jordan (p. 72).

Finally, the author explores the image of the emperor as ruler of a bountiful earth and sea (p. 74). Some Byzantine authors went so far as to associate Christ and the emperor as senior and junior partners (p. 75). The motif itself was a convention of imperial art, as witness both the textile portraying

Earth and Ocean which Queen Kypros sent to Emperor Gaius in A.D. 39 and the panygeric which Eusebius held for Constantine (p. 73). In this context, one may note the "overlapping messages" of certain mosaics in S. Vitale at Ravenna. The images may be associated with the Lamb so as to show how every creature in heaven, on earth, under the sea and on the sea does him honor. But if we group them with the programmatic imperial triumph at S. Vitale, creation is then seen to be ruled by the emperor in imitation of the ruler of the universe (p. 78). State propaganda, especially after Justinian had captured Ravenna, had it that Justinian won victories through God's grace, and God gained victories through Justinian's agency (p. 79). In the portrait mosaic at the base of the apse Justinian appears surrounded with twelve companions in imitation of Christ's higher court (p. 80).

Eventually the Trullan synod of 692 allowed only for the portrayal of Christ in human form instead of as the lamb (p. 83). By the ninth century the art of churches was novel, but also at the same time less elastic and less varied (p. 84).

The present work recommends itself to the theologian, precisely because it is an "essay in interpretation" (p. 2). One may wonder why the author does not give some consideration to the continuation of Byzantine motifs in Rome, as in the apse of S. Prassede, for example, where Christ is depicted in both human form and in the form of the lamb. But the author has said enough to whet our curiosity, especially with regards to the problem of polyvalence or pluralism of early Byzantine art.

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

Στελίου Α. ΜΟUΖΑΚΗ, *Οι βρικόλακες στους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς Νομοκάνονες και στις παραδόσεις του Ελληνικού λαού, Λαογραφική-ιστορική μελέτη*. Αθήνα, Βιβλιοπωλείο των βιβλιοφίλων, 1987, σ. 176.

The present study concentrates on the belief in ghosts in Hellenism, and more exactly on poltergeister, the mischievous noisy class among ghosts. As the author himself points out in his preface, the stimulus for writing the present study came from the draconic punishments contemplated for cases of poltergeister in the nomocanons under Turkish domination. What may be gathered from these nomocanons helps us understand both the havoc hobgoblins could wreak, as well as the life-context in which they operated. Since no book exists in Modern Greek on the topic, Mouzakis says, a study was necessary to remedy the situation (pp. 5-6).

The first part (pp. 9-60) deals with poltergeister in neohellenic folklore, hobgoblins' murky habits, their recognition and means of chasing them away, favourite haunts such as special islands as well as survivals in place-names, proverbs and nick-names. Material is next gleaned (pp. 60-132) from Byzantine and post-Byzantine nomocanons, Church texts, medieval tales and manuscripts, penances imposed on laity and clergy alike as well as prayers to lift Church penalties, popular songs and fairy tales, from literature and writings

with no literary claims. The author discusses amulets and preventive measures agianst poltergeister in the third part (pp. 133-46); in the fourth (pp. 147-54), poltergeister in Greek antiquity and classical works; and, in the fifth (pp. 155-162) etymological problems such as the distinction between a poltergeist and a "vampire". Finally, in the sixth part (pp. 163-176), there is a summary, notes, a bibliography, and, at the very end, a list of the works of the author (pp. 165-175).

Belief in ghosts is the dark side of belief in spirits, but a lighter one may also come to prevail. Scrooge's ghosts are part and parcel of Christmas in the English-speaking world, and yet they do not in any way disturb devotion. Nonetheless, the Enlightenment helped ruin the deeply-ingrained belief in poltergeister, especially in the more educated classes. This work registers a complaint about the lack of *diaphotismos* or enlightenment on the part of the clergy (p. 27), but this assertion could have been supplemented by a thorough-going comparison between places more exposed to illuministic influences, say, the Ionian islands under Venetian rule, and other places removed from such influences.

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΜΑ, *Συγγράμματα*, τ. Δ΄. Δογματικαὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ γραφεῖσαι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1348-1358. Προλογίζει Π.Κ. Χρήστου. Ἐκδίδουν Π.Κ. Χρήστου, Β.Δ. Φανουργάκης, Β.Σ. Ψευτογκᾶς. Copyright ὑπὸ Παναγιώτου Κ. Χρήστου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, σ. 406.

Con sensibile ritardo rispetto alla pubblicazione dei tre primi volumi (il vol. I° è uscito nel 1962, il II° nel 1966, il III° nel 1970), arriva ora il IV° volume dei Συγγράμματα di Gregorio Palamas, con le opere che il santo esicasta ha scritto nell'arco di tempo che va dall'anno della sua nomina a Metropolita di Salonicco (maggio 1347) all'anno precedente la sua morte († nov. 1358).

Le opere in questione vengono qui divise in tre parti.

La prima (pp. 77-107) contiene due brevi trattazioni epistolari (*Λόγος διασαφῶν* e *Εἰς τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ Κυρίλλου*), scritte da Palamas negli anni turbolenti che precedettero il suo insediamento alla Metropoli di Salonicco. Il testo di questi scritti, editi per la prima volta, è stato curato da V. Fanougarkis.

La seconda parte (pp. 109-165), anch'essa edita a cura di Fanourgakis, contiene i seguenti *Testi della prigionia*: a) L' *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν* (pp. 120-141), l'*Ἐπιστολὴ ὅτε ἑάλω* (pp. 142-147) e la *Διάλεξις πρὸς Χιόνας* (pp. 148-165). Questi tre testi sono già stati editi anche di recente, a cura di A. Philippidis-Braat (cf. *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 [1979], pp. 109-222). Rispetto a quest'ultima edizione, il testo delle due *epistole* e della *Dialexis* che leggiamo nel vol. IV dei Συγγράμματα non presenta, sostanzialmente, alcuna differenza. Pertanto, Fanourgakis annota nell'apparato critico le varianti di alcuni altri codici, non presi in considerazione dalla Philippidis-Braat (i

codd., *Athon. Iviron* 266, *Lavras* 321 e *Panteleimonos* 215, per l'*Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν* e il cod. *Lavras* 321 per la *Dialexis*: i quali codd., però, non aggiungono molto alla storia della tradizione manoscritta dei testi in questione) e rileva nei testi un maggior numero di citazioni bibliche e patristiche. Buona la soluzione di pubblicare, nei confronti della *Dialexis*, le due diverse redazioni pervenuteci, mettendo a confronto, in due colonne distinte di una medesima pagina, il testo 'esteso', tràdito da numerosi manoscritti, con il testo 'breve', tràdito unicamente dall'*Upsalien. gr.* 28.

La terza parte del volume (pp. 167-389) raccoglie le quattro trattazioni palamite contro Niceforo Gregoras, alle quali precede l'*Ἐπίσημος διήγησις* (della disputa fra Gregoras e Palamas, scritta da Giorgio Fakrasis) e segue il *Περὶ ῥήσεως τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου*, che, nella tradizione manoscritta, figura come λόγος έ contro Gregoras. All'infuori di quest'ultima opera, che è stata curata da V. S. Pseftongas, tutte le altre sono edite a cura di P. Chrestou.

Manca nel volume (come pure nei volumi precedenti dei Συγγράμματα) un adeguato esame concernente la collazione e classificazione dei manoscritti, mediante i quali sono stati tràditi i testi palamiti.

All'edizione dei testi precede (pp. 7-75) un'esauriente e documentata introduzione di P. Chrestou su questi scritti di Palamas e sulle circostanze storiche della loro redazione. Fanno seguito gli indici: delle citazioni bibliche (pp. 391-93), patristiche (pp. 394-98), dei nomi e delle cose (pp. 399-403) e l'indice generale (pp. 405-6).

Si attendono ora i due ultimi volumi dei Συγγράμματα di Gregorio Palamas, che, in base a quanto viene promesso a p. 6, dovranno apparire prossimamente.

A. FYRIGOS

Agostino PERTUSI, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in oriente e in occidente.* Edizione postuma a cura di Enrico Morini. (= Nuovi studi storici, 3) Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Roma 1988, pp. 280.

L'ouvrage *Bisanzio e l'Italia, Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, Milan, 1982, annonçait l'édition d'œuvres restées inédites du Professeur tant regretté, parmi lesquelles plusieurs études sur des prophéties orientales et byzantines. C'est le mérite de Enrico Morisi d'avoir repris celles-là et de les avoir présentées, sous le titre de la principale d'entre elles, d'une manière intégrée et organique, tout en respectant le texte même de l'auteur. L'érudition, la méthode et la finesse du Professeur Pertusi se manifestent à nouveau dans cet ouvrage qui enrichit la collection de l'institut historique pour le Moyen Âge. Byzance est, pour l'étude du mouvement prophétique, un passage obligé, comme l'ont montré, par exemple, les travaux de Gilbert Dagron sur le recueil des Patria: origines des prophéties impériales (ou basilographes), statut du prophète dans la société, signification politique des oracles etc... Et Agostino Pertusi, dans le cadre de ses recherches sur Constantinople

ou Venise, s'est passionné pour de telles questions; le fruit de son travail nous est ici donné.

Après une introduction qui situe la chute de Constantinople, œuvre de l'antéchrist, comme l'un des enjeux des prédictions eschatologiques, deux brefs chapitres présentent les traditions chrétiennes et islamiques relatives à la fin de Byzance. Le premier s'appuie sur les oracles de Léon le Sage et les inscriptions gravées sur des monuments qu'a relevées l'auteur des Patria; il en retrouve les sources dans les oracles sibyllins ou la prophétie du Pseudo-Méthode et note leur influence sur les Vaticinia (ou Prophéties des Papes). Quant aux prophéties islamiques, fondées sur le hadith, elles manifestent une certaine continuité depuis des textes du VIIIème siècle jusqu'aux oracles turcs du XVème.

Les deux chapitres suivants, plus développés, abordent le problème central, celui des visions de Daniel. Après un rappel précis des diverses versions orientales de celles-ci et des textes qui s'en rapprochent, l'auteur traite des versions byzantines, replacées dans le courant prophétique annonçant la fin de Byzance. L'analyse du rôle joué par la «race blonde» ou par le «roi blond», sert de pierre de touche: ce thème, qui apparaît dès le IXème siècle dans le contexte d'événements se déroulant en Sicile, ne cesse de se développer, jusqu'aux croisades et au-delà, pour désigner les ennemis de Byzance, dans un faisceau de traditions grecques, latines et slaves, regroupant visions de Daniel, Oracles de Léon le Sage, Apocalypse de Méthode etc.; cette recherche se fonde sur des textes édités ou traduits ici pour la première fois, en particulier une version grecque de la vision de Daniel (Appendice II). L'auteur revient, à la lumière de ces textes, sur le problème global de l'interprétation historique de la vision de Daniel (chapitre 5).

Le dernier chapitre publie et commente un texte inédit, la vision de Nersès, d'après deux manuscrits latins du XIVème siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane; sans doute l'auteur n'a-t-il pas eu connaissance de deux autres manuscrits signalés depuis par R. E. Lerner (Breslau Rehdiger 280, Linz 447 (102), dont l'un d'eux est fragmentaire et qui ne présentent que des variantes secondaires par rapport à ceux retenus pour l'édition.

Le patriarche arménien Nersès, mort en 373, empoisonné, selon la tradition, par le roi Bap, aurait, d'après ses premiers historiens, prédit avant sa mort la fin de la dynastie des Arsacides; la Vie arménienne de saint Nersès, anonyme (édition Venise 1853, traduction française V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens arméniens*, Paris 1869), lui attribue une prophétie plus développée dont les éléments se retrouvent, transformés et amplifiés, dans le texte latin, pour s'appliquer au contexte de l'Arménie des croisades. L'auteur compare ces deux traditions et rapproche également, d'une façon très suggestive, le texte de la vision de celui du Sermon sur l'antéchrist du Pseudo-Epiphane (édition G. Frasson, Venise 1976). En revanche, il ne s'intéresse pas aux témoignages occidentaux relatifs à cette prophétie, en particulier celui de Guillaume de Rubroek, repris par Roger Bacon, qui, au cours de son voyage en pays mongol, note, pour l'année 1255, la rencontre d'un évêque arménien qui lui rapporte la prophétie d'Acacron sur la race des Archers, qu'il avait d'ailleurs déjà lue, «apportée à Constantinople par les arméniens qui y résident» (édition van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I*, Quaracchi 1929,

p. 322-323; traduction R. Kappler, *Voyage dans l'empire mongol*, Paris 1983, p. 237); celle-ci n'est autre qu'une sorte de résumé de la vision de Nersès.

Dans l'interprétation historique de celle-ci, A. Pertusi se limite au contexte des invasions turques en Arménie. Guillaume de Rubroek se fait l'écho de l'adaptation de la prophétie aux incursions mongoles. L'annonce de la prise finale, par les croisés et les arméniens réunis, de la ville de «Coris» (variante: Toris) s'entend mieux d'ailleurs de Tabriz, centre de la puissance mongole, que de Kars (p. 135 et 144). Et l'interruption de Nersès par ses auditeurs au milieu du récit, certaines occurences entre les deux parties ainsi délimitées, ne permettraient-elles pas l'hypothèse d'un double niveau rédactionnel, adapté à deux situations historiques différentes, les invasions turques, puis les attaques mongoles, suscitant chaque fois les réactions des arméniens et des croisés?... La vision de Nersès n'a cessé d'exercer une certaine fascination en orient: Guillaume Postel la cite dans le *Thrésor des Prophéties de l'univers* pour l'avoir entendue en ses voyages et un consul français la signale à Alep en 1655 (G. Postel, *Le Thrésor des Prophéties de l'Univers*, éd. F. Secret, La Haye 1969, p. 104, note 68).

Les Appendices, qu'il s'agisse de textes inédits, parmi lesquels la version grecque déjà signalée ou des prophéties vénitiennes du XVème siècle, les documents iconographiques, en particulier les illustrations des oracles de Léon le Sage, sources des thèmes iconographiques des Prophéties des Papes, les Index, les mises à jour bibliographiques par les soins de Morisi (il est à noter que cet ouvrage paraît peu après celui, posthume également, de P. J. Alexander sur les Apocalypses byzantines) complètent ce bel ouvrage, dont l'intérêt est relevé encore par la note préliminaire de l'éditeur. Suggestif, original et documenté, il restera, dans le domaine des textes prophétiques d'origine orientale et byzantine, une référence d'importance comparable, en ce qui concerne le domaine occidental, aux études de R. Rusconi, celle-ci publiée dans la même collection, de R. E. Lerner, portant sur les avatars de la Vision de Tripoli, et d'autres.

L. Boisset S.J.

Αλέξη Γ. Κ. Σαββιδη, *Το βυζάντιο και οι Σελτζουκοι Τόυρκοι τον ενδέκατο αιώνα.* Β' έκδοση, Αθήνα, Βιβλιοπωλείο των βιβλιοφίλων, 1988, σ. 104.

The present work is a thesis which the author presented at King's College, London University, towards partial fulfilment of the Master's degree (1980) in Byzantinology before he started his doctoral thesis at the university of Thessalonica on revolts and insurrections, reviewed in OCP 1989/2, pp. 465-466. It deals with the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. This century was momentous for Byzantium. Its beginning saw the rise of the star of Seljuk, a chieftain whose ascendancy over his own tribe was to help the Seljuk Turks find their own identity by conversion to Islam and whose nephew and successor Toghrul Beg (1037-63) was to rise to hitherto

unknown heights of power and glory. They were to become one of the most terrible threats to the Byzantine Empire, for in the battle of Manzikert (1071) the corageous but impetuous Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes fell into the hands of the Seljuk Alp Arslan (1063-72), partly through the treachery of Andronikos Doukas (p. 41). With the arrival to the throne of Alexis I Comnenos (1081-1118) new hope was infused, but it proved to be short-lived. The link between both books may be seen on p. 67, where there is a reference to the insurrections. These weakened the Byzantine empire from within at a time when the threat from outside, especially that of the Seljuk Turks, was becoming increasingly menacing.

All in all: a short book which tells a story and makes a point. Like its companion volume, it helps us understand how little prepared for the great crisis of the twelfth century Byzantium was. By way of criticism it may be noted that nothing is said about Islamic theology, although there occured at this time the explosion of al-Ghazali's (1058-111) religious thought, one of the most powerful Islam ever produced, and under Seljuk auspices at that.

Precisely such "missing links" help us understand the fascination invading conquerors may exercise on those whom they subdue, or at least raise questions which lead to a fuller perception of the forces at play, military and intellectual.

At the end of this readable book there are various tables: of Byzantine emperors in the eleventh century (p. 77), of the different Seljuk dynasties, of the sources, a bibliography (p. 87), a complementary bibliography (p. 89) and a general register (pp. 97-103).

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

Canonica

Σπυρίδωνος, Δημ. ΚΟΝΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Τὸ Σιναϊτικὸν ζήτημα (ιστ' -ιθ' αἰ.)*. Ἐναίσιμος ἐπὶ διδακτορίᾳ διατριβὴ ὑποβληδεῖσα εἰς τὴν Θεολογικὴν Σχολὴν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν. Ἀθῆναι 1987, σ. 422.

Molto è stato scritto sul Sinai e sull'enclave cristiano che vi costituisce il monastero di Santa Caterina. Questa tesi dottorale difesa alla Facoltà di Teologia dell'Università di Atene non pretende capovolgere o rivoluzionare le nostre conoscenze in proposito. Ma vuole ripercorrere in una prospettiva greco-ortodossa, la problematica di questo monastero creato da Giustiniano, rispettato dagli Arabi e dai Turchi, che tratta con i Crociati e con i Veneziani, che ha rapporti con i Papi, rivendica una sua autocefalia a costo di tensioni con i patriarchi calcedonesi di Alessandria e di Gerusalemme eppure rimane sempre nel seno della Chiesa ortodossa. Il primo periodo delle tensioni è risolto con il sinodo endemousa di Costantinopoli del 1575 che riconosce al patriarca di Gerusalemme il diritto di ordinare il vescovo del Sinai e nello stesso tempo accetta l'autonomia giuridica dell'abate del monastero. Ma pro-

prio qui hanno origine le tensioni cioè nel sovrapporsi, sulla stessa persona fisica, di due figure giuridiche cioè del vescovo (poi arcivescovo) del Sinai e dell'abate del monastero. Come arcivescovo dell'eparchia ha una sua autonomia, anche estesa ai *metochia* del monastero, ma in quanto abate della comunità monastica è tenuto a rispettare i diritti della sinassi monastica. E al patriarca di Gerusalemme spetta non solo di consacrarlo vescovo ma anche di tutelare i diritti della sua comunità e quindi di imputargli ogni atto che sia contrario ai canoni. In tutto questo il Patriarca Ecumenico fa sempre da paciere evitando rischiosi interventi dei governi sia ottomano, che egiziano. Ci piace questo lavoro sia per la ricchezza della documentazione, sia per l'equilibrio che mantiene in fatto di storia ecclesiastica e di principi canonici.

D. SALACHAS

Δημητριου ΣΑΛΑΧΑ, *Τά μυστήρια τῆς Χριστιανικής μυήσεως (Βάπτισμα – Χρίσμα – Θεία Εὐχαριστία). Στό νέο κώδικα κανονικοῦ Δικαίου τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (CODEX IURIS CANONICI), Ἐκδοτικὸς Οἶκος Ἀδελφῶν κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1989 (Διάλογος, 2), σ. 214.

The work is interesting on several counts. Besides the interest that dialogue with the Orthodox is likely to arouse, the fact that this book was endorsed by an Orthodox faculty in Greece speaks for the relevance of the theme. For the theologian, the work itself leads straight to a crucial but neglected area where canon law and sacramental theology meet. In the West, where as a result of the Enlightenment knowledge is much too much departmentalized, one of the main benefits of Eastern theology, namely its holistic approach to all problems, easily drops from sight. The present work underlines once again that dogma is incomplete without canon law itself and that, on the other hand, canon law stands only to profit from a closer connection with dogma, which should be its spirit. So understood, canon law avoids legalistic narrowing and dogma becomes enriched by an order which is that of the body to its corresponding spirit.

Right at the start the prologue of Vlassios Pheidas of the Theology Faculty of the University of Athens accurately portrays the relevance of the book for the current discussion. The theme helps us see in the crystallization of the new code of canon law the emergence of a new mentality in the Roman Catholic Church. To give us an insight into the basic structures of Roman Catholic theology the three sacraments of initiation are most fitting; and it touches an area where the fruits of the dialogue of love and truth begin to show. (Note, for instance, that the order of the sacraments of initiation for adults is the same as in the East; see p. 209). Pheidas' criticism also helps us get a sense of the length of the road that still has to be covered. He correctly points out that Salachas has shown that there is a huge leap forward from the codex Pope Benedict XV published in 1917 to that which John Paul II promulgated in 1983, a progress which Salachas tries to interpret

from the viewpoint of the Fathers of the Church. "With these standards the author has made a valid contribution indeed..." (p. 6). But Pheidas sees Salachas as bound by an ecclesiology which limits his freedom of interpretation. As is well known, Orthodox theology tries to strike a balance between canonical "rigour" and ecclesiastical "economy" in the matter of the recognition of the sacraments which are administered outside of the body of the Church (see pp. 12, 152-56). Orthodox theology has not, as yet, afforded a solid theological foundation for this way of proceeding, but, according to Pheidas, Roman Catholic theology leaves many unanswered questions by simply not drawing exclusive limits for the Church.

The present reviewer cannot refrain from some criticisms of his own. While he finds the way Salachas develops the interpenetration of ecclesiology and sacramental theology laudable, perhaps the theme is too basic to be left to some occasional reference to epiclesis, as in the approval of the 1982 Monaco agreed document. This adopted the position that, from the viewpoint of the invocations, the whole ceremony is epiclesis, in the sense that it is the Spirit who brings about the change in the gifts and in those who receive them (see p. 50). In my opinion, Salachas' presentation would have gained if he had first outlined, for example, what the Council said about the Spirit, together with an exposition of some recent developments in pneumatology, especially with reference to the 1600 anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council of Constantinople of 381, held in Rome in 1981. He would then have placed his presentation within a more patristic context, and it would thus have been closer to the mentality of the Eastern Church. Salachas rightly comments about the rules for participation *in sacris*, adding that the Code of Canon Law does not specify which Churches have valid sacraments (pp. 61-3, 71). But had he tried to situate what Pheidas has said about *economy* in the context of pneumatology, then he might even have made some suggestions for the dialogue in which he takes part. A final criticism: a theologian will be somewhat dismayed that Salachas has used the old version of Denzinger, which has been superseded by that of Denzinger-Schönmetzer (see pp. 46, 53, 139, 172).

In spite of these criticisms, this reviewer agrees with Pheidas that this work is a timely contribution suited to experts and educated lay people alike.

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

Coptica

Leslie S. B. MacCOULL, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His Work and his World*, (= The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XVI), University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1988, pp. XVIII 174 + plates 11.

Al 1976 risale il primo di una ventina di articoli che l'A. ha dedicato allo stesso personaggio, il copto Dioscoro, nato verso il 520, ad Afrodito,

l'attuale Kom Isgaw, tra Timm e Taḥta, nell'Alto Egitto. Educato ad Alessandria, è costituito capo della località di Afrodito e in quella veste si reca tra il 551 e il 553 a difendere gli interessi locali alla corte di Giustiniano a Costantinopoli. Dal 566 è notaio ad Antinoe e dal 574 amministratore del monastero di Apa Apollo. Il *terminus post quem* della morte è l'anno 585. Dopo il lavoro previo condotto per oltre dieci anni, l'A. raccoglie ora in un libro un dossier quasi completo su Dioscoro, grazie alla familiarità con i papiri di Afrodito scoperti nel 1901, tra i quali figurano quelli vergati da Dioscoro. L'A. del resto continua a lavorare su Dioscoro per completarne il dossier (p. 20 nota 27). Qui, in base ai papiri e alla ricostruzione del contesto storico-culturale, l'A. traccia il profilo morale di Dioscoro, singolare simbiosi di uomo di legge, dalle funzioni amministrative-notarili, e di poeta. Vero bilingue che usa con la stessa disinvoltura greco e copto, per stilare un contratto, ma riserva il greco per celebrare un onomastico o versificare in onore del duca bizantino.

Il primo capitolo tratta delle fonti e della biografia. Il secondo si occupa dei documenti legali e amministrativi redatti da Dioscoro e conservatici. Il terzo delle sue composizioni in versi greci. In questo capitolo l'A. fa l'edizione e la traduzione di 35 poemi.

Il volume, pur essendo di piccola mole, è un modello di monografia coscienziosa e accurata che getta nuove luci su una figura della tarda antichità altrimenti misconosciuta, perfino da studiosi come Jean Maspero (cfr. p. 2 nota 1).

Un dubbio semmai mi resta: che Dioscoro abbia studiato diritto, non ad Alessandria (famosa invece per retorica e filosofia; Orapollo era appunto filosofo, cfr. p. 17 n. 9) bensì alla famosa scuola di diritto di Beirut, non ancora distrutta dal terribile terremoto del 551.

V. Poggi S.J.

Donald Rouleau, ed., *L'épître apocryphe de Jacques* (NH I, 2); Louise Roy, ed., *L'Acte de Pierre* (BG 4). Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section «Textes» 18, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec 1987, pp. XIV-234.

This volume contains the text and French translation of the Apocryphal Epistle of James and the Coptic fragment of the Acts of Peter (Coptic Papyrus Berlin 8502). Introductions and commentaries serve those whose scholarly pursuits require accurate and concise information about the current stage of research on these early sources of Christian literature. The fragment of the Acts of Peter has been the subject of numerous critical commentaries since the publication of the *editio princeps* of 1903. There is no need to rehearse the contents which recount the story of Peter's paralyzed daughter. The ApocrJac, discovered in 1945, is still relatively unknown outside the work of specialists. It furnishes a good deal of information about a Christian community that flourished in the latter part of the second century. While

the place of origin remains a matter of conjecture, the milieu can be identified as one in which a reaction has set in against certain basic theological concepts current in the so-called Great Church.

ApocrJac reflects some Gnostic elements, but it cannot be concluded that the work is that of a Gnostic of a community that has openly severed ties with the Great Church. However a position is taken against a theology of grace, the value of intercessory prayer, as well as an ecclesiology that are characteristic of the second century Great Church. The author does not supply a systematic presentation of his theological outlook, but there is an intrinsic relationship between his anthropology, theology of salvation, and ecclesiology. In this regard the excellent commentary of Donald Rouleau merits careful study. It suffices here to note the following, beginning with the anthropology. The soul is the mobile element between spirit and body. Turned to the spirit the soul is saved; turned exclusively to the body the soul perishes. In this perspective the prayer of intercession loses all meaning because the attainment of salvation is conditioned by knowledge and respect for the mutual relations of the elements of the composition of the human reality. The ecclesiology of the text corresponds to this outlook. True disciples attain the kingdom through the "fullness" they have acquired, not through external ecclesiastical structures of mediation. Ministries of mediation are rejected insofar as based on the model: speaking and hearing. This model encourages a passive attitude in which "sleeping" corresponds to "hearing". The true disciples enjoy liberty and equality. They edify each other, not only by hearing the word, but by their practice of virtue and the proclamation of the word. Instead of "hearing and sleeping", they "speak and are watchful": "Now still, do you persist in hearing, whereas it is proper for you to speak from the beginning. Now still, do yo persist in sleeping whereas it is necessary for you to be watchful from the beginning..." (9, 29-34).

E. J. KILMARTIN S.J.

Franz-Jürgen SCHMITZ und Gerd MINK, *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, I, Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien*, 2. Teil, 1. Halbband, (=Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung Bd 13) Walter de Gruyter, Berlin - New York 1989, pp. X + 450.

A. C'est en 1976 que Kurt Aland, directeur de l'«Institut für neutestamentlicher Textforschung» de Münster, lança le projet d'inventorier tous les manuscrits bibliques coptes. Comme de juste, on commença par les manuscrits sahidiques, qui sont les plus anciens. En 1986 parut le premier volume (cf. OCP 53, 1987, 469), présentant le projet et analysant 40 manuscrits (sa 1-10 et 101-130). Ce volume analyse 50 manuscrits (sa 131-180) allant du 6° au 13° siècle. Cet inventaire étant le préliminaire indispensable à l'établissement du texte critique sahidique.

On sait que la tâche du coptologue est rendue particulièrement difficile par le fait que les manuscrits coptes sont aujourd'hui très fragmentaires et que ces fragments se trouvent dispersés dans diverses bibliothèques. Il faut donc «remembrer» ces codex. Ce travail de remembrement, commencé il y a près d'un siècle, se poursuit patiemment. Il suppose une description codicologique minutieuse: la matière utilisée; le nombre de colonnes; le format de la page, des colonnes et de la surface écrite; les caractéristiques paléographiques; etc.

On appréciera d'autant plus ce travail de patience quand on saura que les 50 manuscrits analysés dans ce volume se trouvent aujourd'hui en 504 pièces différentes dispersées à travers le monde, et que de nombreux fragments ne contiennent qu'un seul folio. Un troisième volume (qui portera, on ne sait pas pourquoi, le numéro «2. Teil, 2. Halbband», plutôt que «3. Teil») complètera cette liste en analysant les petits fragments, et donnera l'inventaire des lectionnaires et évangéliaires sahidiques.

B. La méthode suivie est extrêmement précise et détaillée. Chaque manuscrit comprend 11 rubriques qui, avec les subdivisions, atteignent 20 rubriques. Nous les indiquons ici, car elles offrent un modèle intéressant pour les chercheurs.

1. Numéro du MS dans la liste.
2. Contenu (par exemple: Evv., ou Mk. Joh., etc.).
3. Lieux de conservation des fragments, et leurs cotes.
4. Contenu détaillé, contenant l'indication précise (verset par verset) de tous les passages identifiés.
5. Datations proposées par les chercheurs (par exemple, pour le sa 131: Amélineau: 6° siècle; Horner: 8° siècle; Till: 9°-10° siècle).
6. a) Matériau (c'est presque toujours le parchemin).
   b) Nombre de folios (par exemple, pour le sa 131 = 29 folios en 31 fragments).
   c) Nombre de colonnes (presque toujours 2).
   d) Nombre de lignes.
   e) Nombre de caractères par ligne.
7. a) Format de la page.
   b) Marge supérieure.
   c) Marge inférieure.
8. a) Justification (dimension de la surface écrite).
   b) Marge intérieure.
   c) Marge extérieure.
   d) Espace entre les colonnes.
9. Sigles précédents: chez Horner, Crum, Till, etc.
10. Remarques (cette section couvre habituellement 1 à 3 pages).
11. Bibliographie.

Chacun des 50 manuscrits remembrés est divisé en sections (A, B, C, ...) correspondant aux fragments. Chacune de ces sections reprend les 11 rubriques signalées, en y ajoutant (à la 4° rubrique) l'incipit et le desinit coptes du fragment.

C. On voit combien minutieux est ce travail. Il est tout simplement remarquable et pourrait servir de modèle à des travaux semblables. Cepen-

dant, la répétition des «remarques» (10e rubrique) pour chaque fragment est quelque peu fastidieuse et disproportionne l'ouvrage: tel manuscrit sera en fait décrit en détail quelques dizaines de fois, tandis qu'un autre complet et plus important n'aura qu'une description. C'est un peu la conséquence du système utilisé... trop systématiquement!

Nous n'avons repéré qu'une lacune (provisoire): il aurait été bon d'ajouter une page d'additions à la «Vorläufiges Literaturverzeichnis» du volume précédent, pour y inclure les deux titres de Bouvarel-Boud'hors et d'autres titres éventuels. D'autre part, on aurait souhaité que les auteurs, grâce à leur familiarité avec ces documents sahidiques, se prononcent sur leur datation, après avoir indiqué celles de leurs prédécesseurs.

Quant à la présentation typographique, si le premier volume était nettement insatisfaisant, celui-ci est excellent, bien que réalisé également (je crois) sur ordinateur.

Kh. SAMIR, S.J.

Encyclopaedica

DICTIONNAIRE DE SPIRITUALITÉ ascètique et mystique, Doctrine et Histoire, Vol. XIV, Fascicules XCII-XCIII-XCIV, *Savonarola-Spiritualité*, Beauchesne, Paris 1989, cc. 385-1152.

Pure a chi tiene d'occhio di preferenza l'aspetto orientalistico, si impone la serie di articoli tematici, spesso al di là della linea di demarcazione tra Oriente ed Occidente, contenuti in questi tre fascicoli del DSp: *Scrupule, Sécularisation, Sel, Sens Spirituel, Semipélagiens, Sensibilité, Service, Servites, Servitude, Sexualité, Silence, Simplicité, Slavophilisme, Soleil, Solidarité, Sommeil et Vie spirituelle, Sommeil spirituel, Songes-Rêves, Souffrance, Soufisme, Spiritualité.*

Nell'articolo *Sel* (E. LATHAM, cc. 544-549) manca l'accenno al mondo slavo, dove pane e sale simboleggiano l'ospitalità. Nell'articolo *Silence* (P. MIQUEL, cc. 829-842; M. DUPUY, cc. 842-859) si doveva menzionare Secondo il Taciturno, personaggio pagano del II secolo che una leggenda cristiana del III obbliga con voto al silenzio dopo il suicidio della madre (cfr. Ben Edwin PERRY, *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, The Greek Life with Translations of the Greek and Oriental Versions, Ithaca N.Y. 1964). L'articolo *Slavophilisme*, (F. ROULEAU cc. 951-959) per altro ben fatto, avrebbe potuto citare i lavori di Angela Dioletta Siclari. L'articolo *Soleil* (J. M. Mc DERMOTT, cc. 981-999) tralascia le religioni solari amerindiane cui avrebbe dovuto almeno accennare. Con tutto ciò, siamo convinti che molti di questi articoli tematici, da *Srupule* a *Sécularisation*, da *Sens spirituel* a *Servites* e a *Sexualité*, costituiscono compendiosi trattati cui sarà indispensabile fare riferimento.

Tra gli articoli su personaggi, molti riguardano l'Oriente Cristiano. Per esempio, l'antica Chiesa d'Egitto è rappresentata dal monaco e vescovo del

IV secolo che lotta contro i Manichei e cui è attribuita una anafora eucaristica, *Sérapion de Thmuis*, (D. DUFRASNE, cc. 643-652) e dal «maggiore autore originale della letteratura copta» (c. 799), *Shenoute d'Atripe* (T. ORLANDI cc. 797-904). La Chiesa siro-occidentale ha qui il traduttore in siriaco e autore originale di un trattato sulla vita spirituale, *Serge de Reshaina* (A. SOLIGNAC cc. 652-654); ha pure il teologo e leader dell'anticalcedonismo, *Sévère d'Antioche* (F. GRAFFIN, cc. 748-751) e il vescovo vissuto tra IV e V secolo, oggi studiato con accresciuto interesse, *Sévèrien de Gabala* (S. VOICU cc. 752-763).

Anche la Chiesa siro-orientale è presente con il suo monaco del secolo VII, *Simon de Thaibutheh* (A. SOLIGNAC cc. 885-888).

Alla Chiesa calcedonese melkita appartiene il patriarca *Sophrone de Jérusalem* che regge quel patriarcato all'avvento degli Arabi (Ch. SCHÖNBORN cc. 1066-1073).

Il mondo slavo è rappresentato direttamente dal russo fattosi barnabita, *A.-M. Schouvaloff* (A. M. ERBA, cc. 441-442); da chi fondò, insieme a Janski e Kajsewicz, i Resurrezionisti, cioè *P. Semenenko* (A. ASFOUR cc. 549-553); dal santo monaco, morto nel secolo scorso, *Séraphin de Sarof* (Th. ŠPIDLÍK cc. 632-636); dal monaco dell'Athos, il russo *Silouane*, canonizzato, nel 1988, dal Patriarca Ecumenico, (J. P. MAISONNEUVE cc. 869-860); dal gesuita polacco del 1500, predicatore e controversista, *P. Skarga* (J. MAJKOWSKI cc. 944-946), da un altro gesuita polacco del secolo XVII, *S. Skibicki* (J. MAJKOWSKI cc. 946-947), dal pensatore ucraino a proposito del quale si ignora fatalmente lo studio di G. PIOVESANA, apparso in OCP nel 1989, *H. S. Skovoroda* (E. von HERDMANN – PANDZIC cc. 947-951) e dal famoso sofiologo russo morto all'alba del nostro secolo, *Vl. Soloviev* (F. ROULEAU cc. 1033-1041).

Indirettamente, anche dei non slavi rappresentano quel mondo, come il redentorista belga che inizia nel 1913 la missone di rito orientale in Galizia, *J. Schrijvers* (A. DEBOUTTE cc. 445-447); oppure come il gesuita slesiano del 1600, rettore a Brno, Praga e Olomouc, *W. Schwertfer* (C. BECKER cc. 453-454).

Tra le stesse voci personali ve ne sono alcune al di là di Oriente e Occidente. Infatti, l'autore del *Direttorio ascetico* e del *Direttorio mistico, J.-B. Scaramelli* (G. MELLINATO cc. 396-402) fu pure tradotto in lingua slava. Il *Combattimento spirituale di L. Scupoli* (B. MAS cc. 467-484) ha influito sull'Oriente, non solo su Nicodemo l'Agiorita, come l'A. della voce ricorda (c. 483) ma sulla letteratura araba cristiana (lo documenta ripetutamente la GCAL, qui mai citata). Altrettanto dicasi dei due *Segneri, senior & junior*, celebrati in opera di A. GUIDETTI, troppo recente per essere menzionata e tradotti più volte in arabo, come riferisce la stessa GCAL qui ignorata (G. MELLINATO cc. 519-524). *M. J. Scheeben* è teologo della Trinità (K.-H. MINZ cc. 404-408). *Scheffler* o Silesius (R. PIETSCH cc. 408-413) è mistico autore del *Pellegrino cherubico. H. Schlier* è esegeta (W. LÖSER cc. 418-420). *Sedulius* (A. SOLIGNAC cc. 510-513) compone poemi cristiani nel secolo V e *Sedulius Scottus* nel secolo IX (A. SOLIGNAC cc. 513-516). *L. G. A. de Segur* è "un des grands spirituels du XIX siècle" (c. 529) (Y. MARCHASSON cc. 525-538). Di *Sextus* sono le *Sententiae* del secolo II o del III (A. SOLIGNAC cc. 765-768).

Smaragde (R. Grégoire cc. 959-961) è consigliere di Carlo Magno e crea una scuola monastica. *Jos. Smith* è fondatore dei Mormoni e *N. Söderblom* (M. Carrez cc. 979-980) è maestro di ecumenismo, cui si poteva dare maggiore spazio.

In sostanza dunque, sia per le voci tematiche, sia per le voci personali, questi tre fascicoli mantengono l'alto livello tradizionale al DSp e arrecano validi apporti alle scienze dello spirito, anche nell'ambito dell'oriente Cristiano.

V. Poggi S.J.

Giorgio Fedalto, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*, I: Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus; II: Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus. Edizioni Messaggero, Padova 1988, pp. XX + 1-572; 573-1208.

Das Ziel, das sich der bekannte Kirchenhistoriker aus Padua mit diesen beiden großformatigen Bänden gesetzt hat, ist nichts Geringeres als die neuzeitliche Überarbeitung des schon im Reprint erschienenen Standardwerkes von Michel Le Quien (Oriens Christianus). Der klassische Rahmen des französischen Dominikaners bleibt — ungeachtet der inzwischen eingetretenen kirchenpolitischen Veränderungen — gewahrt: der christliche Osten wird in die vier orientalischen Patriarchate der mittlerweile überlebten Pentarchie unterteilt; die seit dem 16. Jahrhundert neugebildeten Patriarchate in Rußland und auf dem Balkan sind also in diesem Schema aufzuspüren. Weitere Unterteilungen betreffen die Kirchenprovinz, die einzelnen Bischofssitze und die jeweilige Konfession der Amtsträger (im Gefolge der vor- und nachchalcedonischen Schismen, deren dogmatische Tragweite freilich nicht immer eindeutig zu bestimmen ist). Für jeden Bischof (die Namen sind für gewöhnlich in lateinischer Form angegeben — oder entsprechend den Quellen) ist Anfang und Ende seiner Regierungszeit angegeben sowie ein kurzer Hinweis auf entsprechende Listen (Notitiae) und weiterführende Literatur. Verschiedene Indices in systematischer und alphabetischer Ordnung orientieren über Kirchen und Städte. Insgesamt eine imposante Arbeit mit Tausenden von verifizierten Namen und Orten (leider ohne Karten!), die den Verfasser schon über Jahre beschäftigt hat, was u.a. an den schon seit geraumer Zeit erscheinenden Parerga in verschiedenen Zeitschriften abzulesen ist.

Ein solch monumentales werk kann natürlich nicht alle Desiderata auf ainmal erfüllen. So könnte z.B. in der Datierung viel an Präzision gewonnen werden, wenn zu jedem Namen auch nur ansatzweise die vorhandene Sekundärliteratur, soweit chronologisch relevant, vollständig eingesehen würde; bei vielen Namen wäre dann wahrscheinlich Fehlanzeige anzubringen, bei manchen aber auch ein Dutzend Artikel und mehr. Ferner wäre eine einheitliche (oder vereinheitlichte) Schreibweise der Namen zu wünschen (so steht I, S. 555 z.B. Cyrillus statt Kyrillos, Kyril statt Kiril; Ähnliches gilt für andere Sprachen): wäre nicht wenigstens in einem Register ein Gesamtüberblick über einen Namen zu erreichen? Relativ leicht könnten die unerklärlichen Lücken

in vielen Bischofssitzen, gerade für die neueste Zeit, geschlossen werden (z.B. für Kiev: I, S. 363, oder Bulgarien: I, S. 555). Es war vermutlich das Bedürfnis, mit dem Mammutvorhaben in überschaubarer Zeit und mit vertretbaren Kosten zum Abschluß zu kommen, das auf all diese Desiderata verzichten ließ; vielleicht reizt die damit zurückgelegte Etappe einen jüngeren Chronisten, das in Sichtweite liegende Gesamtresultat zu verwirklichen. Die im Vorwort (I, p. XII) erwähnten Gehilfen sind wohl hauptsächlich als technische Assistenten aufzufassen; vielleicht ist es nicht ohne Interesse, in diesem Zusammenhang daran zu erinnern, daß sich Michel Le Quien für die damals aktuellen Fragen u.a. der Mithilfe des kenntnisreichen Archimandriten Chrysanthos Notaras, des später bedeutenden Patriarchen von Jerusalem, versichert hat.

G. PODSKALSKY S.J.

LEXIKON DES MITTELALTERS, Vierter Band/Fünfte Lieferung, *Freiherr-Gart der Gesundheit*; Sechste Lieferung, *Garten-Germanos*; Siebente Lieferung, *Germanus-Goslar*; Achte Lieferung, *Göß-Gunther*; Neunte Lieferung, *Günt(her)r-Heilige*; Zehnte Lieferung, *Heilige Lanze-Hiddensee Titelei*, Artemis Verlag, München und Zürich 1988-1989, cc. 897-2220.

Gli articoli che riguardano direttamente o indirettamente l'Oriente Cristiano sono oltre trecento. Ci sono per es. le voci su Federico Barbarossa, l'imperatore che durante la terza Crociata annega attraversando un fiume; su Fulco di Chartres, cronista della prima Crociata; su Galata, quartiere di Costantinopoli; sull'influsso medievale di Galeno; su Galla Placidia; sui Gassanidi, stato cuscinetto tra imperi bizantino e persiano; sui Gattilusi, casato genovese che controlla lo sfruttamento dell'allume di rocca in Asia Minore; sulla preghiera; su Gentile da Cingoli, filosofo del linguaggio; su Genova; sulla geografia; sulla geometria; sui vari Giorgio, dall'eroe albanese Giorgio Castriota, a Giorgio Sincello. Ci sono gli articoli sulla Georgia; sull'arte, la letteratura e la lingua georgiane; sul commercio delle spezie; sul casato Giustiniani; sull'industria del vetro in oriente; sulla fusione di campane a Bizanzio e in Russia; sull'Orda d'Oro; sui concetti di *Gorod* e di *Gosudar*; sui Goti, sulla loro presenza in Oriente, sulla loro cultura e sulla loro lingua; sull'ordalia; su Goffredo di Buglione; sul poema del Graal; su Grado; sull'arte grammatica; su Gregorio Magno; su Gregorio l'Illuminatore; su Gregorio Camblak; sui Gregori di Nazianzo e di Nissa; sulla lingua, la scrittura e la letteratura greca; sul titolo di "granprincipe di Mosca"; sul monastero basiliano di Grottaferrata; su Guido di Lusignano; sull'autore della *Historia Constantinopolitana*; su Gunzo, classicista del sec. IX; sui chirurghi Guy de Chauliac e Enrico di Mondeville; sulla *Discesa agli inferi*; sullo *Ḥadīṯ* islamico; sulla *Haggada* ebraica; su *Hagia Sophia*; sull'*Agiografia* bizantina e slava; sulla *Halacha* ebraica; sugli Hamdanidi; sul commercio bizantino, arabo e ottomano; sull'artigianato nel bacino del Mediterraneo; sull'uroscopia medievale; sulla disfatta di Ḥarrān, che infrange il mito dell'invincibilità crocia-

ta; su Hârûn al-Rasîd; sullo Hasidismo; su Haymarus che scrive «De expugnata Accone»; su Hegesippus; sulla santità; sull'autore di Apollonio re di Tiro; su Eliodoro, filosofo neoplatonico alessandrino; su Eraclio; su Hermes Trismegistos; su Erone di Alessandria, costruttore e matematico del I secolo; sull'Esicasmo; su Esichio di Gerusalemme; sulle streghe ecc.

Nella maggioranza dei casi, sono favorevolmente impressionato dal contenuto delle voci e dalle indicazioni bibliografiche che le corredano. Come ho detto in precedenti recensioni di fascicoli del LMA, mi trovo davanti a un prezioso strumento di lavoro, anche per quanto riguarda l'Oriente Cristiano. Talvolta, però, avrei voluto qualche cosa di più. Per esempio, alla voce *Gasthaus* si cita il corrispondente bizantino πανδοχειον. In tal caso, perché non aggiungere che la stessa parola greca è entrata, quale prestito, in arabo, con il termine *funduq*, dal quale a sua volta è provenuto l'italiano *fondaco*? Altrettanto, avrei dato ad Al-Gazzâlî molto più spazio, sia pure rinviando a *Islam* e a *Mistica islamica*. Gazzâlî, non solo è uno dei maggiori pensatori dell'Islam, tanto che è detto *Ḥuǧǧat al-Islâm*, la prova dell'Islam, ma ha avuto grande influsso anche sul Medioevo occidentale. La importante voce *Gebet*, nella suddivisione, *ostkirchliche Tradition*, è piuttosto povera, come si può vedere confrontandola con il manuale di T. Spidlík, *La spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien*. T. II, *La prière*, Roma 1988. Alla voce *Grammatik*, è detto che i Bizantini chiamavano il grammatico γραμματιστης. Perché allora non chiarire chi fosse per i Bizantini il γραμματικος, visto che i non specialisti confondono i due termini? Parlando della *Gregorius-Legende* avrei ricordato che fin dal terzo secolo circola in oriente la leggenda di Secondo il Taciturno, i cui tratti possono aver influito sulla ben più tardiva leggenda di Gregorio come, probabilmente, su quella di S. Alessio. Dopo la voce *Gürtel*, avrei introdotto anche la voce *Gürtelchristen* cfr. D.v. den Brinken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium"*, Köln-Wien 1973, 95-102. La voce *Hagiographie* ha la suddivisione riguardante Bizanzio e la Slavia, ma non ne ha sul resto dell'Oriente Cristiano. La voce *Hârûn al-Rašîd* cita giustamente nella bibliografia, Musca, *Harun al-Rasid e Carlo Magno*, Bari 1963. Avrebbe dovuto citare anche M. Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden*, München 1976. La voce *Heer, Heerwesen* non menziona lo *Strategikon* attribuito al basileus Maurikios, recentemente edito e tradotto in Romania e negli Stati Uniti. E quanto alla strategia degli Arabi non sono d'accordo con l'autore dell'articolo che cioé gli Arabi non avessero esperienza militare prima dell'Islam. Cfr. I. Shahid, *Preislamic Arabia*, in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, Cambridge 1970, pp. 3-29.

È comunque un piacere muoversi tra queste colonne.

V. Poggi S.J.

Historica

George Emile Irani, *Santa Sede e Medio Oriente*. Il ruolo del Papato nella controversia arabo-israeliana 1962-1988. (= Gli uomini e i tempi, 13), Vita e Pensiero, Milano 1989, pp. VIII+218.

Il libro studia, attraverso documenti pontifici, attività diplomatica o dichiarazioni, gli interventi della Santa Sede, nel conflitto israeliano-palestinese, dal 1962 al 1988. E considera, all'interno di questo conflitto, sia la questione di Gerusalemme e dei Luoghi Santi, sia la guerra del Libano. Quanto al primo problema, l'A. coglie un certo sviluppo dell'atteggiamento della Santa Sede. Preoccupato dalla dichiarazione Balfour, «con la sua promessa di una patria per gli ebrei in Palestina» (p. 85), Benedetto XV rivendica per la minoranza cattolica la situazione di favore che lo *status quo ante* dell'impero ottomano le garantiva in Terra Santa. Da quest'istanza di conservare una situazione privilegiata, la Santa Sede passa nel 1948 a caldeggiare quella internazionalizzazione della Città Santa che era stata proposta nel 1947 dalle Nazioni Unite e che i Musulmani rifiutavano come sconfessione dell'essere Gerusalemme città santa per l'Islam (p. 86); dopo la guerra del 1967 che porta a una «giudaicizzazione» di Gerusalemme, Paolo VI augura per la Città Santa uno statuto speciale, «alla cui osservanza faccia garanzia un'organizzazione internazionale» (p. 87); Giovanni Paolo II nel 1980 non esclude che Gerusalemme sia sotto una sovranità nazionale, purché siano garantiti i diritti delle varie Comunità religiose con una supervisione internazionale (pp. 94-95). Finché lo stesso papa nella lettera apostolica *Redemptionis anno* del 1984 afferma che la questione di Gerusalemme è fondamentale per la giusta pace nel Medio Oriente (p. 97). Avrebbe dunque ragione l'A. ad accomunare insieme i problemi di Gerusalemme e della guerra del Libano che pure sono distinti, come appare dal fatto che altri autori hanno trattato del primo senza occuparsi del secondo (per es. C. G. Silipo, *Il problema dei Luoghi Santi sul piano religioso interconfessionale e sul piano politico internazionale*, Roma 1975; D. M. A. Jaeger OFM, *Paul VI in Defence of Christian Rights in the Holy Land*, Rome 1989). Qui, comunque una cinquantina di pagine vengono dedicate alla guerra del Libano, all'invio in quella terra martoriata, del cardinale Bertoli (due volte), dell'arcivescovo Brini, Segretario della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali e del cardinale Casaroli, Segretario di Stato. In queste missioni e nelle tre lettere di Giovanni Paolo II l'obbiettivo è sempre di salvare il Libano come stato indipendente, fronteggiando la crescente frantumazione della comunità libanese, a protezione della presenza cristiana non soltanto nel Libano ma in tutto il Medio Oriente. Un libro interessante.

Qualche errore di stampa. Mgr Laham non patriarca vicario, ma vicario patriarcale (p. 78).

V. Poggi, S.J.

Marvin R. O'CONNELL, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul 1988, pp. xiii + 610.

In his introduction to the biography of another great U.S. Catholic churchman, Fr. Isaac Hecker, John Ireland (1838-1918), bishop (1884-) and first archbishop (1884-) of St. Paul, Minnesota, said with characteristic directness that "Few deserve a biography, and to the undeserving none should be given." Written in a style both elegant and vigorous, this brilliant biography by Marvin R. O'Connell, priest of Ireland's archdiocese and Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame, place Ireland squarely among the deserving.

Though the life of John Ireland and the history of the U.S. Catholic Church are inseparably intertwined, this biography is also of interest to OCP readers because of Ireland's role in the history of Eastern Christianity in the American diaspora. This brings us to the Toth affair, the main if little known reason why the name John Ireland remains anathema to Eastern Catholics. Never has there been a starker example of the Blondelian principle that actions continue to exist in their effect. By the time Ireland was archbishop of St. Paul, large numbers of "Greek Catholics" or Ruthenians, Byzantine-Rite Slavic Catholics chiefly from Ukraine, Belorussia, and Subcarpathia within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had emigrated to the New World. Many of them had settled in Ireland's domain at a time when the English-speaking U.S. Catholic hierarchy, largely of Irish extraction, was attempting to forge a single, united, English-language American Catholic Church, in the face of two threats: charges of "Americanism" (actually a red-herring heresy invented in a Europe incapable, then as now, of understanding an America that refuses to be just its clone); and pressure from non-anglophone ethnic groups, principally the Germans and the Poles, to splinter the U.S. Catholic Church into several, ethnic-based jurisdictions, the model ultimately followed by the Orthodox Churches in the new world. History has already shown which model was more successful.

In the process of forging a unity which pretended to be supra-ethnic, but which to many appeared little more than the subjection of the non-English ethnicities to the dominant Irish, major injustices were committed against Eastern-Rite Catholic groups. Their demand for their own parishes had nothing to do with ethnic divisions within the Roman Rite, but was rather the legitimate desire to worship, as was their God-given right, according to their own tradition, which was not the Roman but the Byzantine.

The story has already been told in this review (K. SIMON, *Alexis Toth and the Beginnings of the Orthodox Movement among the Ruthenians in America [1891]*, OCP 54 [1988] 387-428). It centers around the Ruthenian Catholic priest Rev. Alexis Georgievich Toth, a widower from the region of Prešov in Subcarpathian Slovakia, who had been called to Minneapolis by a group of Ruthenian Catholics in search of a priest of their rite. Like any priest, Fr. Toth presented his credentials to the local bishop on arrival, and when Ireland rebuffed him, refused him jurisdiction to authorize his ministry, and persisted in harassing him, Toth continued his ministry anyway, and

eventually led his flock and thousands of others into the Russian Orthodox Church. Orthodox sources have often told and retold Toth's version of his historic confrontation with Ireland, which O'Connell (269-71) can only repeat since there is no other extant version. Eastern Catholics were for all intents and purposes "non-persons" in the American Catholic majority view, or so it would appear. For although the Orthodox have made a hero of Toth, most American Catholics never heard of him, and O'Connell found not a word about him in the archdiocesan archives in St. Paul. The affair, obviously, was not significant enough for Ireland to record, though it was fraught with consequences for the community thus subjected to his bullying. It is said that some 250,000 Eastern Catholics eventually passed to Orthodoxy, the largest defection from the Catholic Church in our times, though it caused barely a ripple on the larger surface for those who, at the time, had other fish to fry. The classic expression of this indifference on the part of the Catholic hierarchy, breathtaking in the purity of its unconscious cynicism, is reflected in the resolution of the archbishops assembled in Chicago, September 12-13, 1893. On the question of clerical celibacy for Eastern-Rite priests, they resolved for unity of discipline (theirs, of course), "because the possible loss of a few souls of the Greek rite bears no proportion to the blessings resulting from uniformity of discipline" (Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore 91 V 1/1, cited by G. P. FOGARTY, *The American Hierarchy and Oriental Rite Catholics, 1890-1907, Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 85 [1974] 20).

If history is the only revenge of the powerless, a revenge all the more sweet because it is both legitimate and permanent, then Eastern Catholics can take satisfaction in this great biography, for it treats both them and Ireland fairly. And it lays the blame right where it belongs, squarely at the feet of the American Catholic bishops (by no means only of Ireland), and of the authorities at Propaganda in Rome who "supinely surrendered to their demands vis-à-vis the Uniates, and so shared responsibility for the catastrophe that followed" (271). But it also shows that the guilt, though real, is mitigated by the pressures of the times, pressures caused by a series of very real problems facing the American Catholic hierarchy as it struggled to radicate an immigrant Church in often inhospitable American soil. At any rate, this book records the memory for all posterity to see. That may be small consolation. But it is some, and for that we can thank O'Connell.

Apart from such somber issues, which I have dwelt upon here for obvious reasons, though they take up but a small part of the book and even less of Ireland's life, this book is a great read, more gripping than any novel and better written than most, one I recommend to all without qualification, regardless of their interests. John Ireland is worth knowing because he was a great, if flawed, churchman. Most others are only flawed.

Since reviewers must also be critics, permit me one cavil: in a book where an overabundance of *sics* shows that the author knows his ABC's, let me add one after "*gran rifuto*" on p. 213. The word is *rifiuto.*

R. TAFT, S.J.

Indica

M. Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India, Manohar,* (= South Asian Studies, 18), New Delhi 1988, pp. XIV + 27.

As the author points out, the St. Thomas Christians not only belong to an Oriental type of Christianity, but were known for centuries for their mercantile abilities. For a long time they even controlled the pepper trade, which was higly lucrative. This specialized trade only increased in course of time, particularly through several immigrations from the Middle-East. It appears also that these Christian traders had some connection or other with the *Manigramam* association, since the latter is mentioned on two copper plates. What is more, the latter are probably connected with the coming to Quilon, the main trading harbour of medieval Kerala, of a new group of merchants led by two East-Syrian bishops at the beginning of the 9th century.

While the *Manigramam* began its activities during the 8th century, another such association called the *Ayyavole* also began operating at the same time in the north-western districts of Karnataka, i.e. the region of Bijapur. Soon it extended its commercial activities all over South India, even to Sri-Lanka (Ceylon) itself, if not to South-East Asia. Its power became such that it very quickly had control over the *Manigramam* itself. Not only were the members of those guilds merchants by caste but at least in Karnataka "there is frequent evidence of the actual participation of Brahmans in trading ventures" (p. 79, 94).

Besides the three maps published on pp. 69-71, I should have liked to find also one of Kerala. Regarding the problems raised by the several Thomases, whom the local tradition of the St. Thomas Christians mentioned as leaders of one of the other migrating group, the author has made some confusing errors. In the first place Thomas of Cana, whatever be his origins and role, came in A.D. 345 and was not a bishop, according to the most reliable tradition. In the second place, he is not called Thomas of Jerusalem, as the author has it. Also it is to be regretted that the author when treating of those ancient Christians consulted books and editions of sources which are either out-of-date or unreliable. For instance, to quote St. Ephrem from A. E. Medlycott (*India and the Apostle St. Thomas* 1905) is really not proper in a book which presents itselfs as scientific. In this respect I am surprised not to find listed in the bibliography the work of Fr. A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India I. From the Beginning up to the Middle of the 16th Century*, Bangalore, 1984 (cfr. OCP 1985, 477-478). Its perusal would have prevented the author from writing on p. 175: "In the 1520ss the Portuguese came to east-coast of India to recover the remains of the martyred St. Thomas". Actually it was in 1517 that a few Portuguese led by an Armenian merchant came to Mylapore and found out that the tomb attributed to St. Thomas was still well kept and venerated, although the church where the tomb was preserved was in ruinous conditions. I am also surprised that she does not list or even mention I. J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. to A.D. 641*, Oxford, 1969.

However, it cannot be denied that the author, who made good use of the large body of inscriptions in Sanskrit and local languages, has written a serious and very detailed contribution to the economic history of South India in medieval times, including the history of the oversea trade.

E. R. HAMBYE S.J.

G. CHEDIATH, *Kēraḷattile kraistava sabhakaḷ* (Malayalam = The Christian Churches of Kerala), Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, Vadavathoor, Kottayam (686 010) and Malankara Academy Publications, Nalanchira, Trivandrum (695 015) 1989, pp. xvi + 408.

Eastern Christianity in India has known pluralism with a vengeance ever since the arrival of Western missionaries in the sixteenth century. The scene in Kerala today may seem well nigh bewildering. Chediath's present work is a laudable effort to inform and to enlighten.

Not that this is a pioneering work. A previous book by a Syro-Malankara priest Thomas Inchakkalody († 1974) with the same title had run into three editions (1952, 1955, 1962). The need for a new, updated edition had been felt for quite some time. This need has now been ably met by GC. In a previous volume, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas the Apostle* (in Malayalam, OIRSI, 121), he had dealt with the history up to the sixteenth century. The developments and divisions since then are treated in the present work (OIRSI, 126). Thus the original has been considerably enlarged and divided into two volumes or books.

Making more ample use of the sources and recent monographic studies, GC deals with the three Churches in the Catholic Communion, the two Orthodox Churches and the two divisions of the Church of the East, as well as Churches and ecclesial communities of Protestant origin or reunion, Pentecostal and charismatic movements, groups or sects like the Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

By way of promoting better mutual knowledge among divided Christians, GC has done a good service to the cause of ecumenism in Kerala, though in his pastoral zeal he may at times sound unduly harsh on the sects. In particular, having previously published his doctoral dissertation on *The Christology of Babai the Great*, GC (a Syro-Malankarite himself) has good credentials to speak competently and with detachment about Nestorianism in Kerala, which is a trumped up, make-believe, scarecrow rather than a heresy.

To be prolific in writing and at the same time accurate and proportionate in details, elegant in style, rich in thought and artistic in composition — this is a rare combination, a mark of geniuses like Pushkin or Shakespeare. GC's option is to be prolific and risk missing the combination of genius: he has published 28 books (some being translations of patristic works) in a decade since 1981. He hopes to correct the errors pointed out by the readers and bring out an improved edition of the present work. In the meanwhile it

will surely serve the ecumenical and pastoral purpose of informing and instructing a wide, popular readership, and for all it can be a useful book of reference.

G. NEDUNGATT, S.J.

Sylvester KANJIRAMUKALIL, *Malankara Kattōlikkā-sabbhayute Vyaktitvam* (Malayalam: The Identity of the Malankara Catholic Church), Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, (Vadavathoor, Kottavam 686 010) and Malankara Academy Publications, (Nalanchira, Trivandrum 695 015) 1988, pp. 290.

Search for identity has come to the fore recently with the modern emphasis on pluralism. In the forefront of such search are the various Christian Churches. SK, a Syro-Malankarese priest, sets out to determine the identity of his Church in an MTh dissertation presented to the Kottayam Faculty. After sketching the historical background of the Syro-Malankara Church, SK speaks of its specific mission to be a persuasive link between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. With this as a criterion he goes on to analyse critically the present state of the regimen, the liturgical life, religious (monastic) life, clerical formation, catechesis, and service to the diaspora outside Kerala. He suggests a new name for his Church: "Orthodox Syrian Catholics" (pp. 98, 107), however confusing this may be in ecumenical circles. He pleads for the hierarchical unity of his Church under a catholicate. He suggests to revive offices and titles like chorbishop and rabban in view of fidelity to the rite rather than present day needs.

An update of the Syro-Malanakara statistics given by SK for 1987 (p. 150, n. 39) may be found in G. Chediath's book (*supra*), p. 54: 3 dioceses, 5 bishops, 419 priests, 828 parishes and mission stations, ca 300,000 faithful.

For an MTh dissertation, SK's is a well articulated and balances work. He has translated into Malayalam Cyril Malancheruvil's (presently Mar Baselios, bishop of Battery) well-known book *The Syro-Malankara Church*; and he is quite well informed. His criticisms are constructive, frank and forthright. And his book joins a number of recent studies on the Syro-Malankara Church. As the question of identity is far from easy to determine, and as Mar Cyril himself says in the Preface to the book "deep studies and wide discussions are needed," the present reviewer may raise the following questions with the hope of contributing to that process.

The question of tradition is crucial in discussing the identity of any Church. This has been left out of the present discussion. What is the tradition of the Syro-Malankara Church? Is it its life across 18 or 19 centuries from its apostolic origin and roots in India? Or is it its more recent life lived with elements borrowed from the Antiochean rite? This question is not purely academic: if the offices of chorbishop and of rabban are to be revived in fidelity to the Antiochean rite, would not fidelity to the earlier

tradition demand the restoration of the office of the archdeacon of the Thomaschristians? And if the Syro-Malabarians too revived an archdeacon for themselves, and so Syro-Malabarians too revived an archdeacon for themselves, and so did the other Thomaschristian Churches as well, Kerala would be having archdeacons to spare, making a mockery of the once single national head. The point is: revival or restoration is not such a simple thing as it may seem at first sight, and the idea of tradition can be deceptive and needs careful handling. Otherwise we risk becoming hostage to the past and cruel to the present.

Another related issue is that of inculturation, which too has been overlooked. SK seems to share the widely held view that the Syro-Malanakara Church is already well through inculturation. This is what a much quoted slogan about the religion, worship and culture of the Thomaschristians would have us believe. But recent close analysis of the slogan has found it wanting.

A third issue is apostolic experience. If personally differentiated apostolic experience is held to be a distinctive constitutive element of the identity of particular Churches (as some in Kerala would have it, though Vatican II's explanation is different), which apostolic experience is to go into the distinctive trait of the Syro-Malankara Church? — of Saint Paul and Barnabas and Peter (Antioch)? or Saint Thomas (India)? or of all of them? While these apostles have handed down a common kerygma that is necessarily integral to the catholic and orthodox faith, surely the aggregate of their personally differentiated apostolic experiences cannot be distilled into a unity to yield a distinctive ecclesial feature. These are issues, which cannot be ignored in settling the identity of the Syro-Malankara Church. They need deeper study and wider discussion.

G. Nedungatt, S.J.

Liturgica

Stephen Coombs, *The Eucharistic Prayer in the Orthodox West:* A reappraisal of its ancient and modern history, peculiarities and possibilities; with an excursus: The Priscillian Tractatus XI an Illatio. The Gregorian Club, Oxford 1987, pp. 80.

This monograph is inspired by the pastoral concern to contribute to a rebirth of the Western Eucharistic Prayer in the life of Western Orthodox groups. At the outset a defence is made of the orthodoxy of the old Roman Canon and the Iberogallic tradition of the Eucharistic Prayer from the standpoint of the Orthodox tradition. The attempts of Orthodox leaders, over the last century, to create modern Western Orthodox Eucharistic Prayers are submitted to critical analysis, and judged to be unsatisfactory. In the opinion of the author insufficient attention has been given to the kind of development that might have occurred in the West if the Great Schism of the eleventh

century had not taken place. In the end an example of the reworking of the "pre-schism text of the Roman Canon" is supplied that remains Western and orthodox.

The text of the *Prex Romana aptata usui orthodoxorum huius aetatis* reflects a theological outlook that might have been incorporated into the renewed Roman Canon of Paul VI if that prayer had been enriched by Eastern theology of the economic Trinity, above all the personal active mission of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic event.

A brief excursus provides some evidence for the identification of the Priscillian Tractatus XI (G. Schepes, ed., CSEL 18 (1899) 103-106) as an *illatio* rather than a *benedictio super fideles*. The matter merits further study. If the author is proven correct it would mean that special characteristic of the "Mozarabic" Mass flourished in Spain in the second half the fourthy century.

E. J. KILMARTIN, S.J.

Intercessions for the Christian People. Prayers of the People for Cycles A, B, and C of the Roman, Episcopal, and Lutheran Lectionaries, edited by Gail RAMSHAW, Pueblo Publishing Co., New York 1988, pp. xvii + 216.

It is a sure sign that we are in the age of ecumenism when one single liturgical book can be published for three Christian confessions. Indeed, such a book is possible only because all three traditions use basically the same lectionary, itself a great victory of ecumenico-liturgical agreement in our times. But this book reflects more than the phenomenon of world-wide ecumenism. It is also a tribute to the grass-roots pragmatism of North-American inter-denominational collaboration, and to the wide-ranging ecumenism of the American Judeo-Christian liturgical establishment, represented by the North American Academy of Liturgy.

The editor of this common work, Gail Ramshaw, is a well-known Lutheran liturgist, and the group of some fifty collaborators (fourteen of them women) listed on p. iv reads like a "Who's who" of North-American liturgists.

The volume is an anthology of "Prayers of the People" — what are often, if far less suitably, called the "Prayers of the Faithful," meaning, for some, "of the laity," as if they were not the prayers of the presider or clergy too. The prayers are offered as "models," a framework to be adapted and filled out according to the needs of the moment. Though diverse in style and composition, they follow a basic pattern of introduction; petitions for church, world, the needy, the local community; ad hoc petitions for the worshiping assembly; and a concluding collect. Some prayers are in the form of biddings addressed to the people ("Let us..."); others are petitions addressed directly to God. And of course all are couched in non-sexist language, as one would expect of a volume from this editor.

In general, these prayers follow with remarkable fidelity the "norms" I have noted for such prayers in my study of the early liturgical traditions:

1. That intentions proceed in descending order from the universal to the particular, praying first for the needs of the world and church at large, before zeroing in on the intentions of the local community and gathered worshipers. This is not because the local church is any less important than the universal, but because these prayers are an act of the common priesthood of the community in its intercession for all, not just for itself, a responsibility easily vitiated by first turning one's attention inward.
2. That all petitions have built-in vocal rubrics or signals. That is, each one in a series should begin and end in the same way ("For... let us pray to the Lord"). The first principle, that all petitions begin in the same way, is perhaps not an absolute. But I consider a uniform ending non-negotiable. Otherwise, how is the congregation to know when the petition is over, when to respond? Don't tell me by the intonation of the one reading the petitions, after all our experience of how bad they can be! This rule is violated in some instances (e.g. pp. 15-16, 87-90).
3. That petitions be brief and to the point. They are not the place for mini-homilies, political platforms, theological disquisitions, pious nosegays, social-activist tracts, or personal gripes. Nor are they a bulletin board.
4. The response to each petition should always be the same, and it should be short, snappy, easy to remember. Surely I am not the only one who grinds his teeth in despair every time I hear some leader of the prayers announce, "Our response to the petitions will be: *O Lord Jesus, Christ, who in your holy Nativity were born in a cave in Bethlehem for our salvation and for the salvation of all peoples in all ages, we pray you hear our petitions and have mercy on us, who place our hope in you, through the prayers of your all-holy Mother and of all your saints who have pleased you down the ages.*" By the time the congregation is ten words into the first response it has dissolved into a mumble of confusion because no one, not in our culture at least, remembers such things on the fly, at one hearing.

It is with welcome relief, then, that liturgical ministers and planners with their heads about them will welcome this anthology. As I have had occasion to say on another occasion (*Worship* 59 [1955] 323), the great irony of modern demands for greater creativity in liturgy, is that it is precisely in the two places where at least in the post-Vatican II Roman Catholic liturgy, everything is left to the creativity of the leaders and planners, the homily and the Prayers of the People following the lections, that our liturgies are so awful. Using this book will be part of the solution.

R. TAFT, S.J.

Sebastià JANERAS, *Le vendredi-saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices* (Studia Anselmiana 99 = Analecta liturgica 12) Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, Roma 1988, pp. 443.

This work in its original redaction, written in Spanish, was admitted to public defence as a doctoral dissertation at this Pontifical Oriental Institute

on December 14, 1970, during its "Golden Age" of liturgical studies when several dissertations defended there would achieve recognition as major, at times definitive, contributions to liturgiology. Though the wait has been far too long, we can now add this excellent study to the same list. It represents eastern liturgical history at its best — indeed, it represents the only way in which this history can be written today. The field is so vast and varied, the documents so many and unedited, the laborers in the vineyard so few, that it is only from detailed studies on a particular slice of this vast corpus that the larger picture can be extrapolated.

In the mirror of works such as J's are reflected not only the development of Byzantine Good Friday, but the entire history of the formation of the Byzantine Rite. The story is basically a "Tale of Two Cities," Jerusalem and Constantinople. For it is to the hagiopolite rite of Jerusalem and to the monasteries of Palestine that one must turn for the sources of much that now characterizes the Byzantine Paschal Triduum. During the struggles against Iconoclasm, St. Theodore († 826), Abbot of Stoudios in Constantinople, summoned to the capital Palestinian monks of St. Sabas, renowned for the orthodoxy of their offices. The monks of Stoudios gradually synthesized this imported Sabaitic office with material from the Asmatike Akolouthia or cathedral office of the Great Church to create a hybrid "Studite" office. This Constantinopolitan-Sabaitic synthesis spread throughout the Byzantine monastic world, including Palestine, where it was subjected to further hagiopolite monastic developments.

It is at this point, around the turn of the millenium, that the Good Friday documentation painstakingly unfolded by Janeras reveals this fascinating symbiosis: as the rite of Constantinople is being monasticized via Palestine, the rite of Palestine is being further byzantinized. This is most easily observable in the evolving lection system. In today's Good Friday offices, one is immediately struck by the absolutely staggering number of Passion Gospel lections, seventeen in all, twelve of them at Good Friday Matins, one each in Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers. From these Gospel lections alone it is obvious we face here a composite tradition that has been subjected to little attempt at homogeneity or coordination. The entire Passion is read again and again, and lections from the twelve Passion Gospels of Friday Matins are repeated immediately thereafter, in the Great Hours.

J's study demonstrates that *none* of this exuberance is found in the rite of old Constantinople, which long retained a Paschal Triduum of remarkable simplicity and primitive sobriety. Basically, what the Church of Constantinople did on Good Friday was what it did on every other Friday of Lent. Apart from the para-liturgical veneration of the lance and a few chant pieces at Good Friday Orthros, there are few proper elements and no scripture lections at all in any of the Constantinopolitan Good Friday services except Vespers, where, as today, a Gospel cento or chronologically arranged concordance from all four evangelists resumes the events of the entire day from Jesus' condemnation through to his burial.

J. traces the evolution from this old-Constantinoplitan simplicity to later richness — indeed, excess — step by step through the developing books of the two source-traditions. The classic paradigm is the series of twelve Gos-

pels of Good Friday Matins in today's Byzantine books. This rite is a typical Sabaitic Orthros substantially the same as the one in *Stavrou 43*, with a composite *Constantinopolitan* series of Gospel lections resulting from the combination of two separate *Jerusalem* cycles, the old vigil lections of Holy Thursday night, and those of the Good Friday day hours. Eleven of the twelve lections of this Constantinopolitan series are already visible in evangeliary mss from the ninth century. Only later did the Byzantines adopt the hagiopolite Great Hours with lections as the Good Friday daytime services in place of their native Lenten Tritoekte or combined Tierce-Sext, which is why Byzantine Good Friday services today have such a burdensome and repetitious series of Passion lections. The fact that these Great Hours are the only element of today's Triduum services not a Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite hybrid, but were simply borrowed as they were found in the Jerusalem books, betrays them as a later addition, inserted alongside an already existing synthesis of the two traditions.

Vespers reflect the same gestation. Already in *Stavrou 43* they have their present form: hagiopolite Vespers with the old Constantinopolitan Good Friday lections interpolated almost intact. Here, too, it is obvious what has happened: Constantinople gave to Jerusalem its lections, which inserted them into its own Sabaitic Vespers — and then reciprocated the favor by donating the new synthesis to the Great Church. This, of course, presents for the third time the whole Passion story, already told at Orthros and in the Hours of Good Friday, and transforms old Jerusalem Good Friday Vespers, centered on the burial of Jesus in Mt 27:57–61, into a Constantinopolitan-type general Passion anamnesis.

What J. has given us, then, is not just a history of Byzantine Good Friday, but a history of the Byzantine Rite aborning. The Hagiopolite Rite and the Rite of the Great Church no longer exist. In their stead we have the Byzantine Rite, a new synthesis of elements from the traditions of both Jerusalem and, especially, Constantinople. Mss of the ninth century show the effects of this mutual influence already, and it was undoubtedly well underway in the eighth if not before. It was a two-way street, and the traffic was intense. Each see borrowed from the other and joined the loaned elements to its own heritage, before sending the newly packaged synthesis homeward for still further adaptation there. Jerusalem will ultimately prefer Constantinople's eucharist and other sacramental rites to its own. Constantinople will drop its Divine Office in favor of a multi-level reworking of the Palestinian monastic hours.

In J's fascinating, definitive study, we are allowed to see this blending underway, through the painstaking analysis of the gestation of one of its components, the Good Friday services of today's Byzantine Rite.

R. Taft, S.J.

ARCHBISHOP PAUL OF FINLAND, *The Feast of Faith. An Invitation to the Love Feast of the Kingdom of God*, translated by Esther WILLIAMS, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N. Y. 1988, pp. 112.

This eminently practical, at once spiritual and common-sense guide to the Byzantine Divine Liturgy, is a true twentieth-century mystagogy. Its distinguished author follows, perhaps unconsciously, certainly unobtrusively, the twofold method of the classic Byzantine liturgical commentaries: *historia*, or a practical explanation of the concrete déroulement of the rites; joined to *theoria*, the contemplation, in faith, of their inner meaning. Well-translated from the original Finnish into a clear, lively, contemporary English, this handbook is simple but not simplistic; modern yet fully traditional; faithfully Orthodox yet not uncritical.

The contemporary liturgical scholar will, of course, find a few things that could be improved. The time has long passed for the outdated and inadequate distinction between "the Liturgy of the Catechumens" and "the Liturgy of the Faithful" to be permanently retired in favor of the more suitable distinction between the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist. The so-called "Liturgy of the Catechumens" is not exclusively nor even primarily for the catechumens, but for the entire worshipping congregation, including the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons and other clergy, the baptized — and, of course, the catechumens too. Other terminological niceties could also have been adjusted in the English text. *Thusia*, not *prosphora*, is "Greek for sacrifice" (p. 26); "antiphon" does not mean alternating the psalm verses (p. 32); and "Orthodox" does not also mean "rightly praising" (p. 51). Of course it's a free world, so one may *apply* the word in that sense. But its translation as *pravoslavnyj* is a calque, and it is time people stopped repeating that "*orthodoxia*" means "right glorification," when it does not. Further, the affirmation that the Byzantine rubric to say prayers of the anaphora in secret does not appear until after the thirteenth century (p. 65) is absolutely false. One finds it throughout the ms tradition, beginning with the earliest extant codex, the eighth-century *Barberini Gr. 336* (BRIGHTMAN 324, 329-30). It will also come as news to historians of the liturgy that the Prayer of the Third Antiphon was formerly "read at the beginning when the Liturgy started with the entrance, the present Little Entrance" (p. 31 — it wasn't); that the priest once faced the people during the anaphora in Byzantine usage (p. 79 — he didn't); or that the Presanctified Liturgy was for communion on Wednesdays and Fridays (p. 99 — it was for *every* non-liturgical day in original Byzantine usage outside Palestine). But these errors of historical detail do not in any way interfere with the pastoral value of this work.

Especially interesting are the hints of reform — all of them prudent, commendable, and in full accord with Orthodox tradition — in contemporary Orthodox liturgical usage in Finland, according to the 1985 books: some (but not all) the priestly prayers are rearranged and said aloud (31, 40), including the anaphora (64-65, 67); on days when the rites of initiation are to be administered, baptism and chrismation may be integrated into an abbreviated enarxis (p. 33); litanies are reduced somewhat (42-43, 49, 53); the faithful are

urged to exchange a sign of peace at the *pax*; the communion prayer is said by clergy and congregation together, with the doors open and the priest kneeling before the altar so the people can see the sacred gifts (67, 84); and, most important, frequent communion is urged (100-1).

This commendable little handbook will be of great help to Orthodox and other Christians who wish to penetrate more deeply into the meaning of the eucharist as celebrated in the Churches of the Byzantine tradition. I recommend it warmly, and hope it gets the wide diffusion it deserves.

R. TAFT, S.J.

Kenneth STEVENSON, *Eucharist and Offering*. Pueblo Publishing Company, New York 1986, pp. xiii + 327.

This book organizes the field of meaning associated with the sacrificial terminology of eucharistic liturgical texts of the Eastern and Western traditions with the help of a model derived from the basic structure of Eucharistic Prayers. Classical Eucharistic Prayers include proclamation of the acts of God in salvation history (*story*), the setting apart of bread and wine as medium of sanctification of the community through eating and drinking (*gift*), and expression of self-offering to God, which includes the social dimension of offering to God the concerns for others and commitment of love and service (*response*).

The criteria of story, and response, all of which have a sacrificial dimension, provide a useful way of identifying characteristic tendencies of particular traditions of Eucharistic Prayers. In the end the author concludes that the sacrificial metaphor is an appropriate way of describing the eucharist provided that the three criteria are held together in balance, and understood for what they mean.

This book contains a broad survey of sources of eucharistic liturgy and theology from the New Testament to modern times. Scholars will find useful the extensive bibliography. But most of the reporting on historical sources is geared to a popular audience, and frequently will not satisfy the critical eye. Its main value consists in showing from a Reformation perspective how the notion of sacrifice could be made palatable to Reformation churches. This work also offers a handy set of criteria by which scholars of more traditional churches of the East and West might approach the analysis their own sources of eucharistic theology.

E. J. KILMARTIN, S.J.

Oecumenica

Miguel Maria GARIJO-GUEMBE *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen. Grund, Wesen und Struktur der Kirche*, Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf 1988, S. 310.

Die Konstitution "Lumen Gentium" des Vaticanum II über die Kirche ist die Grundlage der Darstellung des V. Bei der Erklärung dessen, was Kirche ist, entwickelt er vier methodische Aspekte, die auch die Grundlage für den Aufbau des Buches bilden: Im 1. Teil wird eine solide exegetische Darlegung der ekklesiologischen Perspektive des Neuen Testaments geboten. Der 2. Teil legt eine theologische Beschreibung des Wesens der Kirche vor. Im 3. Teil kommen die Strukturen der Kirche zur Sprache. Der 4. Teil endlich handelt über die Sendung und Aufgabe der Kirche in der Welt gemäß der Konstitution "Gaudium et Spes" des Vaticanum II. Der V. hofft, durch die Behandlung dieser Elemente eine adäquate Beschreibung der Kirche gegeben zu haben (Vorwort S. 8). Hier können wir ihm beipflichten. Es bleiben freilich Probleme, für die G. keine wirklich befriedigende Lösung gibt. Vielleicht kann überhaupt keine solche Lösung gefunden werden.

Wir können im folgenden nicht zu allen Problemen, die G. behandelt, kritisch Stellung nehmen, wollen vielmehr nur wenige besonders drängende herausgreifen und einige Fragen zu G.s Lösungsversuchen vorbringen.

Der 1. exegetische Teil wirft unter anderem die Frage auf, in welchem Sinne Christus Kirche gegründet habe. G. referiert kritisch über die verschiedenen Auffassungen, die in dieser Frage vertreten wurden und noch vertreten werden. Was hier sein eigener Standpunkt ist, wird nicht recht klar. Er scheint anzunehmen, daß man nicht einzelne Momente im Leben Jesu als Stiftung der Kirche bezeichnen könne (s. 25).

Für den 2. Teil über das Wesen der Kirche ist von Bedeutung, was der V. am Anfang des Vorwortes schreibt (S. 7): "Es sind zwei Komponenten, in denen sich das Wesen der Kirche darstellen läßt: ein pneumatologisches und ein christologisches Element".

Für das Weisen der katholischen Kirche ist ihr Selbstverständnis von ihrer Einzigkeit als Kirche Christi von größter Bedeutung, was nicht ausschließt, daß die Kirche bildende Elemente auch in anderen Kirchen, besonders den orthodoxen anerkennt (S. 124). Aus der Tatsache, daß die Christen anderer Kirchen auch ihre Gemeinschaften als *die* wahre Kirche ansehen, schließt G., daß der Dialog mit ihnen auf der Ebene der Gleichheit geführt werden muß (l.c.).

Für den 3. Teil des Buches: "Strukturen der Kirche" ist die Frage fundamental, wieso es in diesen Strukturen eine Entwicklung geben kann. Es gibt tatsächlich in der Kirche Strukturen, die allgemein als "göttlichen Rechts" angesehen werden, aber nur als Resultat einer Entwicklung nachapostolischer Zeit. Ein klassisches Beispiel hierfür ist der monarchische Episkopat, der sich tatsächlich erst im Laufe des 2. Jahrhunderts allgemein durchgesetzt hat. Er ist also eine nachapostolische Struktur. Trotzdem ist es allgemeine katholische Überzeugung, daß die Bischöfe Nachfolger der Apostel sind. Die Frage ist,

wie dies zu verstehen ist. Setzt dies unbedingt voraus, daß der monarchische Episkopat göttlichen Rechts ist? Ein solches Recht setzt doch eine göttliche Offenbarung voraus. Die Offenbarung ist aber nach allgemeiner Überzeugung mit dem Tode des letzten Apostels abgeschlossen. Auch die auf dem Konzil heftig umstrittene Konstitution "Dei Verbum" nimmt, obwohl sie eine Entwicklung der geoffenbarten Wahrheit durch die Tradition kennt, keine Hinzufügung neuer Offenbarungswahrheiten an, sondern nur ein tieferes Eindringen in die ein für allemal gegebene *apostolische* Überlieferung, die von der Kirche, ihrem Lehramt, ihrer Theologie und dem "sensus fidelium" durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch treu bewahrt und immer tiefer erfaßt wird (Dei Verbum II, 8).

Es muß aber die Frage gestellt werden, ob in allen Lehren der Kirche und in allen von ihr als Strukturen göttlichen Rechts betrachteten Institutionen wirklich die apostolische Überlieferung festgehalten ist. Ferner ist zu fragen, welches Kriterium wir haben, um zu unterscheiden, ob die Kirche in diesen Dingen das Richtige trifft oder nicht. Was den monarchischen Episkopat angeht, zweifelt G. selbst an dessen Charakter als "göttlichen Rechts". Er schreibt: Man muß "die Frage stellen, ob eine *nachneutestamentliche Entwicklung* wie das monarchische Bischofsamt zur wesentlichen Struktur der Kirche gehören kann" (S. 67). Zur generellen Frage des "ius divinum" kirchlicher Institutionen bemerkt G. mit Recht, "daß die ganze Geschichte der Kirche zu berücksichtigen ist, wenn man von Strukturen göttlichen Rechtes sprechen will. Nur eine Theorie, die den Fakten der Geschichte entspricht, kann die Rede von den Strukturen der Kirche rechtfertigen" (S. 141). Es gibt Strukturen, die zu gewissen Zeiten als göttliches Recht angesehen wurden, zu anderen Zeiten dagegen nicht.

Daß nicht jede Tradition, die sich auf das kirchliche Lehramt und auf den "sensus fidelium" stützt, zu einer irreformablen Lehre führt, dafür gibt es in der Geschichte der Kirche zahlreiche Beispiele.

Dabei bleibt wahr, was auch G. öfters betont (z.B. S. 67; 241) und was auch das 1. Vaticanum lehrt, daß das protestantische Prinzip "Sola Scriptura" unhaltbar ist (vgl. die Konstitution "Dei Verbum" II 9).

Die recht verstandene Tradition hat auch ihr Wort zu sagen, was die Lehre der Kirche und was den Charakter ihrer Institutionen als "iuris divini" angeht. Aber inwieweit hier der Beitrag der Tradition "unfehlbar" ist, bleibt eine schwierige Frage.

Der 4. Teil des Buches handelt über die Sendung und Aufgabe der Kirche in der Welt im Anschluß an die Pastoralkonstitution "Gaudium et Spes" des 2. Vaticanums.

Das Buch von G. ist ein namhafter Beitrag zur Lösung einer Reihe von besonders heute brennenden Fragen zur Ekklesiologie. Natürlich bleiben immer noch Probleme, an deren Lösung weitergearbeitet werden muß, auch im Interesse des ökumenischen Anliegens der vollen Wiederherstellung der Einheit in der Kirche.

W. de Vries S.J.

Patristica

Alberto CAMPLANI, *Le Lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria.* Studio storico-critico, Centro Italiano Microfiches, Roma 1989, pp. 340.

Les Lettres festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie appartiennent à un genre littéraire longtemps considéré comme typiquement égyptien. Ces Lettres avaient pour but, après des exposés catéchétiques et polémiques souvent copieux, d'inviter les fidèles à une exacte observance de la Pâque et à une vie chrétienne plus fervente. Après quoi, l'évêque annonçait le début du Carême, la date de Pâque et du temps de la Pentecôte.

Dans l'ouvrage consacré à ces Lettres, A. Camplani s'est attaché à étudier d'abord la tradition manuscrite copte et syriaque pour aborder ensuite les problêmes de la chronologie des Lettres et partant, de certains points de la vie d'Athanase pour, en une 3ème partie, procéder à une analyse historique du contenu en relation avec les controverses religieuses de l'Égypte du IVème siècle.

Jusqu'au milieu du siècle dernier on ne connaissait des Lettres festales que quelques fragments grecs, notamment les citations qu'en fait Cosmas Indicopleuste dans sa *Topographie chrétienne.* La 1ère édition d'une version syriaque retrouvée en Égypte a été publiée par W. Cureton en 1848. Très défectueuse sur beaucoup de points, elle serait entièrement à refaire. Il en va de même de la plupart des traductions. Par contre, l'*Index* qui précède les Lettres festales et qui est une sorte de chronique pascale, a été très bien édité, traduit et commenté par A. Martin et M. Albert dans *Histoire «Acéphale» et Index syriaque des Lettres festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie,* SC 317, 1985. Il existe aussi une version copte éditée à partir de 1898 et étudiée durant les dernières décennies par nombre de coptisants.

Après les pages qui étudient la tradition textuelle et concernent surtout la version copte, le chapître 2 traite les problèmes de la chronologie des LF. Jusqu'à une époque récente, on pensait que ces problêmes étaient liés à l'introduction de la pratique du Carême dans l'Égypte du IVème siècle. Du fait que certaines lettres ne comportent pas l'annonce de la date du Carême, on était amené à envisager deux hypothèses: 1) ou on considère que les Lettres se suivent selon l'ordre chronologique et alors on doit supposer l'existence de deux chronologies différentes pour le début du Carême; 2) ou bien, certains, comme E. Schwartz, proposaient de changer l'ordre des Lettres en les rangeant en deux séries, d'abord les Lettres qui ne comportent pas l'annonce de la date du Carême et dans une 2ème série toutes les autres. Le progrès dans la recherche a consisté précisément à séparer le problème de l'introduction du Carême en Égypte de celui de la chronologie des LF. La datation doit être fondée sur une base historique et en relation étroite avec le contenu biographique des LF.

Les limites d'un compte rendu ne nous permettent pas de suivre dans le détail la discussion des solutions proposées par les divers spécialistes. Se basant sur des considérations stylistiques et historiques, notamment sur les

données certaines de la vie d'Athanase, l'auteur propose pp. 195-6 le tableau chronologique des LF qui lui paraît le plus vraisemblable.

Dans le 3ème et dernier chapitre l'auteur analyse les LF comme instrument de la catéchèse; il dégage ensuite les renseignements qu'elles fournissent sur la vie et la physionomie spirituelle d'Athanase, sur la polémique anti-arienne et la lutte contre les partisans de Mélèce. Finalement sont étudiées les listes épiscopales que comporte la finale de certaines Lettres.

Cette étude solide et conduite avec sérieux fait bien augurer des travaux ultérieurs de l'auteur. On ne peut que l'encourager dans cette voie.

R. LAVENANT S.J.

CYRILLE *de Jérusalem, Catéchèses mystagogiques*, Introduction, texte critique et notes de Auguste PIÉDAGNEL de L'Oratoire, Traduction de Pierre PARIS, P.S.S., Deuxième édition revue et augmentée, (= SC, No. 126bis), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1988, pp. 232.

In SC 126, p. 39, in 1966 Piédagnel stated with reference to the question whether these *Mystagogical Catecheses* were composed by Cyril of Jerusalem, or whether they were composed by Cyril's successor, John II of Jerusalem, that it did not seem possible at the moment to clearly decide the debate. In 1988 in his conclusion to Appendix I of SC 126bis concerning the same debate, on p. 185-187, he makes two remarks, the first of which he qualifies as certain, and the second as less clear and still problematic. The first remark is that these *Catecheses* could not come from the middle of the fourth century, but must come from its last part, very probably after 380 A.D. (Cyril died in 387; John II reigned from 387 to 417.) The second remark is that it appears probable that John II did the definitive redaction of these *Catecheses* in the tenor in which the manuscripts present them, but that in doing so he reproduced here and there a number of passages composed by Cyril.

It is necessary to correct the dating given by Piédagnel for one of the pieces of evidence which favors the attribution of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* to Cyril of Jerusalem. On p. 29 he calls attention to the citation under the name of Cyril of Jerusalem of *Cat.* I 8 (ll. 9-21 in his edition) which occurs in the work *Quaestiones et responsiones* which passes under the name of Anastasius of Sinai, in *Quaest.* III, at PG 89, 356B12-C9. On p. 29 in both SC 126 and SC 126bis, P. states that this Anastasius of Sinai died at the beginning of the VIIIth century. Now Marcel Richard's investigation of the manuscript tradition of those *Quaestiones et responsiones* which are printed in PG 89, 312-824 has shown that the florilegium contained therein came from a previous collection which comprised eighty-eight questions and responses together with a florilegium and which had been put together in the IXth or early Xth century. Richard proposes this dating because the florilegium contains at PG 89, 352A5-B6 a citation of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who exercised that office between 806 and 815 A.D. Richard published his study in "Les véritables 'Questions et réponses' d'Anastase le

Sinaïte," *Bulletin* n° 15 (1967-1968) *de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1969, p. 39-56 (= Marcel Richard, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout: Brepols — Leuven: University Press 1977, opus 64, same pagination); see especially p. 40-41.

On p. 40 of SC 126[bis], in n. 1, in the third line from the end of the note, the author failed to fill in the page numbers for a reference to Appendix I.

This edition of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Mystagogical Catecheses* will very probably and quite justly serve as the standard one for a long time.

J. D. BAGGARLY, S.J.

Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Bibelindex zu den Werken Gregors von Nyssa*, Selbstverlag, Paderborn 1988, pp. 126.

A biblical index to the works of a great theologian certainly aids scholars much. The more complete it is, the better.

D.'s index has a certain provisional character about it, since, as he himself says (on pp. 10-11), a definitive index only makes sense once the great critical edition of Gregory's works begun by Werner Jaeger has been brought to completion and is available for a comprehensive *relecture*. This complete edition will then be available as material for the indices which the *Biblia Patristica*, whose volumes are gradually being published by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, contains.

The *relecture* of Gregory's works, of which D. speaks, will have to be done with more than a small degree of attention. To take one example, in my reading of Gregory of Nyssa's *Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium* I noticed that the word ἀγριελαίου which occurs on p. 131, l. 18, of *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, Volumen III, Pars I, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1958 (= Migne, PG 45, 1125A3) functions as a definite, if somewhat delicate allusion to Rom 11:17 and 24. This allusion, however, is not noted either in the apparatus to the *GNO* edition or in the footnotes to Migne's edition, nor does it figure in D.'s index. No doubt other allusions of this more delicate type have escaped the notice of editors of Gregory's works. (We note with regard to Rom 11:16-17 that if Gregory had, in agreement with Origen [*Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* VIII, 11; PG 14, 1193B3-D1], taken the ῥίζα of Rom 11:16 as signifying Christ, he could have constructed an argument against Apollinaris based on the fact that the root of a tree is of the same nature as the rest of the tree.)

What seems to have been the procedure D. followed in compiling his *Bibelindex* has led to some omissions in it which could easily have been avoided. It seems that where the *GNO* volumes were available, D. did not consult the text in Migne, for there is an allusion to Phil 2:7 in Gregory's *Antirr. adv. Apolinarium* in *GNO* III/I, p. 133, ll. 11-12 (= PG 45, 1128A7-8), which F. Mueller did not note in his edition of this work in *GNO*, and which does not figure in Drobner's *Bibelindex*. However, the late XVIIth-century Prefect of the Vatican Library, Lorenzo Alessandro Zacagni, did note it in his edition in his *Collectanea monumentorum veterum Ecclesiae Graecae, ac Latinae*, Tomus Primus, Typis Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, Romae 1698,

p. 127, l. 1, whence it passed through the edition of the *Adversus Apolinarium* in Galland., *Vet. Patr. Bibl.*, Tom. VII, to the footnotes in PG 45, 1127. It is too bad neither Mueller nor Drobner reproduced this kind of information, which was so easily available. It ought to be clear that such information can be highly useful.

Our disappointment increases when we find that Mueller, and therefore Drobner, ignores an express reference to "the Gospel" (i.e. Lk 1:35) by Gregory at *GNO* III/I, p. 134, ll. 9-10, even though PG 45, 1127 has the reference "Luc. I, 26, sqq." in the footnotes.

The *relecture* of Gregory's works, to which D. refers, should also aim at forming an index of the works of secular authors which Gregory's writings may lead us to believe he was using, whether he was expressly citing such writings, or whether he was using them tacitly. To continue with examples taken from the *Antirr. adv. Apolinarium*, in *GNO* III/I, on pp. 140, l. 25-p. 141, l. 3 (=PG 45, 1137B2-9) we find Gregory pointing out against Apollinaris (who has just stated that Christ is man by reason of the flesh taken by God and that that flesh is not without a soul [*GNO.* pp. 140, ll. 4-5 and 17 (=PG 45, 1136D3-4 and 1137A8)]) that that which is *proper* to man is the intellectual nature of the human soul, for such things as the desire for food, the ability to get angry, sleep, etc. are common to humans and to non-rational beings. This argument has a striking similarity to that Aristotle uses in his *Ethica Nicomachea* I 6 (1097b33-1098a4), where he shows that that εὐδαιμονία or beatitude which is a type of functioning proper to man must consist in a life which is practicable by one possessing reason (a λόγος), since plants have the life of nutrition and growth in common with man, and the non-rational animals have sensitive life in common with him. The fact that a quite infrequently used word, ἐπιπειθής, occurs both in the phrase ἐπιπειθὲς λόγῳ in Aristotle (1098a4) and in adverbial form in the phrase τὸ γὰρ ἐπιπειθῶς ἢ ἀντιτύπως πρὸς τὸν νόμον in Gregory (*GNO* p. 141, l. 10 [=PG 45, 1137C2-3]) increases sharply the probability that Gregory had in mind this passage of Aristotle (although there seems to be some doubt about the authenticity of the part of Aristotle's text which contains ἐπιπειθές). We observe that Gregory makes what we would call the philosophical argumentation of this section an integral part of his exegesis of Scripture, and especially of Rom 7:23 and 8:7.

We cannot say that Drobner did not warn us about the limitations of his index, when he spoke about the necessity of a nature *relecture* of Gregory's works with a view to composing that part of the *Biblia Patristica* which will deal with those works. Scholars will certainly be grateful to him for that help which his index does afford us. But they will also be ruefully aware that, if they wish at present to do any really careful work on Gregory's use of some particular passage in Sacred Scripture, then they (or their research assistants, in cases where they may be fortunate enough to have one) will still find themselves obliged to leaf through the entire corpus of Gregory's works to find all the places where Gregory either expressly cites that passage or makes a more or less clear allusion to it.

J. D. BAGGARLY, S.J.

ÉVAGRE le PONTIQUE, *Le Gnostique ou à celui qui est devenu digne de la science*, éd. critique des fragments grecs, trad. intégrale établie au moyen des versions syriaques et arménienne, commentaire et tables par Antoine GUILLAUMONT et Claire GUILLAUMONT (= SC, n. 356), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1989, pp. 208.

I curatori della presente opera chiudono degnamente una lunga ricerca evagriana presentando quest'edizione critica dello *Gnostico* a cui, crediamo, si dovrà in futuro fare riferimento. Questo libro, oltre alla revisione critica dei frammenti greci, sovviene alle carenze dell'opera armena di B. V. Sarghisian del 1907 che, a parte il precludere l'accesso a molti — quest'opera era scritta infatti in armeno — si basava comunque su un numero ristretto di manoscritti. Ancora si rimedia, con la presente, all'incertezza dell'edizione di W. Frankenberg del 1912, basata sul manoscritto *Add. 14578*. Frankenberg tentò — con tutti i rischi che ciò comporta — una retroversione greca dal manoscritto siriaco. Il presente libro, invece, non accenna ad alcuna retroversione dei capitoli mancanti nel testo greco — dei tentativi, diremmo, sono risultati felici su alcune parole-chiavi — e ci consegna almeno 30 capitoli greci su un totale di 50.

Si è giunti a considerare definitiva l'acquisizione che lo *Gnostico* è un'opera a parte rispetto al *Trattato Pratico* (*TP*) dello stesso Evagrio; i Curatori giustamente puntualizzano il fatto che tutti gli indizî inducono a credere che lo *Gnostico* è stato composto dopo il *TP* (nella sua redazione in 100 capitoli), ma prima che a quest'ultimo si aggiungesse il prologo e l'epilogo. Come è noto, non si ha una soddisfacente ed integrale tradizione manoscritta dello *Gnostico*. La tradizione diretta greca, allo stato attuale della ricerca, si limita a manoscritti tardivi, e gli estratti ivi contenuti sono riportati sotto il nome di S. Nilo. Per la tradizione diretta si sono usati i seguenti manoscritti cartacei: *Athos Vatop. 57* fine XIII sec.; *Oxon. Bodl. Canonicianus gr. 16*, fine sec. XIII-XIV; *Vindob. theolog. gr. 274*, prima metà del XIV sec.; *Oxon. Bodl. Baroccianus 81*, XV sec., cinque capitoli sono stati rinvenuti nel *Mosq. Bibl. Syn. 439*, XVI sec. sotto il nome di S. Massimo. Per quanto riguarda la tradizione indiretta del testo greco, i Curatori si sono avvalsi, oltre che delle ben note fonti di Socrate, del retore Oeconomus e di Palamas, dei seguenti manoscritti: *Paris. gr. 2748* del XIV sec., un florilegio che riporta i capitoli 8 e 47; i due *Paris. gr. 39* e *1220*, del XIV sec., che ripropongono parte del cap. 30 e l'intero cap. 31; *Ambros. C. 178 inf.*, del XIV sec., che contiene il cap. 28; *Manosc. 283* di S. Saba che potrebbe riportare il cap. 41. In appendice a S. Massimo (*PG* 91, 757C) si rinviene ancora il cap. 47.

Prima che Evagrio fosse condannato, si sono avute varie traduzioni. Per le versioni siriache, i Curatori ne presentano tre: S^1 (prima del 534), detta "comune", basata soprattutto su manoscritti della British Library, con il *TP* e lo *Gnostico* in numerazione continua; S^3 basata solamente sull'*Add. 17167*, probabilmente dell'anno 649, l'opera di un nuovo traduttore che permetterebbe di rivedere la versione S^1, si da renderla più fedele al testo greco; S^2 è rappresentata dall'*Add. 17165* (VI sec.) e *Add. 14616* (VI-VII sec.) e riporta il

TP separato dallo *Gnostico*. Per la versione armena, oltre all'edizione del Sarghisian, si è usato ancora: *Erivan 1357* (XVI sec.) e *2540* (XIV sec.); *Nouvelle-Djoulfa 114*, datato 1676; *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Arm. 113*, anno 1298. La versione armena, da parte sua, va a datarsi verosimilmente alla fine del V-inizî VI secolo, fatta su un testo greco.

Ottima, crediamo, la metodologia usata per stabilire il testo. Per quei capitoli riportati dai manoscritti e fonti greche, si accetta per primo il testo greco; questo va eventualmente ad essere modificato qualora si trovi in disaccordo totale con l'unanimità delle versioni. In mancanza del testo greco, si entra allora nel campo delle versioni, ed è l'argomento di critica interna a queste che conduce a proporre il testo. Per questa seconda eventualità, i Curatori sono ben consci della difficoltà e dei dubbi, ma i risultati ottenuti (vedi per es. il cap. 14; l'ottimo lavoro fatto per il cap. 28 sulla *encataleiplês*) sono buoni. Alla fine del volume si pubblica anche una tavola di referenze all'edizione di Frankenberg, un indice scritturistico, un altro delle parole greche, ed un ultimo, in francese, dei termini dottrinali e filosofici di Evagrio.

V. RUGGIERI, S.J.

GREGORIO di NISSA, *Omelie sull'Ecclesiaste*, a cura di Alberto SICLARI (Introduzione di Alberto SICLARI — Traduzione di Serena RINALDI) (= Università di Parma, Istituto di Scienze Religiose, *Saggi e testi 1*), Edizioni Zara, Via Portilia, 6, Parma 1987, pp. 168.

In this first volume of the series *Saggi e testi* the reader may perhaps feel that the editors of the series have given us both an essay and a text, for the introduction to the text (pp. 9-44) occupies about half as many pages as the text of Gregory's eight homilies on Ecclesiastes (pp. 47-143). Gregory's homilies are here presented in a translation into Italian; Gregory's original Greek text is not reproduced in this book.

A. Siclari's introduction falls into six parts: 1. Gregory and His Ambience; 2. Philosophy as an Hermeneutic Instrument; 3. The Method and the Conditions of Scriptural Exegesis; 4. Ecclesiastes and Its Christian Interpreters up to the Age of Gregory; 5. The Interpretation of Ecclesiastes from a Christological Point of View; and 6. The Theological and Anthropological Doctrines of Gregory. Siclari gives us a crisp, concise and competent treatment of each of these six topics. His footnotes function to indicate to the interested reader the paths he may follow to investigate these topics more deeply.

The Italian translation of Gregory's homilies represents the first fruits of S. Rinaldi's scholarly career. She is to be congratulated on giving us the first complete translation into a modern language of Gregory's homilies on Ecclesiastes. (In fact, some short excerpts from Homily V and Homily VI were published in English translation in *The Liturgy of the Hours*, Vol. III, Catho-

lic Book Publishing Co., New York, 1975, pp. 234-235 and 238-239.) We look forward to seeing further results of her scholarship.

The present volume represents an excellent beginning to the series *Saggi e testi.*

J. D. BAGGARLY, S.J.

Luigi FATICA, *I Commentari a Giovanni di Teodoro di Mopsuestia e di Cirillo di Alessandria*; Confronto fra metodi esegetici e teologici. (= Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum", 29) Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum», Roma 1988, pp. 332.

This volume is a reworking of a doctoral thesis presented at the Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum." The central theme is the exegetical methodology applied by Theodore and Cyril in their commentaries on the Fourth Gospel. The uses of the Fourth Gospel in other writings of the two Fathers of the Church are not made the object of study since they serve a strictly theological function. The doctrinal component of the two commentaries is taken into consideration according to the way it functions in the commentaries themselves.

The subjects of the chapters are organized from a systematic point of view: discourses of the Fourth Gospel (Jn 3; 4:1–42; 5:31–37; 6), signs (Jn 2:1–11; 9:1–8), and themes related to the Passion (Jn 13; 18-19). Each chapter presents in turn the commentary of Theodore and Cyril and, in a third step, a comparison of the two analyses in the interest of formulating a progressive synthesis. An abundance of citations of the texts of the commentaries are included in translations made by the author. A useful bibliography, as well as biblical and analytic indexes are included.

This work is a valuable contribution to the history of exegesis. Readers of this journal will find here a handy reference tool, as well as a useful introduction to the contrasting approaches to biblical interpretation and doctrinal issues of two of the most important representatives of the Alexandrian and Antiochean traditions.

E. J. KILMARTIN, S.J.

St JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *On Marriage and Family Life.* Translated by Catherine P. ROTH and David ANDERSON. Introduction by Catherine P. ROTH. St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 10707, 1986, pp. 114.

To those familiar with the ascetic record of St John Chrysostom and the untold sufferings he had to endure for his convictions the present work may come as a surprise. It shows a Chrysostom dealing with a theme which may

seem unusual for somebody who had defended virginity so stoutly, and who nevertheless speaks of marriage in a fashion which shows him thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the world. Already for this reason, the publication merits consideration. With respect to its contents, it is composed of an introduction and the translation of six somewhat abridged texts, and more precisely of four homilies on passages from scripture (hom. 19 on 1 Cor 7:1–2; hom. 20 on Eph 5:22–33; hom. 21 on Eph 6:1–4 and hom. 12 on Col 4:18) as well as a sermon on the general theme of marriage and one on "How to choose a wife."

These excerpts reveal an author who has a remarkable capacity to discuss in a forceful way themes which were controversial then and now and whose style has lost nothing in its provocativeness. We catch him here, as it were, on the wing, rising to spiritual heights without becoming pedantic and giving down-to-earth advice without falling into bathos. Thus, what chiefly distinguishes a virgin from a married woman is not her abstinence from intercourse in marriage, but rather her freedom from anxiety about worldly matters (p. 41). On the other hand, he also insists that continence and fasting can be sinful within marriage, if it means disregard of the legitimate rights of the spouse (p. 28; see pp. 14-15). He decries the worldly customs which surrounded wedding ceremonies (p. 53). And, a rare thing among the preachers of antiquity, we hear him reflect on himself as a preacher, on his impact on the congregation and on the possibility of alienating his audience because of his intransingent views (pp. 60, 82). His attitude towards women mirrors in part the mentality of his age, but he manages all the same to transmit essential Christian values concerning the relations between the sexes (pp. 96-97).

The translation is, by and large, fluent, and it thus makes Chrysostom sound both contemporary and refreshing. The short but useful introduction helps illustrate differences between East and West. It could also have helped underline similarities in their basic conceptions. The criticism of St Augustine's views is exaggerated (pp. 9, 20). By way of counter-balance, we recall that the same Augustine, pessimistic as he was about the havoc sexual pleasure may so easily cause, nonetheless also used the same love of humans, sex-bound in its concrete realization, as an analogy of the Trinity. When Chrysostom asserts that couples who base their marriage on prayer and mutual respect may easily rival the holiest of monks, he expresses a view that could have come straight from Augustine, who says: "humble spouses follow the Lamb more easily than do proud virgins" (*De sancta virginitate*. li, 52; see also *De bono coniugali*, xxiii, 30; both in Agostino Trapé, "Saint Augustine," Angelo di Berardino (ed.), *Patrology* IV, Westminster, Maryland, 1986, p. 429.) Besides, marriage, as the symbol of the mystery of the Church, can easily serve as a symbol for Church unity (p. 75).

The merits of the book far outweigh any demerits, both because its contents are intrinsically interesting, and because of the light it sheds on contemporary customs. Indeed, the book perhaps could have been entitled (to borrow a striking phrase from the introduction): "On transfigured love: To unite a world."

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

LIBERATO di CARTAGINE, *Breve storia della controversia nestoriana ed eutichiana*. Introd., trad. e note (indici e tavole cronologiche) a cura di Filippo CARCIONE, Prefezione di Mons. Lino FUMAGALLI. Pontificio Collegio Leoniano, Anagni, 1989, pp. 142.

I nodi dogmatici delle diatribe cristologiche del V ed inizio VI secolo, le battaglie esegetiche miste a forti ragioni di ordine ideologico e politico intercorrenti fra le sedi di Alessandria, Antiochia e Costantinopoli, tutto questo amalgama storico forma il tessuto dell'opera di Liberato, arcidiacono della chiesa di Cartagine. F. Carcione ha curato questa edizione italiana basandosi sul testo dello Schwartz [*ACO* II, IV, 94-141], attento a tutti i riferimenti storici ed implicazioni dottrinali che il testo di Liberato dissemina lungo il suo cammino. Essenziale è l'introduzione del Curatore sullo stesso Liberato e sull'opera. In queste prime pagine il lettore si familiarizza anzitutto con il mondo ecclesiastico del tempo, trovando poi una più precisa indicazione di data sull'opera stessa. La *Breve Storia*, infatti, era datata da molti fra il 555 ed il 566; Carcione ha lavorato «storicamente» su alcuni dati (per es. il *novissime* nel testo del cap. XX: *ACO* II, IV, p. 133, l. 22) e fissa giustamente un *ante quem* attorno agli anni 536/7 ed un termine ultimo vicino alla morte di Virgilio e all'elezione di Apollinare ad Alessandria, cioè attorno al 551/555. Se a Liberato si deve tutta la materia dell'opera (egli cita le sue fonti: p. 37; p. 74, l. 16), qualche ritocco, una più strutturale sistemazione dell'opera e parte della sezione finale del cap. XXIV si deve a qualche altra mano, forse un partigiano dei Tre capitoli. Anche se a volte si nota la pesantezza del lungo periodare nella traduzione, lo sforzo di Carcione è stato lodevole nel rendere abbastanza fedelmente in italiano il testo di Liberato. Delle tavole cronologiche (imperatori, papi e patriarchi delle sedi orientali), degli indici di nomi propri e referenze bibliche chiudono il piccolo volume.

V. RUGGIERI, S.J.

Lothar LIES, *Origenes' Eucharistielehre im Streit der Konfessionen*: Die Auslegungsgeschichte seit der Reformation. Innsbrucker theologische Studien, Band 15, Tyrolia-Verlag, Innsbruck 1985, pp. 422.

The general topic of this monograph is the history of the reception of Origen in the West from the time of the sixteenth century Reformation up to modern times. As an example the reception of Origen's eucharistic doctrine is investigated. The study is divided into three parts: Origen's eucharistic doctrine 1) in the writings of Erasmus and the Reformers, and theologians of the Council of Trent; 2) in circles of Protestant orthodoxy, Catholic theologians of the counter-Reformation, and post-Tridentine Catholic historians of dogma and patristics; 3) literature from the period of the Enlightenment up to the present. The work closes with a description of areas of deficient knowledge of Origen's thinking which explain why, at least in the matter of

his eucharistic teaching, a reception was either not possible, or only partially achieved.

Undoubtedly this contribution to both the eucharistic doctrine of Origen, and to the history of its reception in the West, also represents a contemporary highpoint in research aimed at the re-evaluation of the Western approaches to eucharistic theology since the Reformation. From the immense amount of source material which the author introduces, he is able to demonstrate a prevailing deficient knowledge of Origen's conception of the eucharist based on the misunderstanding of the Alexandrian's allegorical method of interpretation of Scripture, lack of appreciation of his Platonic orientated philosophy, and more particularly his theology of word and Logos-christology, sacramental thinking and understanding of liturgy. Only in the twentieth century have works appeared which represent a breakthrough that has begun to remedy the deficient reception. In this regard Henri de Lubac is given credit, but also Hans Urs von Balthasar and, among others, Henri Crouzel and R. P. Hanson.

In our day it is possible to investigate the eucharistic doctrine of Origen independently of a particular dogmatic standpoint. But this was not always so, as the sources of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed dogmatic theology attest. It is not difficult for Lies to show that the deficient knowledge of Origen's eucharistic doctrine was conditioned by dogmatic presuppositions in all three traditions. Characteristically Roman Catholic theologians were wedded to a theology of development of doctrine which allowed only an unfolding of truths of faith in a linear direction of greater clarity. Thus the normative teaching of the Council of Trent on the eucharist was reckoned as the mature expression of doctrine which served to explain obscurities in Origen's teaching. Lutheran theologians, who formulated the dogma of Scripture as the unique norm of theology, and interpreted Scripture literally, judged obscurities in Origen's method of interpretation of Scripture and philosophical orientation as deviations from the truth. Reformed theology, from the dogmatic standpoint, understood sacraments as signposts which point to what God had previously done, or also was doing on the occasion of the administration of the sacrament. This outlook favored Origen's spiritual view of sacrament. On the other hand, while Origen was not rejected, his Platonic thinking was reduced to a sixteenth century rationalistic view of sign. Similar results also occurred when the so-called unbiased approach of the liberal and historical critical eye turned to Origen.

This historical investigation raises the general question about methods of interpretation of patristic eucharistic statements, as well as the specific issue of the relevance of Origen's eucharistic doctrine for modern theological reflection. Some insightful remarks on these subjects concludes the study. A useful selected bibliography, indexes of references to works of Origen, subjects and names are included.

E. J. KILMARTIN, S.J.

PALLADIOS, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, tome I: introd., texte critique, traduction et notes par Anne-Marie MALINGREY, avec la collaboration de Philippe LECLERCQ (SC, 341), pp. 464, tome II: Histoire du texte, index et appendices par Anne-Marie MALINGREY (= SC, 342), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1988, pp. 248.

Questo *Dialogue* è certamente una delle pagine più belle, vibranti e, al tempo stesso, terribili della storia della chiesa antica. Il testo mostra per tutta la sua lunghezza il processo forzatamente montato contro il patriarca di Costantinopoli Giovanni Crisostomo, la condanna all'esilio e la sua morte. Palladio, dalla cui penna uscì la *Storia Lausiaca*, sembra identificarsi — A.-M. Malingrey condivide l'analisi condotta a suo tempo da E. C. Butler — con l'autore di questo dialogo, il vescovo cioè di Elenopoli, uno dei vescovi che al tempo della disputa Crisostomo-Teofilo (patriarca d'Alessandria d'Egitto) appoggiava il patriarca costantinopolitano. L'autore non narra dunque un evento lontano, se è da credersi che la sua morte sia avvenuta prima del 431, ma molto probabilmente compone quest'opera circa quattro anni dopo la fatale notte di Pasqua del 404 a Constantinopoli. Inoltre essendo un personaggio della vicenda e come tale emotivamente implicato, Palladio dipinge le scene con realismo e con personale partecipazione al funesto corso degli eventi. V'è molto sulla polemica Alessandria-Costantinopoli, su origenismo ed anti-origenismo; forti sono le stoccate contro l'ingerenza imperiale e civile nelle competenze dell'episcopato. Ma ciò che il lettore troverà più drammaticamente sentito nel *Dialogue* è lo scandalo della divisione del corpo della Chiesa, attribuita da Palladio al "demonio", fonte principio di tutti i mali che travagliano i pastori (IV, 73-76).

Le SC hanno dedicato due volumi a quest'opera, e bisogna riconoscere che A.-M. Malingrey (aiutata da Ph. Leclercq nel I tomo) ha il merito di presentarci un'eccellente edizione del *Dialogue*. Mentre il I tomo, a parte le notizie su Palladio e le note su stile e genere letterario del dialogo, è dedicato interamente al testo dell'opera del vescovo di Elenopoli, il tomo II ha una distribuzione più varia. La prima sezione del tomo II, comprende la storia del testo, quella delle edizioni latine e greche, un'interessante lista di luoghi paralleli (riferimenti intercorrenti fra il *Dialogue* e 1) il secondo concilio di Nicea, 2) lo Pseudo-Anastasio, 3) la vita di Olimpia, 4) Teodoro di Trimitonte, 5) la *Vita* scritta da Giorgio di Alessandria, ed infine una bibliografia essenziale. A tutto questo segue la lettera di Giovanni Crisostomo a Innocenzo papa (Appendice I). Nelle edizioni anteriori, si sa, questa lettera, scritta fra la Pasqua e la Pentecoste del 404, rappresentava il capitolo secondo del *Dialogue*. La scelta fatta da Malingrey è coerente: dare all'opera di Palladio il suo *mouvement originel*. In tale ottica si relega la lettera, con un ottimo apparato critico, nella appendice, riconoscendo così la sua aggiunta posteriore (probabilmente dopo la prima metà del VII sec.). Come Appendice II si presentano gli atti del "Concilio della Quercia", ripresi dalla *Bibliotheca* di Fozio (ed. R. Henry, Paris 1959) che hanno una tradizione manoscritta costituita soprattutto dai due *Marciani gr. 450* e *451*. A.-M. Malingrey ha commentato il testo, come le è solito, in modo ineccepibile nelle note a pié di pagina. La

sezione finale del tomo II è dedicata agli indici, che sono di grande utilità. Si riferiscono alle citazioni scritturistiche, ai nomi di persone ed aggettivi derivati, ai nomi geografici, di popoli ed infine alle parole greche [cfr. anche Th. F. Brunner, *Hapax* and *non-hapax legomena in Palladius' Life of Chrysostom*, in *Anal. Boll.* 107 (1989) 33-38]. Questi indici si riferiscono sia al *Dialogue* che alle due Appendici.

Da quanto detto e dalla veste tipografica dei due tomi, l'intento primario di A.-M. Malingrey è di presentare una edizione del *Dialogue* il più possibile aderente all'originale; tutto il materiale supplementare e da considerarsi nella prospettiva di rendere con la massima fedeltà il testo di Palladio. Questo intento è felicemente raggiunto. Il testo greco del *Dialogue* è basato su due manoscritti (ambedue si rifanno ad un archetipo comune) e sono gli unici a contenere l'intero testo: a) il *Mediceus-Laurentianus IX, 14*) menologio prematafrastico; b) *Athos Lavra gamma 60*; manoscritto mutilo all'inizio e alla fine. Quest'ultimo era stato finora trascurato mentre per la data (si accetta la datazione dell'XI s. proposta da A. Ehrhard per ambedue i manoscritti), rappresenta un testimone interessante per stabilire il testo. Fra i tanti frammenti e complementi agiografici (Vita di Olimpia e quella del Crisostomo scritta da Teodoro di Trimitonte), un testimone peculiare è valorizzato: Giorgio d'Alessandria, ed a ragione (ottime le pagine II, 15-19 per la tradizione manoscritta di questa *Vita*). Ebbene, ancora una volta A.-M. Malingrey ha puntato sul *Dialogue*; pur tenendo conto del testo di Giorgio (per questo testo Malingrey aveva sottomano 7 manoscritti), la preferenza è data sempre ai manoscritti su Palladio, tenendo conto al contempo, nell'apparato, dell'apporto della tradizione manoscritta di Giorgio, pure antica. Il lettore trova dunque un eccellente testo greco (eccessivo l'uso del participio in Palladio) stabilito minuziosamente con l'aggiunta di una buona traduzione. Nelle note a pié di pagina, oltre ai vari commenti di carattere storico e teologico, si assapora la sottigliezza filologica che, aumentando il fascino del testo, è prova ulteriore della competenza ed acribia messe in opera da A.-M. Malingrey e Ph. Leclercq.

Segnaliamo qui alcune inesattezze minori.

Tomo I: p. 105, la prima nota del cap. V è da ritenersi seconda, come si deduce dal testo a pié di pagina, p. 123, la nota 7 è opposta a "bains", ma in realtà si riferisce a "jeûne"; p. 171, fine nota 5: la linea è invero 148 (καθίσαντας) e non 147; testo IX, 162 ss.: qualche suggerimento di interpretazione. Τὰ θεῖα λόγια (165) si poteva tradurre come "les divines Écritures" (vedi XIV, 31) per conservare l'uniformità di traduzione, così come vediamo λόγια reso bene con "oracles" in XX,555-6 (riferiti allo Spirito). Pur nella grande confusione dovuta all'evento della notte di Sabato Santo 404, la versione del *Dialogue* e quella della Lettera a papa Innocenzo (II, 82 ss) non concordano su luogo e modalità del misfatto, come lucidamente rileva la Malingrey (II, 51-53). Palladio parla di liturgia battesimale celebrata nelle terme di Costanzo (sono da intendere le stesse terme citate a X,41? Ma queste terme, al tempo del misfatto, non dovevano essere ancora terminate, e questo potrebbe spiegarne l'uso improprio nel testo: cfr. C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe* siècles), Paris 1985, 41), e, credo, in questo senso è da prendere σύναξις (170). Se è così, τὰ σύμβολα ἐκχέει (IX,199), tradotto come "les signes sacrés" [τα σύμβολα (VII,43; VIII,74; XI,138) dal

contesto sono giustamente tradotte come le specie eucaristiche] può avere un altro senso, data la ambiguità. Mi riferisco agli olii usati durante il battesimo. Se ἐκχέω, ἐκχύνω ha una valenza eucaristica in Mc XIV, 24 e paralleli, riferito all'olio il testo di Mc XIV,3 è molto pertinente.

Tomo II: p. 28, paragrafo 9, manca una «*l*» a «Palladius» nell'opera citata di Moore; p. 83, nota 4, quarta linea dal basso, ripetizione di "pour"; p. 84, manca l'autore dell'articolo sul *bema; Haytrop* vuole forse dire *Heythrop*; sul *bema* conveniva citare anche R. Taft, *OCP* 1968, pp. 326-359; p. 85, 3 rigo si legga mai-son; p. 200, alla voce λουτρόν converrebbe aggiungere la menzione di X,41.

V. RUGGIERI, S.J.

SAPIENTIA *et* ELOQUENTIA. *Studi per il 70° genetliaco di Antonio* QUACQUARELLI. A cura dell'Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica dell'Università di Bari, Edipuglia, Bari 1988, pp. XLII-706.

Con questo volume l'Istituto dell'Università di Bari intende onorare il suo fondatore, direttore di collane e di studi patristici, autore di numerosi volumi e saggi coi quali Q. ha contribuito in maniera determinante allo sviluppo degli studi cristiani in Italia dell'immediato dopoguerra ad oggi. L'elenco bibliografico dei suoi scritti occupa 12 pagine e i titoli nella loro varietà dimostrano l'unità del programma. La sua prima vocazione fu storica e orientata agli avvenimenti locali. Ma con questi Q. si trovò coinvolto nei problemi ecclesiastici con l'orientamento preciso verso le questioni di natura spirituale. Nacquero, così, le indagini sul potere temporale del papato e su Padre Tosti, monaco di Monte Cassino, studioso del monachesimo medievale. Dopo Tosti, Q. studiò Tamburini, personaggio ricco di motivi culturali assai profondi. Fu così spinto a studiare Tertulliano e i Padri. Il livello degli studi patristici in Italia non era quello dei nostri giorni. Nel 1948 si ebbe il primo concorso di Letteratura cristiana antica, bandito dalla Università di Torino, in cui riuscì come vincitore anche Francesco Di Capua. Fu Tertulliano a mettere Q. in un contatto stretto con lui. Ad ascoltare il Di Capua sulla *loquela digitorum*, che era la matrice di tanto linguaggio simbolico, Q. fu invogliato ad approfondire l'argomento (cfr. in specie: *Il triplice frutto della vita cristiana 100, 60 e 30*, Roma 1953 e Bari 1989). Egli riuscì a distinguere le immagini che genera la *loquela digitorum*, dalla aritmologia concernente le riflessioni sulle virtù dei primi dieci numeri che formano la sacra decade. L'aritmologia ha appassionato tutta l'antichità. Ma per cogliere appieno la voce dei Padri è ben presto una necessità per Q. lo studio degli «schemi», modi di passagio dal senso proprio a quello figurato. Oggi leggiamo mentalmente secondo moduli logici, mentre gli antichi leggevano secondo un ritmo che accompagnava l'ordine delle parole. Sorsero generi nuovi come quello iconologico e quello autobiografico. Di questi due generi letterari Q. ebbe a parlare a lungo nel suo lavoro pubblicato nel 1986: *Reazione pagana e trasformazione della cultura (fine IV secolo d.C.)* in *Vetera Christianorum* 19, pp. 5-246.

Lo spirito del cristianesimo antico si riflette nell'ascetismo e nella preghiera. Ma Q. mostrò come il monachesimo aveva posto il lavoro quale base di una società cristologica ideale e quale mezzo di promozione e punto d'incontro tra la materia e lo spirito *(Lavoro e ascesi nel monachesimo pre-benedettino del IV e V secolo,* Bari 1982).

Le parole del primo fascicolo dei *Vetera Christianorum,* rivista fondata da Q., chiariscono il programma al quale egli è rimasto fedele tutta la vita: «Contribuire alle indagini intorno alla letteratura cristiana delle origini... per coglierne i valori».

Di questa evoluzione del suo metodo di lavoro Q. stesso ci parla nell'introduzione (p. IX-XIX).

Ma ci piace sottolineare la presenza nel grosso volume di numerosi contributi che spettano l'Oriente cristiano. Dallo stesso Q. provengono: *Fondamenti della retorica classica e cristiana* (p. 127-148), *L'educazione al lavoro: dall'antica comunità cristiana al monachesimo primitivo* (p. 149-163), *Origene e i principi di cultura e di vita interiore* (p. 165-175), *La conoscenza della Natività dalla iconografia dei primi secoli attraverso gli apocrifi* (p. 199-215), *La parola e l'immagine nei discorsi di Giovanni Damasceno contro gli iconoclasti (p. 251-266), «Ut rhetorica pictura» nella sequenza degli schemi. Una riflessione interdisciplinare fra letteratura cristiana antica e l'iconologia* (p. 343-358). Di G. Otranto, che firma la *Premessa,* notiamo *Per una metodologia della ricerca storico-agiografica: il santuario micaelico del Gargano tra Bizantini e Longobardi* (p. 381-405) e *Tra Bibbia e agiografia: note sull'esegesi scritturistica di Nilo di Rossano* (p. 567-704); di M. Girardi, *Bibbia e agiografia nell'omiletica sui martiri di Basilio di Cesarea* (p. 451-486); e quei contributi che riguardano l'archeologia dell'Italia meridionale.

T. Špidlík S.J.

M. A. Schatkin, *John Chrysostom as apologist, with special reference De Incomprehensibili, Quod nemo laeditur, Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt, and Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* (ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΒΛΑΤΑΔΩΝ, 50), Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1987, pp. 299.

È lo studio dell'aspetto apologetico di quattro operette del Crisostomo, mai finora organicamente studiate sotto questo profilo.

La prima operetta è costituita dalle omelie sulla incomprensibilità di Dio *(De incomprehensibili,* ed. A.-M. Malingrey, SC 79). L'A. ne studia il substrato storico, la posizione di Eunomio, sullo sfondo della tradizione cristiana. Il metodo apologetico del Crisostomo vi si articola in *logico,* caratterizzato da dimostrazione razionale; *pragmatico,* in connessione con situazione di fatto, non di raziocinio; *spirituale,* con necessità della grazia unitamente all'obbligo morale. Esso viene usato dal Crisostomo ed evidenziato dall'A. anche a riguardo delle altre tre operette. Due si muovono attorno al tema della provvidenza. Quella intitolata *Quod nemo laeditur(nisi a se ipso),* viene studiata dall'A. quanto al genere letterario, al tema, e al contenuto dei singoli capitoli

(1-17). L'altra *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt(ob adversitates)*, è pure sottoposta ad attenta e prolungata analisi (pp. 122-158). Lo studio dell'ultima, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*, occupa buona parte del volume (pp. 159-272): viene approfondito il rapporto tra il Crisostomo, l'esperienza monastica e i rispettivi suoi scritti di carattere monastico. L'A. quindi indaga attentamente sull'ambiente socio-culturale di Antiochia nel secolo IV, sull'identità degli oppositori dei monaci, presso cui il Crisostomo esorta i genitori a inviare i figli per essere educati cristianamente; sulla data di composizione oltre che sulla occasione e finalità e sul genere letterario. Con particolare cura l'A. studia il carattere apologetico, quanto all'uso del raziocinio e della forma letteraria o dell'"agone'. Il termine 'philosophia' viene studiato nella sua accezione pagana e cristiana, identificata quest'ultima dal Crisostomo con la vita monastica, che a sua volta viene da lui fatta corrispondere alla vita contemplativa. Quanto agli influssi, l'A. documenta quello possibile di Platone (*Republica, Critone, Timeo,...*) sul tipo di educazione proprio dell'*Adversus oppositores vitae monasticae*. I nemici dei monaci (specie i padri paganeggianti) sono identificati coi nemici della 'philosophia'.

Nella conclusione l'A. indica comuni aspetti caratteristici delle operette esaminate: metodo apologetico razionale basato su motivi ed esempi della letteratura pagana, opposti a motivazioni scritturistiche usate invece nella polemica con gli eretici. Il Crisostomo abbonda di termini medici, che rimandano allo stoicismo, cui sono pure ricondotte le accuse di 'pazzia' contro gli eretici e contro gli oppositori pagani dei monaci. Il metodo pragmatico viene fatto consistere nel senso dell'educazione, della misura, della cortesia, mentre quello spirituale è basato sulla ecclesiologia paolina della Chiesa Corpo di Cristo. Crisostomo vi difende pure le tre categorie della teologia patristica (*theologia, oikonomia, praxis*).

I generi letterari usati dal Crisostomo per le opere apologetiche sono diversi e si spiegano con l'influsso della seconda sofistica. Così nella dimostrazione della incomprensibilità divina egli usa il genere omiletico; nel *Quod nemo laeditur* quello della diatriba per la difesa della provvidenza divina (l'A. vi riscontra analogie con il *De consolatione* di Boezio), ma il genere letterario di *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* appare problematico (A.-M. Malingrey lo ritiene frutto di esperienza interiore; l'*Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*, trattato apologetico a sfondo apologetico, si muove sotto l'influenza della diatriba).

Infine l'A. distingue le fonti del Crisostomo in bibliche ed extra-bibliche: Flavio Giuseppe, Padri della Chiesa: Cirillo di Gerusalemme, Atanasio, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Basilio (*Adversus Eunomium*), Gregorio di Nissa (*Contra Eunomium*); tra gli autori greci pagani predomina Platone.

La *Bibliografia* (pp. 285-292) contempla le fonti in edizione critica, le traduzioni e gli studi, numerosi e ben scelti, citati in larga misura lungo il lavoro. Il ricco *Index* (pp. 293-299) offre al lettore un ottimo strumento di lavoro, con indicazione di nomi e cose notevoli.

La Schatkin, specialista in Giovani Crisostomo, ha realizzato un importante studio, la cui validità è garantita dalla serietà del metodo. Poiché il pensiero di un Padre è veicolato di solito da generi letterari correnti, espressioni di una cultura di cui egli è debitore, è indispensabile individuare nelle

sue opere quei generi letterari, ai fini di una comprensione fedele e sicura dei contenuti dottrinali. Il genere apologetico di queste operette meritava di venire così adeguatamente studiato per la comprensione delle medesime, ma anche per dare un chiaro esempio di come altri generi ed altre opere del Crisostomo debbano essere studiati.

Testimoni di due momenti della vita del Crisostomo, tra loro assai differenziati (*De incomprehensibili* e l'*Adversus oppositores vitae monasticae* rappresentano il periodo antiocheno; *Quod nemo laeditur* e l'*Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt* il periodo del secondo esilio) le prime tre operette esaminate dall'A. racchiudono del pensiero del Crisostomo contenuti essenziali e permanenti, mentre l'ultima raccoglie contenuti che troveranno nel pensiero più maturo, in forza dell'esperienza pastorale, un deciso superamento: dall'educazione cristiana dei figli presso i monaci a quella in famiglia.

O. PASQUATO

Russica

Laura SATTA BOSCHIAN, *La cultura e il potere. Da Ivan il Terribile a Sacharov*, (=Coscienza del tempo, 10) Ed. Studium, Roma 1987, pp. 228; ID., *Dalla Santa Russia all'URSS (1905-1924). Un destino voluto da tutti*, (=La cultura, 35) Ed. Studium, Roma 1988, pp. 490.

L'Autrice è docente di Lingua e Letteratura russa alla Università di Perugia. Ha collaborato e collabora a riviste scientifiche e a quotidiani. Sa unire la profonda conoscenza della sua materia con il dono di scrivere brillantemente.

La cultura e il potere è, una raccolta, per lo più, di articoli di giornali e recensioni di libri che trattano della Russia o celebrano ricorrenze della sua storia. I vari testi sono consacrati a personaggi di spicco e si succedono secondo un ordine cronologico: da Ivan il Terribile a Pietro il Grande, a Lenin a Turgenev, a Solženicyn e a Sacharov.

Lo studio sistematico è invece proprio dell'altro volume, il cui titolo giornalistico non deve ingannare. «La cultura russa — afferma l'Autrice — è una sola e l'URSS continua la Russia». L'A. riesce a cogliere questa continuità fra passato e presente, attraverso le grandi antinomie del carattere russo, la profonda diversità degli ideali appassionatamente e tragicamente vissuti, nella grande fecondità spirituale di questa terra e della sua cultura. Sono cosi rivissuti gli avvenimenti storici, dalla prima rivoluzione del 1905 fino alla morte di Lenin, fatti tragici, storia di crudeltà, di intrighi, di debolezze e di tirannia. Eppure l'Autrice riesce, con fine osservazione psicologica, a presentarci i protagonisti, sia come uomini travolti dalle circostanze, sia al di sopra del corso della storia, grazie alla loro tenacia e grandezza.

Il maggior pregio del libro sta nel fatto che la politica non vi è trattata come fenomeno indipendente. La larga conoscenza della letteratura russa permette all'A. un inserimento degli avvenimenti 'esterni' nella problematica

culturale russa, dall'inizio del secolo a oggi. Guardando l'indice dei nomi, osserviamo, con soddisfazione, che il poeta A. A. Blok, gli scrittori Dostoevskij e Gorkij non sono meno citati di Lenin e Trockij.

Il volume ha una sola carenza. Nella trasformazione della «santa Russia» in «homo sovieticus» i santi russi e gli autori spirituali sono trascurati. Eppure la crisi politica non suppone soltanto una crisi culturale, ma anche una crisi religiosa: la quale può essere seguita senza eccessiva difficoltà proprio dalla fine del secolo scorso.

T. ŠPIDLÍK S.J.

Прот. Сергий БУЛГАКОВ, *Слова, поучения, беседы*, YMCA-Press, Paris 1987, pp. 535.

The present work is a valuable addition to the many works of the A. already in print. A collection of all his available sermons and various instructions and conferences, as indicated by the title, the volume offers insights into the A. as a homilist and not just as the eminent theologian that he was. Many of the materials published here appeared earlier in the collection, *Radost' cerkovnaja* (Ecclesial joy, 1938) or in the journal of the Russian Christian Student Movement. Numerous others, however, previously remained unedited and are now appearing for the first time in print many years after his death in 1944. This fact gives added significance to the present volume.

His sermons are marked throughout by two notable features: their theological cast and their non-political tone. Of course, one would expect a theological approach to preaching from a theologian, but what is remarkable about these sermons is their timeliness. They are by no means period pieces and could easily be preached much the same today without losing any relevance for a contemporary people caught up with its own set of problems. The times in which the A. wrote were certainly some of the most traumatic of this century. Both the tragic fate of the Russian Orthodox Church under the siege of militant atheism and the travails of European civilization in the throes of World War II provide a context for many of the A.'s remarks. It is, however, the A.'s faith, and not his politics, which is advanced in his sermons. At all times, it is the Christian world view and not any particular political order that is at the heart of his preaching. No matter what the apparent successes the reigning ideologies of the time were enjoying, the A. is able to elicit a sense of vigilance for the faith, not resignation and despair, in his listeners.

Another point is also worth mentioning. There is nothing idiosyncratic in the content of the sermons. The A., the leading sophiologist of his day, often found himself under the cloud of ecclesiastical censure. There is, however, nothing un-Orthodox about his sermons, although, from a Catholic point of view, he does on two occasions specifically distance himself from Catholic dogma, once against the Catholic understanding of the Immaculate

Conception in a somewhat forced manner in a sermon for the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (p. 15) and, then, on another occasion against the claims of the Roman Pontiff to primacy in parenthetic remarks given in the course of a sermon for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (p. 338).

The sermons are arranged according to the Byzantine ecclesiastical new year, which begins on September 1. In this sequence, one sermon seems to have been misplaced. The sermon, "Svjataja Rus'" (Holy Rus') (pp. 347-50), preached on the Sunday of All Russian Saints (1941), is located in the text after one for the Feast of the Transfiguration, but should follow the one for the Sunday of All Saints (pp. 335-36). This is, of course, but a minor detail in a work of over-all excellent quality.

R. SLESINSKI

Wilhelm GOERDT, *Russische Philosophie, Texte.* Verlag K. Alber, Freiburg/München 1989, pp. 836.

The present book is a companion volume to the same author's *Russische Philosophie, Zugänge und Durchblicke*, 1984, which I reviewed in OCP II/1 (1985) 237-239. The author has now given to those who can read German an anthology of texts which covers the span of Russian philosophy from Lomonosov up to Soviet Marxism of the 1980s. In my prior review I already called attention to the very personal division into chapters and subchapters in that massive work on Russian and Soviet philosophy which forms the earlier volume. In the present volume the selection of texts translated into German, often for the first time, generally accords with the structure of the divisions of the previous volume.

Since the first book did not fit into the ordinary mold of histories of Russian philosophy which follow, more or less, some chronological order, but rather rethought the approaches we should follow in order to come to a real appreciation of Russian thought, this, its companion volume, ends up by giving abundant extracts of some thinkers one would hardly expect to be considered so important, while barely mentioning others who have a greater reputation. In following this method one can find oneself making a highly subjective choice of authors, with the result that at the end of a discussion of the choice actually made the parties to that discussion have no other alternative than to say *de gustibus non est disputandum.* Nevertheless Professor Goerdt must be congratulated for having brought to the attention of the reader both the names of authors who have been quite forgotten and passages from their works. Moreover, the thematic approach of the author allows him to highlight some problems in Russian thought which do not seem (to me at least) to be the most important, but which still deserve consideration.

To turn our attention now to the translation, my impression is that it is generally good, and sometimes even excellent. Moreover, the *Sachregister* is very useful, especially for finding in the abundant footnotes the nuances of

some technical terms proper to Russian philosophy and thought. These footnotes form a kind of dictionary of Russian philosophical terminology, albeit an incomplete one.

My only criticism is that these two books, as good as they are (they are certainly worth their price, although the good printing and binding must account for a significant portion of that price) do not achieve the goal the author must have proposed for himself. Professor Goerdt wanted to stimulate readers' interest in Russian philosophy, a field which in all probability has drawn a very limited public. But even the general student of philosophy will find himself getting lost as he labors through the pages of these two books. How much more difficulty will the general educated public have! Specialists will experience greater interest in these books, although it has happened only too frequently that experts have found it difficult to see the merit in the rethinkings or personal approaches of other experts.

G. K. PIOVESANA, S.J.

Jonathan SUTTON, *The Religious Philosophy of Vladimir Solovyov*, Macmillan Press, Hampshire 1988, pp. 248.

L'A. ha studiato lingua e letteratura russa all'Università di Durham e ha avuto contatti con studiosi dell'Unione Sovietica. Nell'ambiente inglese notò interessi sproporzionati per alcuni pensatori russi e una sorprendente ignoranza di altri. Questo libro è ispirato anche dal motivo di rimediare a tale sperequazione, dato che l'autore aveva notato come Soloviev fosse poco conosciuto in Inghilterra. Eppure la sua «anima unitiva del tutto» controbilancia N. Berdiaev, «profeta delle antinomie», che, da parte sua, ha trovato molti lettori inglesi. Non è, però, un'impresa facile, affrontare a livello scientifico questa rivalutazione di Soloviev, dato che esistono numerosi studi in varie lingue, che l'autore ha conosciuto e utilizzato, ma ve ne sono altri che l'A. non è riuscito a consultare. In particolare segnalo M. George, *Mystische und religiöse Erfahrung im Denken Vladimir Solov'evs*, (Göttingen, 1988), il cui contenuto coincide in molti punti con il presente studio.

L'utilità del libro di Sutton si afferma quindi, prevalentemente, nell'ambito della lingua inglese. E in quest'ambito è lodevole il suo sforzo costante di confrontare il pensiero slavo con gli autori occidentali, mostrando in quali punti Soloviev «ha pensato di rettificare la mancanza del loro equilibrio ed i difetti del loro sistema» (pag. 179). Questo atteggiamento potrebbe creare equivoci e Sutton ne è pienamente consapevole; perciò aggiunge saggiamente: «Egli stesso (Soloviev) non voleva proporre un sistema speculativo, ma una sintesi maggiore che abbracciasse tutti i rami della conoscenza».

I grandi autori russi, anche se vengono classificati come 'filosofi', riconoscono generalmente che la vera scienza non è logica, ma 'meta-logica', spirituale, che supera le argomentazioni razionaliste. Il grande desiderio di Soloviev era di unire le scienze umane 'logiche' con quelle che le superano, le 'mistiche', in una grande «tuttunità». Sutton comprende questo ideale e lo

mette in evidenza, anche se in alcuni passi del libro lo dimentica e ricade nelle antitesi che Soloviev voleva evitare (come, per es., trattando delle relazioni tra individuo e società, tra Sacra Scrittura e ragione).

Al contrario, l'A. coglie il nesso fra il pensiero di Soloviev e la sua esperienza vitale; elemento importante perché non tenendo conto di questa relazione si rischia l'incomprensione degli autori russi.

T. ŠPIDLÍK

Serbica

Pedrag R. Dragić KIJUK, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Serbian Poetry.* Serbian Literary, Quarterly, Beograd 1987, pp. XCI + 322.

In einer Zeit des Zusammenwachsens der europäischen Völker, das nicht vorstellbar ist ohne die gegenseitige Kenntnis und Achtung der einzelnen Nationalkulturen — in einer Zeit des Niedergangs menschenverachtender Ideologien und der Renaissance gemeinsamer und zugleich je nach Stamm und Land variierender geistiger Werte ist es nur zu begrüßen, wenn der Versuch gemacht wird, einen englischsprachigen, d.h. weltweit verständlichen Durchblick durch die mittelalterliche Literatur eines Volkes zu bieten, dessen eigenes Idiom im Ausland nur wenigen Spezialisten zugänglich ist. Der Herausgeber, P. R. Dragić Kijuk, hat die vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert reichenden Exzerpte aus der vorwiegend hagiographisch-liturgischen Literatur, die von verschiedenen Übersetzern ins Englische übertragen wurden (S. 1-260), mit einer ausführlichen Einleitung (S. V-XCI) und einem Nachwort (S. 263-286) versehen. Weitere Literatur- und Personallisten sowie ein Verzeichnis der zahlreichen Schwarz-Weiß-Abbildungen (S. 287-321) vervollständigen den Band.

Die Problematik des Unternehmens beginnt dort, wo der unausweichliche Vergleich mit dem Westen anzustellen ist. Praktisch alle dargebotenen Poeme sind mehr oder wenig zufällig ausgewählte Fragmente einer größeren, literarischen Einheit (Vita, Offizium, Panegyricus, sogar Gesetzbuch); kann man sie überhaupt mit den eigenständigen Dichtungen des Westens vergleichen? Es gibt in Serbien weder einen Walther von der Vogelweide noch einen François Villon oder Dante Alighieri. Auf diesen gravierenden Unterschied geht der Herausgeber viel zu wenig ein in seiner Einleitung; diese zeichnet sich generell durch einen gesucht geistreichen mit vielen lateinischen und griechischen Begriffen und Allusionen gespickten Stil aus, der die grundlegende Sachinformation vermissen läßt. Kein Wort wird über byzantinische Verse und deren Versmaße verloren, kein Wort über die kulturelle Wechselbeziehung Byzanz-Slaven bzw. der Balkanslaven untereinander. Daß ein so häufig zitierter Autor wie Dimităr Kantakuzin mit gutem Recht auch von den Bulgaren beansprucht wird (neben Konstantin Kostenecki u.a.), fällt einfach dem panserbischen Tenor zum Opfer (vgl. auch die im Englischen unmögliche, serbische Transliteration byzantinischer Namen!). Die zwischen serbischen und kroatischen Historikern bis heute umstrittene Zahl der Ustascha-Opfer im letzten

Weltkrieg wird ohne weitere Verweise aus serbischer Sicht festgeschrieben (S. LXXII, Anm. 25). Auch weniger brisante Themen sind nicht immer zuverlässig dokumentiert (S. LXXVIII, Anm. 55/fehlt im Lit.-Verz.); Druckfehler in der viel zu eng gesetzten Einleitung sind leider in großer Zahl stehengeblieben (ebenso im Lit.-Verz.). Kurzum: so löblich das Anliegen des Buches bleibt, so weit klaffen Anspruch und Ausführung auseinander. Was dem angezielten Leser bisher ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln war, wird es mangels einer soliden kirchen- und geistesgeschichtlichen Einleitung wohl auch weiter bleiben.

G. PODSKALSKY S.J.

Syriaca

APHRAATE LE SAGE PERSAN, *Les Exposés*, Tome I, Exposés I-X. Traduction du Syriaque, Introduction et Notes par Marie-Joseph PIERRE. (= SC, 349), Le Cerf, Paris 1988, pp. 518.

Dans sa *Bibliotheca Orientalis* le célèbre et toujours bien utile J. S. Assemani ne mentionne que deux fois, et encore indirectement, l'auteur syriaque dont il s'agit ici. D'abord il recopie la courte notice du catalogue d'Abdisho Bar-Berika au tome I, p. 85, puis il l'indique derechef au tome II, p. 398, comme par hasard, au milieu d'une liste de patriarches jacobites, et encore fort inexactement, excepté la mention des 22 lettres, c'est-à-dire les «exposés», ou «démonstrations» dont nous avons maintenant la première traduction française. On dirait qu'Assemani n'a guère cru à l'importance d'Aphraate. Savait-il d'ailleurs que l'œuvre du Sage Persan avait eu une telle vogue qu'elle fut traduite en Arménien dès la fin du Vème siècle, donc environ 150 ans après qu'elle eut vu le jour?

Quoiqu'il en soit, grâce à la première édition de ces textes par W. Wright en 1869 et à la seconde publiée par le Bénédictin J. Parisot dans les deux volumes de la *Patrologia Syriaca* (1894-1907) les 23 traités acrostiches d'Aphraate furent mis à la disposition des syriacisants et de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la spiritualité chrétienne la plus ancienne. Il s'en est suivi toute une série d'études dont Mlle Pierre nous donne une liste que je crois quasi exhaustive. Comme il s'agit du plus ancien auteur orthodoxe de langue syriaque, les «exposés» d'Aphraate, qui s'appelait Jacques aussi, sont capitaux pour nous donner une certaine connaissance du monde araméen chrétien primitif, c'est-à-dire de l'Église dans l'empire des Sassanides.

De plus, c'est certainement en raison de l'intérêt porté aux origines de la vie monastique en Orient qu'Aphraate a justement pris une importance exceptionnelle. Car c'est lui qui est devenu une des sources principales pour la connaissance de cette forme primitive de vie religieuse menée par les «fils et filles du pacte», qu'on pourrait aussi appeler les «alliés de Dieu». Ce sont ces dévots et dévotes, que notre traductrice appelle «membres de l'ordre», parce qu'ils formaient une catégorie spéciale dans l'Église de Perse et de Mésopotamie.

Ce numéro 349 de SC est une «première» à deux égards, car il est non seulement la première traduction française, comme je l'ai déjà signalé, mais aussi la première traduction complète dans une langue moderne. Sans doute Mlle Pierre a-t-elle été aidée par la traduction latine de Dom Parisot, il reste qu'elle a réussi à nous donner une traduction française telle qu'on pouvait la désirer, à la fois claire, fort lisible et précise. La traductrice nous donne d'ailleurs les principes qu'elle a suivis avec cohérence et non sans rechercher «par rapport au texte original... à en conserver l'atmosphère et les expressions, à laisser affleurer les jeux de style du syriaque, les sons qui invitent au sens, parfois signalés en note» (p. 201). Effort remarquable et qui me paraît réussi dans l'ensemble, tout en conservant les rythmes et l'équilibre des masses (*ibid.*). Pourtant j'ai l'impression que parfois la traduction interprète un peu trop le sens original et sans nécessité obvie. Par exemple dans l'«exposé» 6, p. 359, parmi les recommandations adressées par Aphraate aux «membres de l'Ordre» on en trouve une empruntée comme d'autres aux Béatitudes. En voici la traduction publiée ici: «Soyons affamés de justice, — pour être rassasiés au festin du royaume». Mais dans le texte syriaque nous avons au lieu de «festin» le mot «table», *Pathora* en syriaque. Que je sache, ce mot ne signifie jamais festin. De plus, «table du royaume» est à la fois plus concret et plus biblique.

En attendant la publication du second tome qui doit nous donner les «exposés» XI-XXIII, il faut encore signaler l'introduction en quatre chapitres (pp. 33-202), qui évidemment sert aux deux tomes. La traductrice y donne un panorama solide et fort complet du personnage et de son œuvre, de la situation politico-religieuse de son temps, de ses relations avec le Judaisme et la tradition biblique, la «Bible d'Aphraate», et finalement des vues du Sage Persan sur la théologie et l'anthropologie. Cette introduction s'enrichit de nombreuses notes, parfois longues sans doute, mais elles apportent au texte de nombreuses précisions.

J'ajouterai les remarques suivantes. La bibliographie aurait pu inclure l'ouvrage néerlandais de J. Van der Ploeg, *Oud-Syrisch Monniksleven* (Leiden 1942). Dans le chapitre II de l'introduction qui traite de la situation politico-religieuse le terme «patriarche» est employé pour désigner l'évêque de Séleucie-Ctésiphon en tant que primat de l'Église dans l'empire perse. Mais ce terme, qui suivit celui de catholicos, ne fut employé que beaucoup plus tard. Peut-être une courte note à ce sujet aurait été de mise. Au sujet des relations du Sage Persan avec les fils d'Israël, l'auteur montre bien qu'il était très judaïque mais ni judaïsant, ni antisémite, bien que parfois fort critique des juifs, par ex. p. 425 où il écrit: «Ce peuple sot qui n'a pas reçu l'humble roi Messie». Au sujet de la virginité comme condition du baptême chez les syriens orientaux, comme le croyait le regretté A. Vööbus, Mlle Pierre montre avec raison qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'une règle générale. Enfin, afin de compléter la note 40, p. 433, qui mentionne le geste liturgique du célébrant de porter les oblats à ses yeux et à un de ses sens, il faut ajouter qu'aujourd'hui encore le célébrant syro-antiochien, après l'élévation des espèces comme invitation à communier, se touche avec la patène puis avec le calice les yeux et la bouche.

E. R. Hambye S.J.

Tanios Bou Mansour, *La pensée symbolique de saint Éphrem le syrien*, (=Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit, 14) Université S.-Esprit, Kaslik, Liban 1988, pp. 568.

«Impressionnante étude» ainsi que l'écrit le P. de Halleux dans la préface, c'est bien le mot qui convient pour caractériser cet ouvrage sur la pensée symbolique de saint Éphrem. Dans cette étude théologique et philosophique l'A. s'attache à analyser la pensée éphrémienne qui, selon lui, est «une pensée qui part du symbole et ne craint pas de le prolonger dans une réflexion qui veille à le préserver de toute déviation (p. 8)». Ce symbolisme est présent dans tout les domaines de la réflexion anthropologique et religieuse.

Utilisant les études contemporaines sur la pensée symbolique, surtout celles de Ricoeur, Gadamer et Ladrière, l'A. définit d'abord son «horizon dans la compréhension du symbole éphrémien», lequel se caractérise par 1) l'unité du signifiant et du signifié, du visible et de l'invisible et 2) la polysémie (pp. 11-15). Après ces préliminaires, l'A. entreprend l'exploration et l'analyse méthodique de l'univers symbolique d'Éphrem, en examinant d'abord le sens des termes que le docteur syrien utilise pour exprimer l'un ou l'autre aspect de l'idée de symbole. Il s'agit des termes *rā'zā, ṭūpsā, āṯā, dmūṯā, pele'tā* et *maṯlā*. Contrairement aux assertions de certains auteurs, ces termes ne sont pas toujours interchangeables, ni tout à fait synonymes. Chacun a son champ d'application qui sans être exclusif comporte cependant sa spécificité propre.

Le terrain ainsi déblayé, l'A. passe à l'étude des divers domaines de la pensée philosophique et théologique, selon la vision symbolique d'Éphrem telle qu'il vient de la définir: cosmologie, théologie trinitaire, christologie, ecclésiologie, anthropologie et eschatologie, sont tour à tour exposées, analysées, commentées. Il est impossible d'entrer ici dans le détail des problèmes d'interprétation, des discussions et des solutions proposées par l'A. Soulignons au moins qu'il s'est attaché à suivre la règle qui consiste à interpréter Éphrem par Éphrem lui-même. Cette règle, de rigueur pour tout écrivain s'avère encore plus indispensable dans le cas d'une œuvre aussi pénétrée de symbolisme que celle d'Éphrem. Depuis longtemps on s'est plu à souligner les imprécisions conceptuelles du vocabulaire éphrémien. Il ne peut en être autrement dans une pensée qui se meut dans le monde des symboles dont la caractéristique fondamentale est la polysémie. Un cas typique concerne la symbolique du vêtement pour exprimer le mystère de l'Incarnation du Verbe. Ce symbole qui de soi, pourrait induire une sorte d'extrinsécisme et masquer l'unité de la personne du Christ, doit être mis en rapport avec un autre symbole comme celui du mélange des couleurs, pour exprimer le «devenir homme dans lequel une humanité se mêle à une divinité (p. 254)».

Ce trop bref aperçu ne donne qu'une faible idée de la richesse contenue dans ces pages. C'est une véritable somme, un ouvrage de référence pour qui voudrait approfondir un point ou l'autre de la pensée d'Éphrem.

Les quelques remarques que je voudrais faire concernent la présentation de l'ensemble. Il manque au début un tableau de translittération des caractères syriaques. C'est sans doute ce qui explique au moins en partie le manque

de précision surtout en ce qui concerne la notation des voyelles longues. De plus, l'auteur donne trop de mots syriaques translittérés insérés dans la trame de son texte. Par exemple, il était inutile de répéter à satiété le mot *kyānā* pour *nature*. D'autre fois, il était sans intérêt de donner la translittération de certains mots, v.g. *ḥalyūṯā* pour *douceur* (p. 292, lig. 1) etc. etc.... Pour tous ces mots, au lieu de les insérer dans le texte, il suffisait dans l'Index des pp. 545-53, d'ajouter la traduction française des mots translittérés en indiquant pour chacun, la page et la ligne où se rencontre le mot en question. Ces surcharges continuelles ajoutées aux références entre parenthèses rendent ces 568 pages difficilement lisibles. Enfin, la présentation du texte lui-même est vraiment trop compacte. Il eût fallu plus de sous-titres indiquant en trois mots le contenu de chaque section et sous-section etc...

Ces remarques n'enlèvent rien à la valeur intrinsèque d'un ouvrage qui donne une clé de lecture fondamentale pour pénétrer au cœur même de l'œuvre de plus grand docteur de l'Eglise syriaque.

R. LAVENANT S.J.

Hubert KAUFHOLD, *Syrische Handschriften juristischen Inhalts in südindischen Bibliotheken* (Öster. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsb. 535 = Veröf. der Kommis. für antike Rechtsgeschichte, Nr. 5), Verlag der Öster. Akad. Wiss., Wien 1989, Pp. 56.

This is a carefully done and valuable update on books and articles on Syriac manuscripts in Kerala published so far. After E. R. Hambye (1977) and Mar Aprem (1983) are to be mentioned Van der Ploeg, *The Syriac Manuscripts of St. Thomas Christians*, (Bangalore, 1983), and Daniel L. McCaonaughy, "Syriac Manuscripts in South India: The Library of Saint Thomas Apostolic Seminary," OCP 52 (1986) 432-434; idem, "An Update on the Syriac MSS Collections in South India," OC 71 (1987) 208-212.

The book represents the results of two months of research in several libraries of Kerala conducted in 1982. The research was restricted to the juridical sphere. The book lists both East and West Syrian texts. After a survey of the libraries and collections in Kerala, the MSS are described in detail. The incipits of West Syrian texts are given in Serto and those of East Syrian texts in Estrangla, since East Syrian ("Nestorian") characters were not available to HK.

The research in Kerala has yielded not only texts of works already known but also hitherto unknown texts. Especially valuable are MS Trichur 64 and Ms Pampakuda 33. The former, dated 1291, is the oldest known Ms of the *Nomokanon* of Abdiso bar Brika († 1318), written during his lifetime. It is now being edited by HK. The latter, dated 1290, is perhaps the oldest known Ms of the *Nomokanon* of Barhebraeus († 1286).

"What good can come out of Nazareth?" This attitude of Nathanael used to be shared by Syriac scholars with regard to India being a source of Syriac MSS. However recent researches, at first launched by E. R. Hambye, but above all the present book, dispel that prejudice.

HK's highly useful book along with the similar works previously published by others would now hopefully induce native scholars on the spot to complete what foreigners have done with such praiseworthy initiative, all the more so, since non-juridical MSS too need to be catalogued with the same meticulous care as brought to his work by Kaufhold.

G. NEDUNGATT, S.J.

Joseph-Marie SAUGET, *Un gazzā chaldéen disparu et retrouvé. Le Ms. Borgia Syriaque 60.* (=Studi e Testi, 326) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1987, pp. 94+deux planches.

Cette petite étude si bien tournée fut sans doute le chant du cygne du tant regretté Mgr Joseph-Marie Sauget, scriptor de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, spécialiste d'Arabe chrétien et de Syriaque.

Des trois parties de son exposé — histoire d'une disparition et d'une découverte, étude codicologique, analyse du contenu — nous apprenons d'abord qu'il s'agit d'un manuscrit qui appartint au Cardinal Stefano Borgia († 1804), qui en dépit du nom n'a rien à voir avec la famille espagnole de ce nom, mais qui comme secrétaire et puis préfet de la Congrégation de la Propagande s'était monté à Velletri un très substantiel «musée», riche en livres, manuscrits et objets d'art surtout de provenance asiatique. Mgr Sauget raconte non sans humour les vicissitudes du manuscrit en question. Pendant près de 80 ans il échappa à presque tous les spécialistes pour la bonne raison qu'il n'apparaissait plus dans les inventaires successifs. On l'avait bien mis de côté vu que son format, 470mm de hauteur, ne pouvait que le laisser dans un coin où il fut presque oublié.

Pourtant, comme le remarque le savant bisontin (il était en effet de Besançon), il a servi de base à la traduction anglaise de l'office de l'Épiphanie par A. J. Maclean insérée dans le *Rituale Armenorum* de F. C. Conybeare (1908), et fut consulté par P. Martin pour sa traduction française de l'office syro-oriental des SS. Pierre & Paul (pp. 26-7). En effet, c'est un manuscrit liturgique qui a été retrouvé. C'est le *Gazzā* (=trésor), qui contient les textes de l'office choral de la vigile nocturne pour la plupart des fêtes fixes et mobiles de l'année syro-orientale.

Son copiste est le prêtre Georges d'Alqosh, qui l'a daté de l'année 1999 des grecs, 1687-88 de l'ère chrétienne. Il compte 436 feuillets du format 450mm × 290mm, écrits en deux colonnes. Fermé il est épais de 110mm, ce qui explique son aspect volumineux.

Le manuscrit a souffert du passage du temps, même assez tôt, semble-t-il. Un moment donné il lui a manqué les douze premiers feuillets, que l'on a remplacés en copiant des manuscrits du même type. Mais il a aussi perdu quatorze feuillets dans les cahiers internes et enfin presque tout le dernier cahier. Ces dernières pertes n'ont pas été réparées.

Concluons en disant comme l'auteur lui-même, que ce manuscrit est bien d'un intérêt exceptionnel pour l'étude de l'office syro-oriental, car d'après la

liste de manuscrits liturgiques de ce caractère donnée par le P. J. Mateos (*Lelya-Sapra*, 1958, p. XIX) il n'y avait avant cette retrouvaille que deux autres manuscrits du *Gazzā* en Occident, et seulement en Angleterre. Mgr Sauget aurait pu dire comme la femme de la parabole de la drachme perdue: «Réjouissez-vous avec moi, car j'ai trouvé le manuscrit qui avait été perdu» (Luc 15, 9).

E. R. HAMBYE S.J.

Claude SELIS, *Les Syriens orthodoxes et catholiques*. FILS D'ABRAHAM. Editions Brépols, Bruxelles 1988, p. 289 + 15 photos.

Sous le titre général «Fils d'Abraham», les éditions Brépols ont entrepris la publication d'une série de monographies sur les communautés et groupes religieux qui se rattrachent aux trois grandes religions monothéistes, judaïsme, christianisme et islam.

Le livre de Claude Sélis entend nous donner un panorama le plus complet possible sur les origines, l'histoire, le patrimoine culturel et religieux d'une de ces communautés chrétiennes orientales que les conflits politico-religieux du Proche Orient sont en train de chasser de pays où elles vivaient depuis des millénaires les contraignant ainsi à se réfugier en Europe et en Amérique. C'est le cas de ces Syriens orthodoxes établis dans les régions montagneuses du sud de la Turquie, en butte depuis quelques années aux exactions continuelles de leurs voisins, les kurdes musulmans.

Ces chrétiens sont les descendants des araméens dont l'origine remonte entre les XVIIIème et XIVème siècle avant J.C. Les Juifs eux-mêmes se rattachent à eux: «Mon père était un araméen errant» (Dt 26,5). Ensuite l'A. brosse à grands traits l'histoire de la conversion au christianisme des araméens de Mésopotamie au début du IIIème siècle. Ce mouvement de conversion se cristallise à partir d'Edesse et de sa région. C'est à ce moment-là que le dialecte araméen d'Edesse, le syriaque accède au niveau de langue littéraire et donne naissance à une immense littérature religieuse, patrimoine commun de toutes les églises de langue syriaque. Les controverses christologiques du IVème siècle provoquent l'éclatement de ces églises en deux rameaux principaux: en Perse, s'est constituée l'Église nestorienne ou syro-orientale. A l'ouest de la Perse, se trouvent surtout les syriens orthodoxes ou syro-occidentaux, appelés aussi Jacobites du nom de Jacques Baradée qui fut le grand organisateur et le père de cette église. Ces deux églises étant de plus séparées de Rome, divers facteurs conduiront à partir du XVIIème siècle à la constitution de hiérarchies parallèles reconnaissant l'autorité et la primauté de l'évêque de Rome. C'est ainsi qu'à côté des syriens orthodoxes on a une église syrienne catholique avec son propre clergé et sa hiérarchie. D'où le titre du présent ouvrage. Après la conquête arabe et la constitution de l'empire ottoman, les syriens orthodoxes et catholiques avaient pu survivre tant bien que mal. Les bouleversements politiques consécutifs à deux guerres mondiales et la montée des intégrismes ont amené des milliers de syriens orthodoxes à

émigrer vers l'Europe et l'Amérique. De véritables communautés se sont ainsi reconstitúes avec leur clergé notamment dans les pays scandinaves et en Hollande.

Après ce rapide survol historique, l'A. donne en traduction française un choix de textes des grands auteurs, précédé de vingt pages destinées à donner un aperçu de la théologie et d'un lexique hérésiologique où est expliqué le sens de termes théologiques devenus incompréhensibles pour le lecteur moyen d'aujourd'hui.

Les 80 pages qui suivent nous semblent être la partie la plus neuve et la plus intéressante du livre. On y trouve l'inventaire des sites et monuments historiques en Turquie, Syrie et Irak. Beaucoup de ces monuments ne sont aujourd'hui, hélas, que des ruines ou sont en passe de le devenir après la mort ou le départ de leurs occupants. Le lecteur occidental appréciera aussi la description de la liturgie syrienne occidentale et le schéma où elle se déroule. De même le chapître qui décrit la vie quotidienne de ces chrétiens restés fidèles durant des siècles aux coutumes de leurs ancêtres dans la foi ne manque pas d'intérêt.

La dernière partie donne les statistiques et l'implantation actuelle des syriens orthodoxes, au Moyen-Orient, en Amérique, Australie et Europe occidentale ainsi que la description de l'organisation ecclésiastique de la communauté, le tout agrémenté de nombreux tableaux et cartes. Enfin, ceux qui veulent en savoir plus, pourront consulter la bibliographie qui donne plus d'un millier de titres.

Sans méconnaître les mérites d'un livre destiné à faire connaître aux chrétiens d'Occident leurs frères orientaux venus chercher asile auprès d'eux, nous avons deux critiques à formuler. La première concerne l'exposé historique des pages 11 à 43. L'auteur aurait dû, nous semble-t-il, abréger les pages sur l'histoire des araméens, en venir rapidement à la Bible, et pour tout l'ensemble faire une exposé plus bref et plus «enlevé». Notre deuxième critique voudrait exprimer notre étonnement à propos de la place faite aux syriens catholiques dans ce livre. Quel que soit le jugement que l'on peut porter sur le phénomène historique de l'uniatisme, il reste que l'on a aujourd'hui une communauté syrienne catholique et qu'elle a le droit d'être considérée sur un pied d'égalité avec la communauté orthodoxe et non pas comme une sorte d'excroissance maladive ainsi que le laisse entendre la façon dont l'A. en parle.

Ces réserves faites, ce livre destiné à un large public donne tout l'essentiel à connaître sur l'histoire, les traditions religieuses et l'état actuel de ces chrétiens qui luttent si courageusement pour survivre.

René LAVENANT S.J.

Pierre YOUSIF, *L'Eucharistie chez saint Éphrem de Nisibe.* (=OCA, 244), Pontificium Institutum Orientale, Rome 1984, pp. 438.

This monograph contains an abridged version of a dissertation presented to the Faculty of Catholic Theology of Strasbourg in 1979, with account tak-

en of later relevant publications. The first part organizes Ephrem's reflections on the Eucharist according to circumstances in which they originated and were developed: the scriptural, liturgical and polemical milieu, as well as the context of Christian life of his own Church. This method avoids the danger of imposing a preconceived scheme, and provides the basis for the second part where the great themes of the poet-theologian's eucharistic theology are treated. This arrangement necessarily leads to repetition as well as a certain amount of fragmentation. In some cases the latter problems could have been easily avoided (for example, the theme of institution of the Eucharist, pp. 45-48; 204-214).

The second part of this study profits from Dom Edmund Beck's first critical study of Ephrem's eucharistic theology (OC 48 (1954) 51-7), and that of François Graffin, who had the advantage of Beck's critical edition of Ephrem's poetical work, completed in 1972 (*Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973) 93-121). But Professor Yousif is able not only to extend and deepen the expositions of these two scholars, but also to situate them in the more comprehensive thought of Ephrem. Beck and Graffin focus on the classical themes of scholastic eucharistic theology: sacrifice and sacrament, while highlighting Ephrem's pneumatalogical approach to the subject. Yousif broadens the scope to include the following: institution and sacrifice, Church and Eucharist, Spirit and Eucharist, composition of the sacraments, participation of the Eucharist, Eucharist and stages of Christian life, temporal and eschatological dimensions.

At this stage of the investigation of Ephrem's theology the problem of the sources which actually nourished his thought remains substantialy unresolved. Hence the author was constrained to limit his investigation to the source material that comes to the surface in Ephrem's own works. Undoubtedly the investigation of the relation of Ephrem to his predecessors and contemporaries will shed further light on his theology and its originality.

One area that surely calls for further study is the place that Ephrem occupies in the tradition of the theology of eucharistic incarnation that originates in the second century. This subject is touched on briefly where Yousif speaks of the analogy between the "'two' bodies of Christ" (127), and the «identification between the historical body and the eucharistic body» (259, note 3). Johannes Betz, who died in 1984, made this theme the object of careful analysis in *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter* I/1 (1955), 260-342. He recognized that Ephrem explains the Eucharist from the incarnation. But he takes the position that the Syriac theologian places the Pneuma-Logos in the foreground, and thus resonates with the earlier Alexandrian theology. However at the time of publication Betz was not able to benefit from the critical edition of Ephrem's works and depends too much on sources whose authenticity is disputed. Yousif, who does not mention Betz's work, seems to have shown that Ephrem's understanding of the eucharistic incarnation corresponds to developments that characterize the latter part of the fourth century when the Logos himself is still the one who accomplishes the incarnation, but in an activity in which the Holy Spirit is explicitly awarded an active role.

E. J. Kilmartin, S. J.

Ukrainica

The Paterik of the Kievan Cave Monastery, transl. by Muriel HEPPELL (Preface: Dimitri OBOLENSKY) (= Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Engl. Translations, vol. I), Harvard University Press for the Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge/Mass. 1989, pp. LII + 262.

Die zahlreichen Millenniumsfeiern zur Taufe der Rus' (1988) haben uns — neben der Masse der kleineren, mehr oder weniger gewichtigen Kongreßbeiträge — zwei neue, erstmals vollständige Übersetzungen eines der wichtigsten Literaturdenkmäler der Kiever Epoche geschenkt: fast gleichzeitig sind nämlich erschienen D. Freydank (u.a.), Das Väterbuch des Kiewer Höhlenklosters, Leipzig 1988 (samt der westlichen Lizenzausgabe: Graz-Wien-Köln 1989) sowie das oben genannte Buch, das die reife Frucht einer über 35 Jahre anhaltenden Beschäftigung mit dem Kiever Mönchtum darstellt. Während die deutsche Übersetzung sich im Wesentlichen auf die getreue Wiedergabe des Textes beschränkt (mit der Zugabe stimmungsvoller Holzschnitte aus der ältesten Originalausgabe) und in den Anmerkungen nur kleine, manchmal unzureichende Verständnishilfen anbietet, hat M. Heppel den Versuch unternommen, in einer langen Einleitung (S. XVII-LII) die bisherige Forschung aufzuarbeiten. Das Buch ist zugleich der erste Band einer geplanten Gesamtserie von 40 Bänden, welche die Standardliteratur der Ukraine (Mitte 11.-Ende 18. Jh.) dem Nicht-Slavisten nahebringen will (neben zwei Parallelserien mit Editionen der Originaltexte bzw. ukrainischen Übersetzungen). Die besagte Einleitung beschreibt die literarische Form des Pateriks (in seiner Abhängigkeit bzw. Eigenständigkeit gegenüber den griechischen Vorgängern), charakterisiert die verschiedenen Autoren, Redaktionen und Druckausgaben, wobei die eingeschlossene Vita des Feodosij Pečerskij (Slovo/Discourse 8) jeweils gesondert behandelt wird. Auch die Übersetzung der 38 Slova (S. 1-217) ist mit zahlreichen Anmerkungen zu den unterschiedlichsten Sachfragen versehen (Nur theologische Probleme werden etwas stiefmütterlich traktiert: so hätte man sich einen Kommentar zur außergewöhnlichen Priesterweihe und täglichen Zelebration Feodosijs gewünscht: S. 41; dürftig sind auch die Literaturangaben zur dogmatischen Polemik: Slovo 37). Vier Appendices, eine ausführliche Bibliographie sowie mehrere Indices (S. 218-262) vervollständigen den auch ästhetisch gelungenen Band.

Dennoch sei auf einige «Shortcomings» hingewiesen: Obwohl in vielen Anmerkungen zu Recht auf die vielen Lesern unzugängliche russische Sekundärkiteratur verwiesen wird, scheint in anderen das Prinzip zu gelten, nur englische Titel anzuführen; auf S. XVII, Anm. 2 sollte aber ein so zentraler Titel wie I. Smolitsch, Russisches Mönchtum. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen, 988-1917, Würzburg 1953 (= Das östliche Christentum, N.F. 10/11) nicht fehlen (statt des veralteten vom selben Verfasser auf S. 239). Die zuletzt von R. D. Bosley tiefschürfend erörterte Frage der Existenz oder Nichtexistenz einer Antonij-Vita scheint mir eher ausweichend angesprochen zu sein (S. XLs.; vgl. übrigens auch seinen Artikel in dem von G. Birkfellner herausgegebenen Sammelband zur altrussischen Literatur: Münster 1987, S. 1-5),

während die «offene» Behandlung der Identität Nestor (Hagiograph und/oder Chronist) als durchaus angemessen gelten darf (S. XXIII, Anm. 23). Auch die Literaturangaben zur refomierten Studitenregel (S. 44f., Anm. 153) sind nicht auf dem neuesten Stand: vgl. mein Buch «Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)», München 1982, S. 51, Anm. 259, sowie «Der hl. Feodosij Pečerskij: historisch und literarisch betrachtet», in: Harv. Ukr. Stud. 1988/89. — Um den Charakter vieler altslavischer Texte als «Byzantinoslavica» besser herauszukehren, wäre ein Hinweis auf das (verlorene) griechische Original des Patriarchalbriefes (ca. 1149) an Bischof Nifont von Novgorod (S. 223) erwünscht gewesen. — Schließlich seien noch eine Reihe von kleineren Druckfehlern angezeigt: Dmitrievskij (S. 233); (Goetz, Staat und Kirche...) Periode (S. 234), (Puc'ko) slavi-stische; (Smolitsch) Gestalter (S. 239); (Stökl) Jahrbücher für...; (Stupperich) Ključevskij; (Viktorova) sovremennyj (S. 240).

G. PODSKALSKY S.J.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

Michel AUBINEAU, *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychius et alii.* London, Variorum Reprints 1988, pp. xvi + 366.

Jehan DAHYOT-DOLIVET, *Précis d'histoire du Droit canonique: Fondement et évolution.* («Utrumque Ius» Collectio Pont. Univ. Lateran, 10); Roma, Libreria Ed.d.P. Univ. Lateran 1984, pp. 194.

Michiel HOSTENS (ED.), *Anonymi Auctoris Theognosiae (Saec. 9/10). Dissertatio contra Iudaeos.* (CCG, 14), Turnhout/Leuven, Brepols Univ. Press 1986, pp. LXXX + 314.

Χρυσοστόμου ΚΑΦΑΝΤΑΡΗ, *Φωνή Ἑβδόμου Ἀγγέλου, ἡ Οὐρανοποίησις τῆς γῆς.* Ἀθῆναι, Ἐκδ. Ἐπεγνωσμένου Χριστιανισμού 1989, σ. 198 + 9 πίνακες.

Pierre et Marie-Thérèse NAUTIN, *Origène: Homélies sur Samuel.* Édition critique, traduction et notes par P. et M.-Th. NAUTIN, SC, 328. Paris, Les Éd. du Cerf 1986, pp. 240.

Alexander ŠUMSKI, *Theoretikon der rumänischen Psaltikie. Abriß der wichtigsten Fragen zur Theorie und Notation der rumänischen Kirchenmusik.* Gersau, Verlag Verein für ostkirchliche Musik 1982, pp. vii + 168.

VINCENZO POGGI S.J., Direttore Responsabile

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CARMELO CAPIZZI S.J.

Il Padre Pelopida Stephanou S.I.

In memoriam

Il 13 giugno 1989 è morto a Bruxelles il P. Stephanou, non ancora settantottenne, essendo nato il 25 dicembre 1911.

La sua scomparsa priva la Chiesa cattolica di Grecia di uno dei suoi rappresentanti più eminenti. Alunno ad Atene dei Fratelli Maristi, presso i quali imparò il francese come una seconda lingua materna, nel 1924, ancora tredicenne, si recò a Noto, in Sicilia, per frequentare la scuola apostolica dei Gesuiti, verso i quali si era orientato sia per la conoscenza diretta di alcuni Padri siciliani che per influsso della mamma, cattolica fervente e devota del Sacro Cuore.

Il 5 novembre 1926 entrava nel loro noviziato di Villa S. Cataldo, a Bagheria, nei pressi di Palermo. Trascorsi come novizio i due anni regolamentari, completò gli studi medi superiori seguendo per un biennio i corsi letterari che nei documenti gesuitici ufficiali si chiamavano ancora coi termini classici di «humanitas» e «rethorica». Nell'autunno del 1930 da Bagheria fu inviato nel Collegio Filosofico di Eegenhoven presso Lovanio, nel Belgio. Sotto la guida di maestri, come i PP. Joseph Maréchal, Valérius Fallon e Georges Dellannoye, quel giovane studente greco, diede prova di rare attitudini speculative e di quella forza dialettica, che lo caratterizzò sempre, facendo correre facilmente il pensiero a certi suoi concittadini antichi, come Socrate, Platone, Demostene...

Ma l'attività, a cui la Provvidenza aveva destinato il P. Stephanou, pur supponendo anche una preparazione filosofica, non sarebbe stata la filosofia e neppure la teologia nei suoi aspetti speculativi.

Tornato dal Belgio in Sicilia nell'estate del 1933 e trascorso un anno come prefetto di disciplina nel Collegio Gonzaga di Palermo e al tempo stesso studente di teologia in privato, ai primi di ottobre del 1934 fu mandato all'Università Gregoriana di Roma per continuarvi gli studi teologici. Proprio quando s'era messo a frequentare i corsi del secondo anno di teologia, il Rettore del Pontificio Istituto

Orientale, il P. Emil Herman, gli comunicò che il P. Generale Wladimir Ledóchowski lo destinava ad essere professore in tale Istituto. Sappiamo che questa destinazione fu una sorpresa per lui. Comunque la sua vita allora si organizzò sempre più in vista dei compiti che la destinazione implicava.

Alla fine del terzo anno di teologia, il 14 giugno 1936, ricevette l'ordinazione sacerdotale in rito greco-bizantino. Completata la teologia nel luglio del 1937, frequentò per circa un anno il Seminario di Studi Bizantini e Neogreci dell'Università di Monaco di Baviera, legandosi d'amicizia, fra l'altro, col Prof. Franz Dölger e col suo futuro successore Prof. Hans-Georg Beck. Finito il Terz'anno di noviziato a Firenze nel luglio 1939, passò subito al Pontificio Istituto Orientale, dove sarebbe rimasto per tutto il resto della vita. Per un triennio esatto vi abitò da studente, giacché il 22 giugno 1942 conseguiva il dottorato in Scienze Ecclesiastiche Orientali, sostenendo una tesi che aveva preparata sotto la guida del P. Georg Hofmann: *Deux procès religieux sous Aléxis Comnène, 1081-1118*; venne promosso col massimo dei voti, «summa cum laude». Dall'ottobre di quell'anno in poi egli fu professore di storia ecclesiastica bizantina, benché avesse iniziato un anno prima l'attività didattica come professore di lingua greca.

Al completamento della sua formazione scientifica ora si aggiunse ben presto anche quello della sua formazione religiosa: il 15 agosto 1945 emise la professione solenne di quattro voti, cioè dei tre voti religiosi comuni più quello tipicamente gesuitico di ubbidienza speciale al papa.

Nel 1946 l'incarico della lingua greca venne passato definitivamente al P. Joseph Gill. Perciò il ricordo accademico e l'immagine scientifica del P. Stephanou sono legati non tanto alla lingua greca, intorno alla quale non pubblicò nessun lavoro specifico e che egli del resto parlava soltanto coi suoi connazionali, quanto alla storia della Chiesa bizantina incentrata su Costantinopoli e il suo patriarcato, a partire da Costantino Magno fino al secolo XI. Per lui i rapporti politici ed ecclesiastici tra Costantinopoli e Roma, soprattutto quel complesso di vicende che sfociarono nella separazione segnata dai casi di Fozio e di Michele Cerulario, furono il vero, costante e sofferto oggetto delle sue ricerche e riflessioni scientifiche. Diciamo «sofferto», perché chi ha avuto modo di conversare a lungo con lui su questi temi, sa bene con quale coinvolgimento personale egli, greco tutto d'un pezzo e cattolico senza complessi o compromessi, rivi-

veva — e non poteva fare diversamente — le vicende storiche del mondo bizantino, continuato soprattutto dal suo popolo, il popolo della Grecia moderna. Quelle vicende, al di là d'ogni rigore metodologico e d'ogni ampiezza di informazione permessagli dal dominio del greco, del latino, del francese, dell'inglese, dell'italiano e del tedesco, furono la materia inesauribile di un dramma segreto; di una specie di Calvario interiore, che toccò punte estreme proprio durante i lavori di preparazione del concilio Vaticano II e nel corso di qualcuna delle sue sessioni, a cui egli prese parte attiva. E solo pochi si accorsero di questa ininterrotta vicenda spirituale del P. Stephanou; mentre pochissimi seppero comprenderla.

Ma va subito aggiunto che egli estendeva i suoi interessi, oltre che al settore storico-politico, anche a quello storico-culturale in genere: la teologia, la filosofia, la letteratura, la liturgia, l'arte, le istituzioni e l'antiquaria di Bisanzio occupavano sempre la sua attenzione, come provano in parte la sua tesi e il suo saggio su Giovanni Italo (Roma 1949), in parte i suoi articoli e, in misura molto maggiore, le sue conferenze e le recensioni, apparse, come gli articoli, quasi tutte in questa rivista.

Se le circostanze della sua vita e la sua salute fossero state più favorevoli, probabilmente il P. Stephanou avrebbe pubblicato di più e di meglio. Ma quel che ha lasciato — compreso un libro su Fozio, rimasto fermo ma già a buon punto di elaborazione — è più che sufficiente per far durare il suo ricordo di lettore critico ma generoso, di studioso rigoroso e sagace. I suoi scritti, in chi ha avuto modo di ascoltarlo, richiameranno facilmente le sue conferenze interessanti ed applaudite, e soprattutto le sue lezioni lucide e stimolanti.

Che il P. Stephanou facesse ogni tanto vedere che «arrancava» sotto il peso dei suoi anni — non molto distanti da quota 80 — sembrava normale; tanto più quando si sapeva qualcosa delle sue difficoltà cardio-circolatorie. Ma a nessuno poteva affacciarsi l'idea di una sua scomparsa tanto improvvisa, proprio quando si stava preparando a subire un intervento alle coronarie. Un intervento che egli aveva accettato col solito ottimismo: quell'ottimismo che negli ultimi anni aveva fatto affiancare alla sua passione per la macchina fotografica quella per il calcolatore elettronico, riuscendo ben presto a comporre e stampare dei testi letterari. A chi scrive, nell'ultimo colloquio avuto una decina di giorni prima di morire, riferendosi al lavoro su Fozio, che stava scrivendo con tanto risparmio di tempo grazie all'uso del calcolatore, disse tutto soddisfatto: «Bisogna rico-

noscere che l'invenzione del computer è veramente una gran cosa — una vera grazia di Dio».

L'idea che la morte fosse così vicina non si affacciò neppure a lui, che, prima di partire da Roma per Bruxelles, aveva preparato per l'ennesima volta un suo soggiorno estivo in patria, cioè a Neamacri nei dintorni d'Atene.

Ma tante volte ebbe modo di esprimere in conversazione un pensiero e un sentimento che gli erano divenuti familiari : il pensiero e il sentimento che si sprigionano dalle parole ammonitrici di Cristo: «*qua hora non putatis Filius hominis veniet*» (*Mt 24,44*).

Carmelo CAPIZZI S.I.

EDWARD G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

P. Bernhard Schultze, SJ: Life and Work (1902-1990)

On 30 January 1990 Fr Bernhard Schultze, SJ, long-time professor at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale, passed away at the age of 88 years. He belonged to those Jesuits, if not of the earliest hour, nonetheless of the first generation at the PIO, who through their selfless devotion helped put the Institute on its feet. By his exemplary life and his unflinching devotion to his studies, he rendered yeoman service to the Christian East.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Fr Schultze retained till the end an excellent memory, capable of recalling minutiae. In notes he jotted on his life experiences he could still recall in detail his pranks as a child and record his pastoral supply work in the summer with the precision of a train plan. There emerges a key trait of this single-minded Jesuit: a keen intelligence, eager to form a precise idea of things, which he put wholeheartedly at the service of the Church.

He was born in Berlin on 19 January 1902(1). Both grandparents on his father's side were converts and so Catholics out of conviction. His own parents had six children: a sister, who died at the age of six, a brother who, as military chaplain, died in Russian captivity in 1945, Bernhard, a sister who died as a missionary in Mo-

(1) He notes that it was the feast of the Name of Jesus, a feast to which he felt attracted because of his own patron saint, as a Jesuit and as an important theme in Eastern theology; cfr. B. SCHULTZE, *Der Streit um die Göttlichkeit des Namens Jesu in der russischen Theologie*, OCP 17 (1951) 321-394; *Untersuchungen über das Jesus-Gebet*, OCP 18 (1952) 319-343.

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zambique in 1974, and two sisters with whom he carried out a regular correspondence till the end of his life.

On 1 May 1920 he joined the Society of Jesus at s'Heerenberg, in Holland. Although the Jesuits had already been recalled from exile in 1917 after the Falck Laws introduced by Bismarck were repealed, Schultze's first academic formation took place largely in the small Dutch bordertown of Valkenburg. Between 1922 and 1925 he pursued the study of philosophy prescribed for candidates for the priesthood. Among his philosophy professors there were Fr Karl Frick, who taught logic for the last time, and Fr Wilhelm Klein, who taught his first course in Epistemology. By Schultze's own telling, Fr Klein was the one philosophy professor whose influence on him was to last most, even though Klein had to be replaced as a teacher within a few years, partly because he was concerned to do philosophy, and not simply impart specialized information. By this Schultze meant that Fr Klein wanted to introduce G. W. F. Hegel's thought in systematic philosophy(2).

During regency, a Jesuit practicum prior to theological studies, which he spent at s'Heerenberg (1925-27), something happened which was later on to influence Schultze's being assigned to the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies. His duty was to teach Latin and Greek to the novices as well as German to the Juniors. But he now also lived with Lithuanians who had enrolled as novices, for him an incentive to learn Lithuanian, a language which struck him for its beauty. In the last years of the Great War he had come to know of the needs of his Polish coreligionists in East Germany and had dreamed of learning one day their language so as to be of service to them as a priest. Since the mother tongue of a number of the Lithuanian novices was in reality Polish, he had occasion to speak some Polish, too. At the same time he made his first efforts to read Church Slavonic and Russian texts. This was no doubt known to his superiors and weighed heavily with them in assigning him for the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies(3).

Theology followed at Valkenburg between 1927 and 1931, where

(2) For a like testimony on W. Klein cfr. Hans KÜNG, *Menschwerdung Gottes. Eine Einführung in Hegels theologisches Denken als Prolegomena zu einer künftigen Christologie.* Freiburg i.Br., Herder 1970, p. 8.

(3) Cfr. "Autobiographical Notes" (unpublished), p. 12.

the faculty numbered several who were later to become outstanding. Schultze heard Fr Franz Hürth for Moral Theology, whom he continued to consult right till the end of his life (d. 1963) as a professor at the Gregoriana; Fr Augustinus Merk for NT exegesis, with whom he remained in touch till his death in Rome (1945); Albert Rembold for OT exegesis, Joseph Grisar for Church History and Fr Joseph Schmidt for Asceticism and Mysticism. For some time he had Heinrich Keller for Canon Law. More decisive was the contact with Fr Karl Prümm, who started as assistant to Fr Dieckmann for Fundamental Theology and whose advice he sought as nobody else's in Rome (d. 1981). It may come as a surprise, however, that the theology professor who influenced him most, at least judging by his own admission, was Fr Johannes Rabeneck, with whom he could discuss theology at length and whose notes he still consulted as a professor. Maybe Rabeneck's interest in Mariology, and especially some of the less extremist views which he took on the matter, were to be decisive for Schultze's later publications on the same subject.

After the third year of theology Schultze was ordained priest (27.8.1930). When theology was over he went for his tertianship (1931-32), or third year of noviciate in the Jesuit formation, which he did at Münster i.W. under Fr Walter Sierp. His initial assignment was to teach Greek and Latin at the Jesuit College in Berlin, but this had been changed in the meantime, so that Fr Schultze was now expected, after tertianship, to start special studies in Old Testament exegesis and eventually teach at the Biblicum, which was then headed by Fr Augustine (later Cardinal) Bea. On the feast of St Aloysius (21.6.1932) he was told that the General of the Order Vladimir Ledóchowski wished him to dedicate himself to Eastern theology. He arrived in Rome on 23 October 1932, where he was welcomed by the then rector of the PIO, Fr Emil Herman. Till the end Schultze retained a great admiration for him. Though initially meant to study elsewhere, he pursued his doctoral studies in Rome, which he felt gave him the kind of rounded specialization in his area of interest.

Among his teachers he had Fr de Groot, emeritus Professor at the Gregoriana, who gave a clear introduction to Eastern Theology, and Fr Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, his successor, and later rector of the Orientale. For Eastern theology itself he had Fr Theophil Spáčil, whose successor he was meant to be, and Fr Mauricio Gordillo, who was to exercise an influence on Schultze's approach to theology in

general, and on his Mariology in particular(4). Fr Bernard Leib's survey of the history of the Byzantine Empire, Fr Georg Hofmann's lectures on the history of separations and re-unions in the Greek-Byzantine area and Father Ledit's on those in the Slavic world, especially the Russian, rounded off Schultze's coursework. As his speciality was to be Byzantine-Greek theology in general and the more recent Russian theology in particular, he dedicated himself to the study of Russian. His thesis on *Die Schau der Kirche bei Nikolai Berdiajew* he defended on 21 December 1936; it was later published as a book (Roma, 1938 as OCA 116).

His teaching career at the Orientale already started in the second semester of the same academic year, his theme being: *Die Sophialehre des russischen Erzpriesters Sergij Bulgakov*, an optional course. With his final vows pronounced in Feldkirch, Austria, on 15 August 1937 he became full member of the Society of Jesus.

Over the next years Schultze soon had occasion to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of Eastern theology in its various aspects, which he practically covered in his course-work. His writings grew primarily from his contact in the class-room, even though his choice of subjects was no doubt stimulated by his other professional contacts. As successor to Fr Spáčil, who retired early from academic work because of eye trouble, Schultze became professor for comparative theology (*Acta* 1937-38, p. 9). Later on, writing Spáčil's "In Memoriam" Schultze extols his merit of having been one of the first to lay down the foundations of comparative Eastern theology, or the study of the theology of "dissident" Eastern Christians, especially the Greek, Russians, Bulgarians, Rumanians and so forth, from a Catholic viewpoint (OCP 17 [1951] 220). And to the objection levelled at Spáčil that he was too scholastic in his approach (an objection raised against Schultze himself, ever since he worked on his dissertation, by none other than E. Herman), Schultze notes that it is the solidity and the orthodoxy of one's teaching and writings which should recommend it.

A perusal of the *Acta* of the PIO helps us form a better idea of Fr Schultze's interests and priorities. We may take as an example the courses he gave without mentioning the special courses, as found

(4) Cfr. B. SCHULTZE, *In Memoriam: P. Mauritius Gordillo S.J.*, OCP 27 (1961) 439-441.

in the *Acta* of the respective years until 1944-45. The *Acta* for 1937-38 list him as teaching the *Tractatus de Revelatione, Fide, Dogmate* (p. 22), which he taught again in 1941-42 (p. 19) and in 1944-45 (pp. 17-18), those for 1938-39 the *Tractatus de Deo Redemptore* (p. 19), those for 1939-40 the *Tractatus de SS. Eucharistia* (p. 22), offered again in 1943-44 (pp. 18-19) and those for 1942-43 the *Tractatus de Verbo Incarnato et Salvatore* (pp. 17-18). In 1940-41 he taught the *Tractatus de Sacramentis, Baptismi, Confirmationis, Poenitentiae* (p. 19). These themes were, with modifications and additions, to form the backbone of his coursework in years to come: the *Tractatus de Sacramentis Baptismi, Confirmationis et Paenitentiae* (1945-46; 1947-1948); the *Tractatus de Verbo Incarnato et Salvatore* (1946-47; 1950-51; 1953-54; 1955-56; 1957-58; 1959-60; 1961-62; 1963-64; 1965-66; 1967-68; 1969-70); the *Tractatus de SS. Eucharistia* 1948-49; 1951-52; 1954-55; 1959-60; 1961-62; 1963-64; 1970-71; 1975-76; 1977-78); the *Tractatus de Revelatione, Fide et Dogmate* (1949-50; 1952-53; 1956-57; 1958-59; 1960-61; 1962-63; 1964-65; 1966-67; 1968-69; 1972-73); *De SS. Trinitate* (1968-69; 1971-72; 1976-77; 1979-80). Among his special courses we may mention *De relatione, quae viget inter communitatem ecclesiasticam et administrationem sacramentorum, praesertim SS. Eucharistiae et Paenitentiae* (1952-53); other courses include *De gratia* (1973-74) and *Christologia Orientalis* (1974-75). He became emeritus in 1976-77.

Russian theology (even more so than the Greek) was from the start top priority, as is manifest from his course descriptions, where he usually stresses Greek and Russian authors and themes, as well as from his early publications, which dealt with Chomjakow, sophiology and mysticism (see *Acta* 1939). By his own admission Schultze came to Palamism as a research topic through Bulgakov's sophiology(5). And Schultze's most useful article on Palamas is perhaps his *Die Bedeutung des Palamismus in der russischen Theologie der Gegenwart, Scholastik* XXVI (1951) 390-412. Whereas the Greeks interested him mainly for the Fathers and the line of development leading to Palamas, his interest in the Russians concentrated on more recent developments (cfr. however his description of the course on the Eucharist, *Acta* 1943-1944, pp. 18-19). Schultze's *Maksim Grek als Theologe.* Roma 1963 (= OCA 167) may count as the big

(5) Cfr. B. Schultze, *P. Emanuel Candal S.J.*, OCP 34 (1968) 154.

exception, for it treats of a Greek author (1470-1556) who nonetheless spent the second part of his life in Russia. At any rate, Schultze's interest in Russian thinkers confronted with Christ dates from an early period of his writings (cfr *Acta* 1943-44). The subtitle of *Russische Denker. Ihre Stellung zu Christus, Kirche und Papsttum* (Wien, Herder 1950) indicates Schultze's legitimate self-restriction, but it could have been rendered once again more precise by indicating that they are all, exclusively, modern thinkers of the last and the present century. This, coupled with such writings as "La nuova soteriologia russa" were to indicate a way of research that was to guide him for the rest of his life(6).

Part of the academic war spoils was that he was assigned to edit the *Libellus de Ordine Generalium Conciliorum et Unione Florentina* of Fantinus Vallaresso (Roma 1944). Vallaresso (ca 1392-1443), a Venetian nobleman become archbishop of Crete, then under Venetian rule, attended the Council of Florence and, when union with the Greeks was reached, was designated (18 Sept. 1439) by Pope Eugene IV as his legate to implement the pro-Union decrees in Crete. In this way, Schultze made a contribution to the monumental edition of documents relating to the Council of Florence which the Orientale started publishing in 1940 and only finished, with the eleventh — and last — volume, in 1976.

There was, however, more editing up in coming: already having served as secretary to OCA (1937-47), he became editor of OCP in 1948, an office which he kept till 1955. He was outstanding for his conscientiousness in general and his meticulousness in proofreading in particular.

Useful as academic programmes are in revealing a professor's real priorities, the circumstances and the contacts he cultivates may be even more revelatory. Among his colleagues one of those who followed him at close quarters was Fr Wilhelm de Vries, SJ. About him Schultze comments that de Vries was always two years behind him: "He entered the Society two years after me, he came to Valkenburg for philosophy two years after me, to theology at the same place, again two years following my arrival, and to the Oriental

(6) Cfr. *La nuova soteriologia russa*, I, OCP 9 (1943) 406-430; II, OCP 11 (1945) 165-215; II-III, OCP 12 (1946) 130-176.

Institute, once again two years later"(7). Maybe this is indicative of a certain lag in approach between the two, too; then, with de Vries, he was to have a broad base of common interests, e.g. the primacy, but also a wide basis of disagreement in the approach to these issues. Another colleague was Gustave Wetter, who taught for a long time at the Oriental Institute(8). Perhaps nowhere else does Schultze come so close to Wetter's concerns than in his *Wissarion Grigorjewitch Belinskij* (München-Salzburg-Köln 1957). He saw in Belinskij (1811-48) one who, as precursor of Russian existentialism and, after Lenin, of Russian "social democracy", prepared modern revolutionary atheism. This book, as well as his thesis, show Schultze to be interested in philosophy, and not to have restricted himself to pure theological problems. This interest he explains rather as stemming from the nature of modern Russian theology itself, which cannot content itself with formal theological publications.

Especially noteworthy are Schultze's friendly contacts with N. Afanas'iev, with whom he carried a lengthy correspondence. This led him to distinguish between "universal ecclesiology" and "eucharistic ecclesiology", clearly evidenced in his production for the academic years 1964-65, 65-66. His *Der Primat Petri und seiner Nachfolger nach den Grundsätzen der universellen und der eucharistischen Ekklesiologie* (OCP 31 [1965] 277-94) was a further key-stone in his theological production. 1966-67 saw the prolungation of his interests in Orthodox Ecclesiology and Mariology. By 1967-68 he is no longer responsible for the theological seminar, one of his several other obligations at the PIO and release from which gave him more time for study. His interest in Ecclesiology finds expression in the important article, *Ekklesiologischer Dialog mit Erzpriester Afanas'ev* (OCP 33 [1967] 380-403).

Schultze maintained friendly contacts with the boards of *Ostkirchliche Studien* and the *Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde* I, as well as with Prof. Robert A. Klostermann, a Swede, whose books he reviewed (and *vice versa*). He was besides a member of the Interna-

(7) "Autobiographical Notes", p. 14.

(8) Fr Gustave Wetter, later Rector of the Russicum and Director of the Institute of Marxist Studies at the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, first appears in the Acts of the Institute in *Acta* 1943-44. Cfr. also B. Schultze's review of G. Wetter, *Il materialismo dialettico sovietico.* Torino, Einaudi 1948, in: OCP 14 (1948) 424-25.

tional Mariological Academy (as of 1972) and contributed regularly to the Congresses it organized.

Even after becoming emeritus, he still wrote constantly and offered occasional seminars, e.g. *I colloqui tra Luterani tedeschi e Ortodossi sull'Eucaristia* (1981). In the last years he published several articles on Pneumatology and the Filioque, partly occasioned through the 1600 celebration of the First Council of Constantinople (381), as well as a number of articles on other subjects. More specific Filioque themes included several studies on St Epiphanius, not all of which have been published(9).

Among the discussions he provoked may be mentioned that concerning the doctoral dissertation of J. Kuhlmann(10). Among his doctoral students we may here mention A. Hohmann, R. Žužek and St. Świerkosz. Among those whom he helped in their studies and who remained in contact with him was D. Wendebourg.

Theological Profile and Method

Although Schultze felt considerable attraction to the subject-matter as revealed in his efforts during regency and human sympathy expressed clearly in the wish to do apostolate for these people, his preparation had not been ideal. He lacked the immersion experience which would have enabled him to penetrate into the heart of the matter without Western aprioris. To my knowledge, he only travelled once to a country where Eastern Christians are predominant. Naturally, certain expectancies were typical of his pre-Vatican II generation among Catholics. His faithfulness to his charge over half a century and the considerable literature he produced within this period show nonetheless that he really tried to do his best with the limited means at his disposal.

(9) Cfr. B. Schultze, *Die Pneumatologie des Symbols von Konstantinopel als abschließende Formulierung der griechischen Theologie* (381-1981) OCP 47 (1981) 5-54; *Zum Ursprung des Filioque: Das Filioque und der römische Primat*, OCP 48 (1982) 5-18; *Das Filioque in der Patristik nach V. Rodzianko*, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 34 (1985) 300-315.

(10) Cfr. B. Schultze's discussion of Kuhlmann's work, *Die Taten des einfachen Gottes*, OCP 36 (1970) 135-142.

One will at once notice that his courses covered practically the whole gamut of Eastern theology, taken thematically. If we take this to consist of the axis of God's incarnation for the sake of humanity's deification, with the Spirit vivifying the Church of Jesus Christ through the ages, we see that Schultze, as a matter of fact, concentrated on the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation and Anthropology (deification). Over a number of articles of synthesis as well as more succinct encyclopedia articles he articulated these themes so as to make them available to a more general public. A typical example is the booklet, *Das Gottesproblem in der Osttheologie* (Aschendorff, Münster 1967). Adopting a historical approach, he starts with the Gnostics' abuse of reverence for God's transcendence to deduce therefrom their own esoteric doctrines. The Greek Fathers, on their part, took up the defence of the right doctrine about God's transcendence by distinguishing between God's inaccessible nature, beyond all human comprehension, and His irradiations with which He made Himself known in revelation and offers Himself in grace. This became especially eloquent in the Cappadocians' response to Eunomius.

One of Schultze's questions was to remain throughout whether Gregory Palamas' appeal to the Cappadocians (and even the mystical doctrine of Symeon the New Theologian) did not, as a matter of fact, go beyond them so as to leave behind the Patristic terrain. Similar questions arise, according to Schultze, with Palamas' disciples, Gregorios Scholarios and Maksim Grek. In trying to explain the novelty of Palamism, Schultze showed a no mean erudition. However, he stumbled over what he considered to be an extreme apophatic attitude in Eastern theology: and he saw this and atheism as two extremes which touch each other, like all extremities. Schultze did not discuss thoroughly enough whether the light of which Palamism speaks may not be better elucidated in terms of images, more fitting for the realm of mystery, than in predominantly conceptual terms. Such a theme could then be approached from the viewpoint of the occurrence of the light theme in the various liturgies (including the Latin!) and mysticism. Lacking an adequate introduction to the theology of symbol (image) as the backbone of Eastern theology — it is manifest that he never gave a course on this and similarly related epistemological questions, which nonetheless offer the key to Eastern theology —, Schultze could only have recourse to the scholastic categories which he had received in his formation.

These enabled him to read Martin Jugie's monumental studies of Eastern theology, not however to go beyond him in the changed world which had been slowly coming into being, and which exploded after Vatican II(11).

That Schultze, however, did have an open, inquisitive mind is shown, for example, by his remarkable article, *Das theologische Problem der Konzelebration* (*Gregorianum* 31 [1955] 212-271), an article highly appreciated by Fr Robert Taft, ordinarius for Eastern Liturgy at our Institute. In this he came to the conclusion that a concelebration in which not all concelebrants say the words of consecration is a concelebration nonetheless. Maybe Schultze could speak and research so openly only because it was still an open question, not decided by the magisterium (cfr. p. 271). After the Council, he might have found it difficult to discuss the theme at all, because in the meantime the Church had laid down a certain praxis for concelebration. The discussion with H. Schulz on the problem of the epiclesis is indicative(12).

How painstaking Schultze was may be seen by the way he tackled reviews. Unlike certain reviewers, who do not impart much about the book's contents beyond a rapid glance at the table of contents, Schultze's reviews usually carefully delineate the thematic, taking pains to enter into the nuances and the disputed issues, and not shying off from giving a judgment on the matter in no uncertain terms. An example is the review of Vladimir Lossky's *Théologie Mystique* in *Humanitas* 7, 700-02. When he reviewed Western

(11) So Schultze could not ask, with A. de HALLEUX, *Palamisme et Scolastique. Exclusivisme dogmatique ou pluriformité théologique?, Revue Théologique de Louvain* 4 (1973) 409-442, whether the Palamite distinction between essence and energies should not first be approched at the existential level of the encounter with God rather than on the ontological level in the first place — a point underscored also by G. PHILIPS, in L'*union personnelle avec le Dieu vivant*, Gembloux, Duculot 1974, p. 247, when he accuses Jugie of a methodological mistake in discussing Palamism under God's simplicity rather than under grace.

(12) Cfr. B. Schultze, *Ökumenische Glaubenseinheit aus eucharistischer Überlieferung*, OCP 44 (1978) 273-308 (= a commentary to a work bearing that title by H. SCHULZ; and the latter's answer: *Liturgischer Vollzug und sakramentale Wirklichkeit des eucharistischen Opfers.* I OCP 45 (1979) 245-66, and II: *Das Zeugnis der byzantinischen Liturgie in ihrer Gesamtgestalt und die Sprache der Väter*, OCP 46 (1980) 5-19.

books he did not forget to underline points of interest for Eastern theology (see his review of Hugo Rahner's *Theologie der Verkündigung*). Because of these qualities, his reviews are, in principle, articles in miniature. Indeed, several of them were published as "shorter commentaries"; see, for example, his review of Papadakis' book, *Gregory of Cyprus*(13).

Given the abundance of information he had at his disposal, and his command of Latin, Russian, and ancient Greek, and a certain knowledge of Modern Greek as languages of his sources (to say nothing of his extensive knowledge of other languages like Italian, French and English), it remains to be seen what use he put it to in order to reach the conclusions he reached. In other words, what was Bernhard Schultze's method? Or possibly: methods? We can here, in the limits of this modest article, only point out some dominant recurrent patterns. In "Latin Theology and Oriental Theology" (in: Polycarp Sherwood, *The Unity of the Churches of God* (Baltimore 1962) Schultze addresses himself to the question of the specific difference between Latin and Oriental theologies. He notes that it might rightly be considered paradoxical that "Catholic" (= "universal!") theology has to be restricted to one mentality only (p. 186). Schultze is of the opinion that the development of an authentically Slav, Indian, Chinese theology, and so forth, remains a desideratum, that theology as such is undeveloped. But he does not address himself with sufficient thoroughness to the question, for instance, whether important residues of Eastern theology may not be found in liturgical texts kept alive in the worship of the Eastern Churches and in art (Stephanou pointed out the dogmatic significance of the Pantocrator's hand at Daphne and of the Trinitarian icon at Kastoria)(14). Had he adverted to the presence of these vital sediments of theology he could have possibly reached, with the help of a comprehensive theology of symbol, completely different results.

Schultze's way of doing theology did not take enough into account that theological differences stem not only from the true, but

(13) Cfr. B. Schultze, *Patriarch Gregorios II. von Cypern über das Filioque*, OCP 51 (1985) 163-187, a discussion of a work with the same title by A. Papadakis. For the Rahner review see OCP 7 (1941) 295-299.

(14) P. Stephanou, *La main gauche du Pantocrator à Daphni, un symbole trinitaire*, OCP 26 (1960) 413-14; see also: idem, *Kastoria: Une édition monumentale et une fresque restée inédite*, OCP 19 (1953) 429-30.

also from the good, and that therefore there may be theological gems latent in practices like fasting and canon law. The epistmological critique of orthopraxis needed for such a sensibility, perhaps along the lines of modern philosophico-sociological developments to begin with, but also of the practical implications of the dialectic of tradition and traditions, had simply not been his.

However, one could not, without further modifications, describe Schultze as a polemical author. If by polemicist one means somebody who foments conflicts, then Schultze was eminently a peaceful man who sought to understand and to be objective. For example, in an ample survey article, *Hauptthemen der neueren russischen Theologie*, Schultze makes the characteristic comment: "Es ist nicht leicht, ein zugleich ... strenges wie ... wohlwollendes Urteil ... auszusprechen" (15). And, in both what preceded and followed the remark, there is a sustained effort to be both objective and benevolent. Rather, his very model of unity was itself outdated and not up to mark with the new ecclesiological trends which came to the fore in the declarations of Vatican II (to which, incidentally, he was not invited as a peritus). Imbued with the pre-World War II situation in Catholic theology, which was more on the defensive against a hostile world in the Church's official politics, and a polemical situation in inter-Church relations, Schultze could only go by the instinct of defending the truth, identified *tout court* with the positions of the Catholic Church, and less by an ecclesiological disposition to dialogue, characteristic of the *subsistit in Ecclesia catholica* of Vatican II's *Lumen Gentium*.

Given this presupposition no wonder that Schultze's method consists to a large extent in stating common elements and differences from the Catholic viewpoint, showing the untenability of the errors of the other side, but trying to do so with dignity and on the basis of information. His forte was thus that of having studied intensively the primary sources in the original languages. He often observed, and observed correctly; but he remained an observer, like Moses who sights the promised land, but is hindered from following suite and settling down in this land of promise. On the debit side must be seen the fact that the encyclopaedaic knowledge he amassed over

(15) In: W. NYSSEN, H.-J. SCHULZ u. P. WIERTZ (Hg.), *Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde* I. Düsseldorf, Patmos 1984, pp. 321-92, here p. 360.

decades of study did not keep pace with renewal even in Roman Catholic theology itself, a narrowing that he did not try to abet by participation in ecumenical meetings which could have put him in contact with attempts on the part of the Orthodox to understand Catholics and to help to common efforts at bridge building. His work will thus retain for some time to come the value of a very useful point of departure of somebody who sought to open up the treasures of Eastern theology, illuminating them with the orderly pursuits of a schooled mind; but one will soon find the need to go beyond him on quite a number of issues.

One may well catch a glimpse of Schultze's forte and limits if we compare two books, which have enough in common to allow, with caution, for such a comparison: his own *Russische Denker: Ihre Stellung zu Christus, Kirche und Papsttum* (Wien, Herder ·1950) and Paul Evdokimov's *Le Christ dans la pensée russe* (Paris, Éd. du Cerf 1970). Whereas Schultze concentrates on the last two centuries and manages to impart an elaborate mass of information, Evdokimov tries to insert his information within a broader patristic and ecclesial context. Schultze abounds with useful information helping us to penetrate somewhat into the vast expanses of Russian thought, at that time well-nigh inaccessible for Westerners. Evdokimov manages to portray a more unitary synthesis.

CONCLUSION

This appreciation may perhaps best close with a play on words by V. A. Kulikov which Schultze, with his customary command of the sources, brought to light in an article published in *La Civiltà Cattolica* (1954/IV), "Tre tipi di 'coscienza ecclesiastica,'": "Difficult communion or *sobornost* easily became *ras-bornost* or disgregation" and say: "The unwieldy synthesis easily gives way to the insubordination of fragmentary knowledge" (ibid., p. 9). Schultze has given the PIO sterling service by the pains he took to give Eastern theology his whole attention, not contenting himself with generalities, but going out of his way to master the issues at stake in all their detail. In this he should serve as a — rare — model of seeking precision. But the systematics within which he sought to elaborate that knowledge in detail was like an old-fitting coat. Readers will appreciate this wealth of detail, so that his contribution remains an

immense quarry of stones which others may put together in a more cohesive way.

Fr Schultze had a rather fragile health — and yet he managed to survive most of his colleagues. Some indication of the quality of his theology: not very robust as a structure, but due to its unbending desire to penetrate into the mystery of things, it is likely to be of use for quite some time and has afforded the necessary spadework on which others can build.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma

Edward G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

MIGUEL ARRANZ S.J.

La «Diataxis» du patriarche Méthode pour la réconciliation des apostats

LES SACREMENTS DE LA RESTAURATION DE L'ANCIEN EUCHOLOGE CONSTANTINOPOLITAIN

II - 1

Après nous être occupé de la consécration du saint myron ou chrême(1) comme appendice à notre première série d'articles sur le

Liste des sigles employés dans cet article:

BAR: Euchologe ms «*S. Marcus*»: Bibl. Apost. Vatic.: *Barberini gr. 336*: cf. OCP 1982: 295.

BES: Euchologe ms «*Bessarion*»: Bibl. Grottaferrata: *Gb1*: cf. STA & DMI 1054 & OCP 1982:290 & 314.

COI: Euchologe ms «*Stratîgios*»: Bibl. Nat. Paris: *Coislin gr. 213*: cf. DMI 993 & MAJ & OCP 1982:309.

DMI: A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej khranjashchikhsja v bibliotekakh Pravoslavnago Vostoka*, II, Εὐχολόγια, Kiev 1901.

EBE: Euchologe ms Ethn. Bibl. Panepist.: *Athènes gr. 662*: cf. OCP 1982:316.

ESS: *Euchologe Slave du Sinaï* (ms *Sinai sl. 37*): editions: L. GEITLER, *Euchologium*, Zagreb 1882; J. FRČEK, *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (= R. GRAFFIN - F. NAU, Patrologia Orientalis, 24:605-802 & 25:487-617) Paris 1933, 1943; R. NAHTIGAL, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, Ljubljana 1941, 1942.

EVO: M. ARRANZ, *Evolution des rites d'incorporation et de réadmission dans l'Eglise selon l'Euchologe byzantin*, (= *Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques.* Bibl. Ephem. Liturg. Subsidia 14), Rome 1978:31-75.

GOA: J. GOAR, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum...*, Venise 1730[2] (Graz 1970).

(1) OCP 1989: 317-338.

OCP 56 (1990) 283-322

baptême et l'onction post-baptismale(2), nous avons commencé une 3ème série d'articles par la publication d'un travail sur le couronnement et la (tardive) onction du basileus byzantin, que certains auteurs, surtout russes, voulaient considérer comme un degré supérieur du sacrement de «confirmation»(3). Il était important de présenter les textes originaux grecs comme point de départ pour une discussion plus approfondie.

Dans le même but, revenant sur nos pas, nous commençons ici une 2ème série d'articles en débutant par une autre onction avec le myron, qui elle aussi aurait pu être considérée, sinon comme une répétition, du moins comme un renouvellement du sacrement de la confirmation: celle des apostats faisant retour à l'Eglise(4).

IST: M. Arranz, *Istoricheskie zametki o chinoposledovanijakh Tainstv po rukopisjam Grecheskogo Evkhologija.* 3. kurs, offset, Leningradskaja Dukhovnaja Akademija 1979.

LIT: M. Arranz, *La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave du Sinaï*, (= *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius.* Acts of the International Congress held on the Eleventh Centenary of the Death of St. Methodius. Rome, October 8-11 1985. OCA 231), Roma 1988, 15-74.

MAJ: J. Maj, *Coislin 213 (II parte): Eucologio della Grande Chiesa*, thèse de doctorat, PIO 1990: cf. COI (& DUN: I partie de COI).

OCP: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*

PAP: N. Παπαδοπουλος, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Athènes 1927.

POR: Euchologe ms «*Porfirij Uspenskij*»: Gos. Publ. Bibl. (GPB): *Leningrad gr. 226*: cf. OCP 1982: 300.

ROM: *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Rome 1873.

SEV: Euchologe ms *Rumjantsev/Sevastianov gr. 474*: Gos. Bibl. Len. (GBL): *Moskva gr. 27*: cf. OCP 1982: 303.

SIN: Euchologe ms *Sinai gr. 959*: cf. DMI 42 & OCP 1982: 305.

STA: G. Stassi, *L'Eucologio Gb1 «Bessarione» di Grottaferrata*, thèse de doctorat, PIO 1982: cf. BES.

ZER: Σ. Ζερβος, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Venise 1862² (Athènes 1970).

(cf. autres sigles dans OCP 1982-1989)

(2) OCP 1982-1989.

(3) OCP 1990: 83-133.

(4) Cf. dans OCP 1990: 84, note 1, le plan général des nos futures publications sur les sacrements de l'Euchologe; le présent article appartient donc à cette 2ème série que nous appelons «les sacrements de la restauration», tout en étant bien conscient que cette terminologie ne plaira peut-être pas à tous. Dans cette catégorie de sacrements (au sens large) nous incluons les rites et

La Διάταξις (ou διαταγή selon quelques ms), que nous voulons étudier ici, est une disposition ou règlement, attribuée au patriarche Méthode (842-846), à laquelle nous avons déjà fait allusion plus d'une fois par le passé([5]); cette «diataxe» aurait pu être instituée pour la réadmission dans l'Église des chrétiens qui de gré ou de force étaient passés aux manichéens ou, plus probablement, aux musulmans([6]); à la limite elle aurait pu être étendue à la réconciliation des iconoclastes.

La Diataxe telle qu'elle se présente aujourd'hui est composée de trois éléments que nous allons analyser un par un en prévision d'une possible appartenance à différents moments de composition:

a) règles ou normes de réadmission,
b) cinq prières d'expiation à dire par le célébrant,
c) rite d'onction avec le myron, suivi d'une prière.

En nous limitant ici aux données de 5 de nos 7 mss constantinopolitains([7]) qui rapportent quelque élément du rite en question (BAR et POR ne le font pas), auxquels nous ajoutons le témoignage de l'ancien Euchologe slave (ESS), ainsi que celui des quatre imprimés habituels, nous pouvons établir le tableau suivant:

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les prières de l'Euchologe ayant affaire avec la pénitence, les exorcismes, la maladie et la mort. La structure rituelle de ces sacrements dépend sans doute, disions-nous dans l'article cité, plus du charisme de l'Esprit que des dispositions des institutions ecclésiastiques; ils constituent un élément essentiel, à notre point de vue, de la mission du Christ aux apôtres, telle qu'ébauchée au début de la prédication de Jésus (cf. Mc 6:7,12-13) et perfectionnée après sa résurrection (cf. Mc 16:15-20 et Jn 20:21-23).

([5]) Cf. *La consécration du myron* («Les Sacrements...»: 10) OCP 1989: 318, note 2. Nous avons aussi parlé de la Diataxe dans EVO: 71, LIT: 40 et IST: 92. Cf. aussi OCP 1982: 293, où pour la désigner nous avons adopté la lettre D), que nous allons continuer à employer pour créer les sigles qui vont nous servir dans la désignation des différentes parties du texte.

([6]) Cf. rituel de conversion des manichéens: OCP 1983: 60-67, et d'admission des sarrasins: OCP 1983: 77-80.

([7]) Cf. OCP 1982: 289; 1989: 320, passim.

I: RÈGLES (BES COI EBE GOA ZER ROM PAP):

D): titre et attribution (au patriarche Méthode) des normes pour la réadmission à la communion:
Da): de l'enfant forcé à apostasier,
Db): de l'adulte ayant apostasié sous la torture,
Dc): de l'apostat par libre choix: deux variantes:
Dc1): variante de BES (ROM) COI EBE: les apostats volontaires sont réadmis à la communion après deux ans de pénitence;
Dc2): variante des manuscrits plus récents et des imprimés: par l'application du canon 73 de S. Basile l'apostat volontaire n'est réadmis à la communion qu'à l'heure de la mort.

II: PRIÈRES D'EXPIATION: 3 schèmes:

a) SEV SIN ESS: 1 seule prière: [D3],
b) BES (ROM): 4 prières: [D1] [D2] [D3] [D4] (précédée chacune par un titre-rubrique),
c1) COI EBE: 5 prières: [D1] [D2] [D3] [D4] (avec titre-rubrique), [D5] de kephaloklisia,
c2) GOA ZER PAP: les mêmes 5 prières: [D1] [D2] [D3] [D4] (sans titre-rubrique), [D5] de kephaloklisia.

III: RITE D'ONCTION et PRIÈRE [D6]: 2 variantes:

Dd1): COI EBE: onction de front, mains et pieds; pas de formule;
Dd2): GOA ZER PAP: onction et formule post-baptismales.

Classification des textes d'après les éléments possédés:

1: SEV SIN ESS:	-	II (1 prière)	-
2: BES (ROM):	I	II (4 prières)	-
3: COI EBE:	I	II (5 prières)	III (non baptismal)
4: GOA ZER PAP:	I	II (5 prières)	III (post-baptismal)

Plusieurs questions peuvent se poser au liturgiste: Quelle a été l'extension originelle de la Diataxe? Faut-il attribuer le tout au pa-

triarche Méthode ou bien peut-on supposer des ajouts postérieurs? Quelle était la praxis de réadmission des apostats avant la parution du règlement de Méthode? Avant de hasarder une réponse nous allons présenter les textes des mss de la tradition constantinopolitaine, avec quelque apport de trois anciens mss de Grottaferrata: Gb4 (X s.), Gb2 (X-XI s.) et Gb11 (XII s.)(8); ensuite nous jetterons un regard d'ensemble sur les nombreux euchologes, plus tardifs et d'origine périphérique, de la «Description» de Dmitrievskij. Seulement alors, en guise de conclusion, nous pourrons présenter quelques hypothèses sur l'histoire de la Diataxe de Méthode.

(8) Auxquels il faut ajouter, cela va de soi, un des protagonistes de ce travail: le fameux Gb1 (BES). Mais de très anciens mss de Grottaferrata, comme Gb7 (IX-X s., cf. édit. PASSARELLI), Gb10 (X s.), Gb5 (XI), Gb8 (XII), Gb15 (XII-XIV), Gb13 (XIII), Gb14 (XIII), Gb6 (XIII-XIV), Gb12 (XIV), etc., sont muets à propos des apostats, de même que les très anciens BAR et POR. Les mss grecs de l'Italie Méridionale (dont ceux de Grottaferrata ne sont qu'une partie) constituent un précieux témoignage des différentes traditions byzantino-orientales importées par les vagues successives d'émigrants, qui, provenant de la Syrie, de l'Anatolie ou de la Grèce, ont trouvé refuge à diverses époques dans les accueillantes Apulie, Calabre et Sicile; les scriptoria italiques, en multipliant les copies des codex importés, ont contribué à la diffusion en Italie de ces traditions hybrides. A cette large catégorie d'euchologes «italo-grecs» appartiennent des mss importants, pour l'essentiel constantinopolitains, comme BAR et POR, desquels se rapproche curieusement l'Euchologe slave du Sinaï (ESS). Le fait que tous ces mss aient été copiés en Italie (sinon à l'Olympe de Bythinie ou sur la Montagne Noire) n'a pas finalement beaucoup d'importance: ce qui intéresse le liturgiste qui étudie les mss italiques antérieurs au XIIIème siècle, est leur témoignage sur une praxis composite, où, à côté des rites les plus importants, et les plus nombreux aussi, de la tradition constantinopolitaine archaïque (vraisemblablement antérieure à l'iconoclasme) on découvre des emprunts à des traditions qui étaient probablement en vigueur chez les Chalcédoniens orientaux avant la byzantinisation progressive du Proche-Orient. Les éléments empruntés par contre — en général à des époques plus récentes — à des traditions locales latines ne sont ni nombreux ni importants. Mais seulement l'étude de chacun de ces mss «italiens», en distinguant bien les éléments constantinopolitains des orientaux et des latins, maintenant que nous connaissons un peu mieux la tradition constantinopolitaine elle-même, permettra d'arriver à des conclusions définitives sur l'originalité ou la dépendance de chacune des pièces euchologiques des codex en question.

I: NORMES DE RÉINTÉGRATION DES APOSTATS:

D): TITRE ET ATTRIBUTION:

Disposition du très saint patriarche Méthode
sur les différentes circonstances et âge des convertis:

Da): LES ENFANTS APOSTATS:

1 Si un enfant a été capturé
2 et a renié (la foi) par peur, inconscience (1) ou ignorance,
3 qu'il reçoive les «prières d'expiation» pendant huit jours,
4 que le huitième (jour) il soit lavé
5 et (qu'en sortant) du bain, revêtu d'un (simple) linge
6 il soit oint avec le myron comme les baptisés
7 et porte des vêtements nouveaux à la manière des baptisés.

(1) BES ROM: «agonie» à la place d'«inconscience».

Db): ADULTES AYANT ÉTÉ FORCÉS À APOSTASIER:

1 Dans le cas de jeunes gens ou d'adultes ou de vieillards d'âge mûr,
2 s'ils s'ont renié sous la torture,
3 ils doivent être objet de philanthropie:

I: NORMES DE RÉINTÉGRATION DES APOSTATS:

D): BES 104v (STA 228, cf. GOA 692, cf. ROM 473),
[COI 132 (MAJ 316, cf. DMI 1026), EBE 235; Grott. Gb4: 130v],
(cf. GOA 689, ZER 591, PAP 448):

(104v) Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου διάταξις
περὶ τῶν διαφό⟨ρῳ⟩ τρόπ⟨ῳ⟩ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπιστρεφόντων (1).

(1) Gb4: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντ⟨ινου⟩πόλ⟨εως⟩ διαταγὴ πρὸς χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας μὲν ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ, ἐπιστρέψαντες δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς δραμόντ⟨ας⟩ (cf. infra rubrique de [D3])

Da): BES 104v (STA 228, cf. GOA 692, cf. ROM 473),
[COI 132 (MAJ 316) (cf. DMI 1027), EBE 235;
Grott. Gb4: 130v],
(cf. GOA 689, ZER 591, PAP 448):

1 (104v) Εἰ μὲν παιδίον συνελήφθη
2 καὶ ἠρνήσατο ἢ φόβῳ καὶ «ἀγνοίᾳ» (1) καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ·
3 ὁ τοιοῦτος λαμβανέτω ἱλαστικὰς εὐχὰς ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας
4 καὶ τῇ ὀγδόῃ λουέσθω·
5 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ λεντίῳ περιζωσθεὶς
6 χρισθήτω μύρῳ ὡς (2) οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι (3)
7 καὶ φορεσάτω ἱμάτια καινὰ κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν βαπτιζομένων (4).

(1) ἀγονοίᾳ BES: ἀγωνίᾳ ROM.
(2) ὡς: καθῶς εἰώθασιν Gb4.
(3) χρίεσθαι ad Gb4.
(4) τ.τ.β.: τάξιν τῶν φωτιζομένων Gb4.

Db): BES 104v (STA 228, cf. GOA 692, cf. ROM 473),
[COI 132v (MAJ 316, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 235;
Grott. Gb4: 130v],
(cf. GOA 689, ZER 591, PAP 448):

1 (104v) Εἰ δὲ νεανίαι εἶεν ἢ πρεσβύτεροι ἢ γέροντες τέλειοι τὴν ἡλικίαν·
2 εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ βασάνων ἠρνήσαντο·
3 τυχέτωσαν φιλανθρωπίας·

4 à part qu'ils jeûnent deux quarantaines,
5 fréquentant (les heures de) la prière et faisant des prostrations et de continuelles supplications.
6 A l'approche de la fin des deux quarantaines,
7 qu'il reçoivent les «prières d'expiation» pendant huit jours
8 et disent chaque jour 100 Κύριε ἐλέησον.
9 Après quoi qu'ils soient lavés
10 et soient oints avec le myron d'après la disposition déjà dite,
11 et lorsqu'on célèbre la (divine) liturgie qu'ils soient jugés dignes des (dons) sanctifiés
12 et pendant huit jours ils fréquentent comme les baptisés l'église et la liturgie.

Dc1): ADULTES AYANT APOSTASIÉ LIBREMENT: ancienne discipline (BES COI EBE ROM):

1 Dans le cas de ceux qui sont venus de leur plein gré au reniement:
2 ceux-là ont une pénitence redoutable,
3 mais par compassion qu'ils jeûnent deux ans,
4 s'abstenant de viande, de laitages, d'œufs et de vin,
5 faisant chaque jour s'ils sont jeunes et forts 100 prostrations

4 πλὴν νηστευέτωσαν (1) δὺο τεσσαρακοστάς,
5 σχολάζοντες προσευχαῖς καὶ (2) ἐκτελοῦντες γονυκλισίας καὶ ἐκτενεῖς δεήσεις.
6 Ἐγγίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν δύο τεσσαρακοστῶν,
7 ἐπὶ Η' ἡμέρας δεχέσθωσαν ἱλαστικὰς εὐχάς,
8 καὶ (3) λεγέτωσαν καθ'ἑκάστην (4) / BES 105 / τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον Ρ'.
9 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λουέσθωσαν
10 καὶ χριέσθωσαν τῷ (5) μύρῳ κατά τὴν προειρημένην διάταξιν (6),
11 καὶ γινομένης λειτουργίας (7) ἀξιούσθωσαν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων (8),
12 σχολάζοντες καθῶς καὶ οἱ φωτιζόμενοι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ τὰς Η' ἡμέρας.

(1) διὰ παντὸς ad Gb4.
(2) κ. om Gb4.
(3) ὑπὸ τῶν συνευρισκομένων πάντων τῶν ἐξιλασκομένων κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ad Gb4.
(4) κ.ἑ.: ἐκτενῶς Gb4.
(5) Κ.μ.τ.λ.κ.χ.τ.: Καὶ ὡς ἀνωτέρω διεταξάμεθα· λουσάσθωσαν καὶ χρισάσθωσαν Gb4.
(6) διάταξιν: διαταγήν Gb4.
(7) γ.λ.: τῆς θείας λειτουργίας γινομένης Gb4.
(8) α.: ἁγίων μυστηρίων Gb4.

Dc1): BES 105 (STA 228, cf. GOA 692, cf. ROM 473),
[COI 132v (MAJ 316, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 235v,
Grott. Gb4: 131;
cf. Vatopedi 134/745: f. 340v ss = DMI 775]:

1 (105) Εἰ δέ τινες ηὐτομόλησαν ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως (1) πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν·
2 οἱ τοιοῦτοι κανόνα μὲν φοβερὸν ἔχουσιν,
3 ἀλλὰ διὰ συμπάθειαν ἐπὶ δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς νηστευέτωσαν
4 ἀπεχόμενοι κρεῶν καὶ τυροφαγίας καὶ ᾠῶν καὶ οἴνου,
5 (2) ποιοῦντες γονυκλισίας εἰ μὲν νέοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἰσχυροὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν (3) Ρ',

(1) η.ἀ.π.: ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως ηὐτομόλησαν Gb4.
(2) καὶ ad Gb4.
(3) μετανοίας ad Gb4.

6 et disant 200 Κύριε ἐλέησον;
7 et s'ils en sont incapables, d'après leurs forces.
8 Accomplies les deux années,
qu'ils reçoivent les «prières d'expiation» pendant huit jours,
9 et leur soit fait le reste comme disposé auparavant,
10 qu'ils soient hommes ou femmes,
à condition qu'ils soient des adultes.

Dc2): ADULTES AYANT APOSTASIÉ LIBREMENT:
discipline récente (mss du XV-XVI s., GOA etc.):

1 Dans le cas de ceux qui sont venus de plein gré
au reniement,
2 s'ils se convertissent nous les recevons,
3 mais ils ne participent pas aux divins mystères
sinon à la fin de leur vie,
4 d'après le canon 73 de Basile le grand: «Celui qui a renié le Christ et violé le mystère du salut doit (le) pleurer et le reconnaître pendant toute sa vie, mais au moment de quitter cette vie il est jugé digne de la communion par la foi dans la philanthropie de Dieu».

II: LES 4 PRIÈRES D'EXPIATION:

[D1]: I PRIÈRE:

Prière d'expiation pour celui qui du reniement fait retour
à notre foi:
1 Tu es juste Seigneur et droits sont tes jugements:

6 καὶ Σ' τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον (4),
7 εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατοι· κατὰ δύ⟨ναμιν⟩ (5).
8 Πληρουμένων δὲ τῶν Β' ἐνιαυτῶν, πρὸ ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν (6) λαμβανέτωσαν ἱλαστικὰς εὐχὰς,
9 καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ὡς προτέτακται γινέσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (7),
10 εἴτε ἄνδρες εἶεν εἴτε γυναῖκες, μόνον τέλειοι τὴν ἡλικίαν (8).

(4) Ε' τ.Κ.ἐ.: Κύριε ἐλέησον Σ' Gb4.
(5) εἰ... δύναμιν om Gb4.
(6) π.ὀ.ἡ. om Gb4.
(7) καὶ... ἐπ'α.: ἅς προτέτακται γενέσθωσαν καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς Gb4.
(8) Vatop. ad ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν χρόνον μὴ ἐπιλανθανέσθωσαν τὸ τοσοῦτον ἁμάρτημα καὶ ἀμελῶς διακείσθωσαν, ἀλλ'ἐν κατανύξει καὶ συντριμμῷ καρδίας ὁδευέτωσαν ἐπικαλούμενοι διὰ παντὸς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλεον.

Dc2): GOA 689, cf. ZER 591, cf. PAP 448
[cf. Vatopedi 12 (XV s.) et 985 (XVI s.) = PAP]:

1 Εἰ δέ τινες ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν,
2 ἐπιστρέψοντας μὲν τούτους δεχόμεθα,
3 τῶν δὲ θείων μυστηρίων οὐ μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν,
4 κατὰ τὸν ΟΓ' κανόνα τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου· Ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνησάμενος καὶ παραβὰς τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον, ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν ὀφείλει καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ ἐκβαίνει τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἀξιούμενος πίστει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.

II: LES 4 PRIÈRES D'EXPIATION:

[D1]: BES 105 (STA 229, cf. ROM 473),
[COI 133 (MAJ 317, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 235v;
cf. Grott. Gb4: 131v],
(cf. GOA 689, ZER 592, PAP 449):

(105) Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ ἱλασμοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ ἀρνήσεως ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν (1).
1 Δίκαιος εἶ Κύριε καὶ εὐθεῖς αἱ κρίσεις σου·

(1) Εὐχὴ Α' ἱλασμοῦ ⟨εἰς⟩ τοὺς ἀπ' ἀρνήσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας Gb4.

2 puisque tu n'as pas agi envers nous selon nos péchés,
3 ni nous as rendu d'après nos iniquités,
4 car c'est en transgressant tes commandements
5 que nous nous sommes livrés à la mort:
6 mais toi, comme maître miséricordieux,
7 qui sait combien fatale est notre ruine
8 et comment la mort s'imposant (nous) engloutit:
9 t'attendrissant sur nous tu as voulu sauver ta créature:
10 prenant forme d'esclave et embrassant la mort
11 tu as restauré ton image
12 et nous ayant délivré du pouvoir de la mort,
13 tu nous as montré la voie du salut:
14 la divine renaissance par l'opération de ton saint Esprit,
15 et (ainsi) sauvés par ta grâce nous louons ton économie
16 et te prions et supplions:
17 lors de ta seconde venue
18 - dans laquelle tu jugeras les vivants et les morts
19 et donneras à chacun selon ses œuvres —
20 souviens-toi de ta pitié, car elle est éternelle
21 et passant par-dessus nos offenses humaines,
22 accorde l'expiation à ceux qui la demandent,
23 et pardonne-nous toute faute
24 volontaire et involontaire, en connaissance ou par ignorance,
25 puisqu'il n'y a pas d'homme qui vive sans pécher
26 même si sa vie ne dure qu'un jour:
27 car qui pourra se vanter d'avoir le cœur pur?
28 ou qui dira franchement qu'il est exempt de souillure?
29 car devant toi nous avons tous péché par parole ou par action
30 et nous sommes dépouillés de ta gloire,
31 espérant être justifiés devant ton terrible et effrayant tribunal,
32 non par œuvre de justice
33 - car nous n'avons rien fait de bon sur la terre —,
34 mais par la vraie foi et la profession de la croyance en toi,
35 car te reconnaître est parfaite justification
36 et expérimenter ta force est source d'immortalité,

2 οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησας ἡμῖν,
3 οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν·
4 παραβάντες (2) γὰρ τὰς ἐντολάς σου,
5 ἑαυτοὺς παρεδώκαμεν τῷ θανάτῳ·
6 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εὔσπλαγχνος δεσπότης
7 εἰδὼς τὴν καταστροφὴν ἡμῶν ὅτι πονηρὰ
8 καὶ ὅτι / 105v / κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας·
9 σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμὰς σῶσαι εὐδόκησας τὸ σὸν πλάσμα
10 μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συμπλακεὶς
11 ἀνεκαλέσω τὴν σὴν εἰκόνα
12 καὶ ἐλευθερώσας ἡμᾶς (3) τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ θανάτου
13 ὑπέδειξας ἡμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας·
14 τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος θείαν ἀναγέννησιν,
15 καὶ σωθέντες τῇ σῇ χάριτι ἀνυμνοῦμεν τὴν σὴν οἰκονομίαν
16 καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν·
17 ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ σου παρουσίᾳ
18 καθ' ἣν μέλλεις κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς
19 καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ·
20 μνήσθητι τοῦ ἐλέους σου ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐστί,
21 καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἡμῶν (4) πλημμελήματα
22 παράσχου ἱλασμὸν αἰτουμένοις σε
23 καὶ συγχώρησον ἡμῖν πᾶν παράπτωμα
24 ἑκούσιον καὶ ἀκούσιον, ἐν γνώσει τὲ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ·
25 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσει·
26 οὐδὲ εἰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας γένηται ὁ βίος αὐτῷ·
27 τὶς γὰρ καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν;
28 ἢ τὶς παρρησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ρύπου;
29 πάντες γὰρ εἴτε λόγοις εἴτε ἔργοις ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου
30 καὶ / 106 / ὑστερούμεθα τῆς σῆς δόξης,
31 ἐλπίζοντες δικαιωθήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ φρικτοῦ βήματός σου,
32 οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοσύνης·
33 οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσαμέν τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
34 ἀλλ' ἐκ πίστεως (5) ἀληθοῦς καὶ τῆς εἰς σὲ ὁμολογίας,
35 τὸ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαί σε· ὁλόκληρος δικαιοσύνη,
36 καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι σου τὸ κράτος· ρίζα ἀθανασίας,

(2) παραβαίνοντες EBE.
(3) ἡ. om EBE.
(4) ἡ. om EBE.
(5) ἀ.ἐ.π. bis EBE.

37 et nous savons, confessons et croyons
38 que tu es celui qui nous fais passer du non-être à l'existence,
39 qui as pitié de ceux qui tombent,
40 qui supportes ceux qui pèchent,
41 qui donnes la vie (à ceux qui viennent) de la mort,
42 et nous te supplions Seigneur notre Dieu:
43 si devant toi nous avons péché en quelche chose
44 - en tant qu'êtres charnels et mondains
45 et entourés de faiblesse que nous sommes —
46 soit en parole ou en action ou en pensée:
47 toi-même comme maître bon philanthrope et miséricordieux,
48 relâche, remets, ignore et pardonne nos fautes
49 et ne calcule pas ni veuilles entrer en jugement
avec tes serviteurs
50 parce qu'aucun vivant ne se justifiera devant toi:
51 puisque tu es le seul sans péché
52 et celui qui accueilles les repentants («pénitents»)
53 et à toi pour toute chose nous rendons gloire
et action de grâces,
54 avec ton Père qui n'a pas de commencement
et ton vivifiant Esprit,
55 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles des siècles.
Amen.

Prière pénitentielle de contenu générique ne supposant pas explicitement le péché d'apostasie. Elle ne semble pas destinée à une personne ni même à une catégorie spéciale de pécheurs, et par son contenu pourrait très bien n'avoir été qu'une prière collective, qui aurait pu être dite, par exemple lors d'une procession pénitentielle ou λιτή, à l'occasion d'une calamité publique. Dans le n. 22 fait son apparition le mot spécifique ἱλασμόν qui semble être un des mots-clef de la Diataxe, mais qui pourrait n'être qu'une référence à I Jn 2:2 ou 4:10, où le Christ lui-même est notre expiation. Au n. 23 le verbe συγχώρησον est génériquement appliqué à ἡμῖν et n'a pas le caractère de rémission totale et définitive qu'il a ailleurs, dans d'autres textes pénitentiels, comme par exemple au n. 48, où il se trouve dans la suite ἄνες, ἄφες, (πάριδε,) συγχώρησον, commune aussi à l'anaphore de Jacques. Déjà Goar (539) avait remarqué le sens absolutoire que possédaient ces trois verbes, sur lesquels nous pensons revenir dans notre prochain article consacré aux prières pénitentielles. L'allure générale de la prière, traçant l'histoire du péché et du salut depuis l'incarnation jusqu'au second avènement, se rapproche des prières «post-sanctus» de la tradition antiochienne. Les parenthèses continuelles donnent au texte, déja prolixe sans celà, une pesanteur rédactionnelle qui suggère une date de composition plutôt tardive. Si cette prière est née à Byzance, elle pourrait bien être de l'époque de la Diataxe elle-même, du IX siècle.

37 καὶ οἴδαμεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν,
38 ὅτι σὺ ὁ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν ἡμᾶς,
39 καὶ παραπεσόντας ἐλεῶν,
40 καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας φέρων
41 καὶ ἐκ θανάτου ζωοποιῶν,
42 καὶ δεόμεθά σου Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν·
43 εἴ τι ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου,
44 ὡς σάρκα φορέσαντες καὶ κόσμον οἰκήσαντες
45 καὶ ἀσθένειαν περικείμενοι·
46 εἴτε λόγοις εἴτε ἔργοις εἴτε ἐνθυμήμασιν·
47 αὐτὸς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων δεσπότης·
48 ἄνες, ἄφες, πάριδε καὶ συγχώρησον τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν
49 καὶ μὴ λογίσῃ μὴ δὲ εἰσέλθῃς εἰς κρίσιν
μετὰ τῶν δούλων σου·
50 ὅτι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν·
51 ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος
52 καὶ δεχόμενος τοὺς μετανοοῦντας,
53 καὶ σοὶ τὴν ἐπὶ / 106v / πᾶσι δόξαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν
ἀναπέμπομεν
54 σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι,
55 νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς (6) αἰῶνας τῶν (αἰώνων.
Ἀμήν. ad COI)

(6) hic desinit EBE.

[D2]: II PRIÈRE:

Autre prière d'expiation
après avoir dit les psaumes 50, 37 et 102 (1):
1 Maître Seigneur notre Dieu,
2 qui as confié les clefs de ton royaume
3 à Pierre le coryphée de tes apôtres (2)
4 et sur lui as édifié ta sainte Église,
5 lui ayant donné aussi par le moyen de ta grâce le pouvoir
6 de lier et de délier sur la terre:
7 écoute-nous maintenant aussi, nous les indignes qui t'invoquons
8 pour l'expiation de ton serviteur ici présent
9 et rends magnifiques sur lui tes misericordes
10 toi qui sauves ceux qui espèrent en toi:
11 car tu es Seigneur, celui qui a dit
12 par les lèvres porteuses de divinité de tes prophètes:
13 «Revenez vers moi et je reviendrai à vous»,
14 et aussi: «Je ne désire pas tant la mort du pécheur,
15 mais bien plutôt qu'il revienne et vive»:
16 toi-même donc, le philanthrope:
17 à ton serviteur ici présent, qui revient d'un faux chemin
18 et qui te demande l'expiation,
19 ne le renvoie-pas,
20 mais visite-le avec pitié
21 et rappelle-le de nouveau avec miséricorde:
22 car tu es le Dieu des repentants («pénitents»)
23 et le sauveur de ceux qui reviennent à toi
24 et à toi nous rendons gloire et action de grâces,
25 au Père et au Fils et au saint Esprit,
26 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles des siècles.
Amen.

(1) Cette rubrique sur les psaumes est omise pas GOA etc.
(2) «à tes saints disciples et sacrés apôtres»: ZER PAP.

Cette prière, qui dans les mss commence par une référence aux clefs remises à Pierre (aux apôtres, corrigent les éditions orthodoxes récentes ZER PAP) et donc à l'autorité canonique de l'Église, est une vraie prière de réconciliation pour un converti qui s'était égaré dans la fausse voie, même si on ne fait pas mention explicite de l'apostasie. Dans la prière on demande deux fois (nn. 8 et 18) l'ἱλασμόν pour une personne concrète. Son style est bien celui des prières concises et précises de l'Euchologe, où ne manque pas une petite

[D2]: BES 106v (STA 230, cf. ROM 475),
[COI 134 (MAJ 318, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 237],
(cf. GOA 690, ZER 593, PAP 450):

(106v) Εὐχὴ ἄλλη εἰς ἱλασμόν·
μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ψαλμ⟨ὸν⟩ Ν′ ⟨καὶ⟩ ΛΖ′ ⟨καὶ⟩ ΡΒ′ (1).
1 Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν
2 ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας σου
3 Πέτρῳ τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων σου (2) κατεμπιστεύσας,
4 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ (3) τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομήσας
5 καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ (4) ἐξουσίαν διὰ τῆς σῆς χάριτος
6 τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν (5) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
7 ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ νῦν τῶν ἀναξίων ἐπικαλουμένων σε
8 ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παρόντος δούλου σου ἱλασμῷ
9 καὶ θαυμάστωσον τὰ ἐλέη σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ·
10 ὁ σώζων τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σέ·
11 σὺ γὰρ εἶπας Κύριε
12 διὰ θεοφορουμένων χειλέων τῶν προφητῶν σου·
13 Ἐπιστράφητε πρός με καὶ ἐπιστραφήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
14 καὶ τό· Οὐ θελήσει θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ
15 ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆσαι αὐτόν·
16 αὐτὸ⟨ς⟩ οὖν φιλάνθρωπε,
17 καὶ τὸν παρόντα δοῦλον σου ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφοντα
18 καὶ αἰτούμενον παρὰ σοῦ ἱλασμὸν
19 μὴ ἀποστραφῆς,
20 ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλέει ἐπίσκεψαι,
21 καὶ ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς ἀνακάλεσαι·
22 ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ τῶν μετανοούντων Θεός,
23 καὶ τῶν πρὸς / 107 / σέ ἐπιστρεφόντων σωτήρ,
24 καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν (6) ἀναπέμπομεν
25 τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ (7) Πνεύματι,
26 νῦν καὶ ἀεί (καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. ad COI)

(1) καὶ bis add COI EBE; εἰς... ΡΒ′ omm GOA ZER PAP.
(2) Π.τ.κ.τ.ἀ.σ.: τοῖς σοῖς ἁγίοις μαθηταῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀποστόλοις ZER PAP.
(3) α.: αὐτοῖς ZER PAP.
(4) α.: αὐτοῖς ZER PAP.
(5) τὰ add GOA ZER PAP.
(6) κ.ε. om EBE.
(7) hic desinit EBE.

allusion anamnétique et même une citation biblique (*locus theologicus*), par laquelle Dieu devrait en quelque sorte se sentir obligé à agir dans le même sens dans la présente situation. Étant donné le silence des mss cette prière n'aurait pas dû jouir d'une très grande diffusion.

[D3]: III PRIÈRE:

Prière pour des chrétiens qui, tombés dans l'erreur païenne se convertissent et recourent à l'Église de Dieu:

1 Seigneur Seigneur,
2 créateur et maître de toute chose,
3 source de la bonté,
4 sauveur de tous les hommes mais spécialement des croyants,
5 qui n'as point méprisé l'homme
6 entraîné par l'habileté du diable dans l'abîme de la perdition et de l'erreur,
7 mais qui par l'incarnation salvifique de ton Fils unique et notre Dieu
8 l'as recherché et sauvé et ramené à toi:
9 toi-même Maître philanthrope,

[D3]: BES 107 (STA 231, cf. ROM 475),
[COI 134v (MAJ 319, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 237v, SEV 115v,
SIN 65 (cf. DMI 47), cf. Grott. Gb2: 136, Gb4: 132v,
Gb11: 14, cf. Antonin: f. 28 = DMI 190],
(cf. ESS 23; cf. GOA 690, ZER 594, PAP 450):

(107) Εὐχ⟨ή⟩ (1) πρὸς χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ· ἐπιστρέψαντας δὲ ⟨καὶ⟩ (2) τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (3) προσδραμόντας (4)·

1 Κύριε Κύριε
2 ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων (5) ποιητῆς καὶ δεσπότης (6)
3 ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἀγαθότητος,
4 ὁ σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· μάλιστα πιστῶν,
5 ὁ μὴ παριδὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον
6 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου πανουργίας εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας καὶ πλάνης κατενεχθέντα (7)
7 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν
8 τοῦτον ἀναζητήσας (8) καὶ σώσας καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναγαγών·
9 αὐτὸς Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε,

(1) γινομένη ad SIN.
(2) καὶ add COI EBE.
(3) τ.Θ. omm COI EBE.
(4) προς... προσδραμόντας: ἐπὶ χριστιανῷ ὑπαχθέντι ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ ἐπιστρέξαντα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσδραμόντα SEV: ἐπὶ χριστιανὸν ὑπαχθέντα μὲν ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ ἐπιστρέψαντα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς έν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Gb2: β' εἰς τὸ αυτό Gb4: ἐπὶ μιαροφαγησάντων καὶ μαγαρισάντων Gb11: ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων εἰς ἔθνος DMI-190.
(5) K.K.τ.ἀ.: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντων SEV: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν ἅπάντων Gb2: G/i B/zhe vsjem» tvor'che i vl/ko ESS.
(6) πάσης κτίσεως ad DMI-190.
(7) κ.: καταχθέντα SEV.
(8) ἀναζητῆσαι EBE.

10 regarde maintenant ce serviteur à toi,
11 qui est une brebis du troupeau spirituel de ton Christ
12 qu'il a libéré de la captivité des ennemis athées,
13 avec lesquels par ignorance enfantine ou violence tyrannique
14 est passé aux habitudes de leur erreur:
15 mais maintenant que tu l'as jugé digne d'être solidement rattaché à la communauté de ton peuple,
16 éclaire sa raison avec la force et l'énergie
17 de ton très saint Esprit
18 afin que l'étincelle du baptême salutaire restée dans son âme
19 reprenant par les brises de ta grâce
20 éclate spirituellement en une flamme spirituelle,
21 et que le sceau sur lui imprimé
22 apparaisse plus marqué,
23 imprimant (tu) dans son cœur et dans ses pensées,
24 par le moyen du signe de la croix de ton Christ,
25 l'espérance en toi et la connaissance de la vérité,
26 pour qu'il te connaisse et t'adore,
27 toi, le seul vrai Dieu et Père,
28 et ton Fils unique notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ
29 et son saint Esprit:

10 κατὰ (9) νῦν ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλον σου τοῦτον,
11 πρόβατον τῆς λογικῆς ποίμνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπάρχοντα,
12 ὃν ἐλυτρώσω τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῶν ἀθέων ἐχθρῶν
13 μεθ' ὧν ἀγνοίᾳ παιδικῇ ἢ (10) βίᾳ τυραννικῇ
14 τὰ τῆς (11) ἐκείνων πλάνης (12) ἔθη μετήρχετο·
15 νῦν δὲ (13) κατηξίωσας αὐτὸν τῇ (14) τοῦ λαοῦ σου πολιτείᾳ
(15) συνενωθῆναι·
16 κατάλαμψον αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ
17 τοῦ / 107v / παναγίου σου Πνεύματος (16),
18 ὥστε τὸν ἐναποκείμενον (17) τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ σπινθῆρα
τοῦ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος,
19 ταῖς αὔραις τῆς (18) χάριτος ἀναρριπισθέντα (19)
20 εἰς φλόγα πνευματικὴν (20) νοητῶς ἐξαφθῆναι (21)
21 καὶ τὴν ἐνοσημανθεῖσαν αὐτῷ (22) σφραγῖδα
22 ἐκτυπώτερον ἐπιφαίνεσθαι (23),
23 ἐντυπῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς (24)
24 διὰ τῆς σημειώσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ (25) τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου
25 τὴν εἰς σὲ ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν (26) τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν,
26 ἵνα γινώσκῃ καὶ προσκυνῇ σὲ
27 τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα
28 καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
29 καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον (27)

(9) κ.: καὶ τὰ COI EBE SEV SIN DMI-190.
(10) ἢ: καὶ SEV SIN.
(11) τ. om SEV.
(12) π. om SEV.
(13) ν.δ.: καὶ SEV SIN.
(14) τ.: πάλιν τῆς SEV SIN.
(15) πολιτείας SEV SIN.
(16) τῇ... Πνεύματος: τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Πνεύματι SEV SIN.
(17) ἀποκείμενον SEV SIN.
(18) σῆς add SEV SIN.
(19) ἀναριπισθῆναι SEV SIN.
(20) καὶ ad SEV.
(21) ἐπ' αὐτῷ add SEV SIN.
(22) ἐ.α.: τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος SEV SIN.
(23) ἐ.: φαίνεσθαι EBE, SEV SIN add αὐτῷ.
(24) α.κ.τ.λ.: κ.τ.λ.α. SEV.
(25) τ.σ. om SEV.
(26) τ. omm SEV SIN.
(27) Π.σ.τ.ἅ.: ἅ.σ.Π. SEV SIN.

30 unis-le à ta sainte Église catholique et apostolique,
31 écarte de sa raison tout habitude d'athéisme païen,
32 et le conduisant à pratiquer dignement tes commandements,
33 rends-le digne de la communion irréprochable
de tes salutaires mystères
34 et dans la vie à venir, de ton règne céleste:
35 car tu es notre Dieu,
36 un Dieu qui a pitié et qui sauve,
37 et à toi nous rendons gloire,
38 au Père et au Fils et au saint Esprit.

Cette prière, avec son titre caractéristique et un peu rhétorique, figure comme prière unique et indépendante, en dehors de toute diataxe, dans deux anciens mss «constantinopolitains» (SEV et SIN), dans le vénérable ESS, ainsi que dans un grand nombre de mss périphériques. Elle est assez fréquente aussi à l'intérieur ou à la suite de différentes diataxes archaïques. Par son contenu et son style la prière semble ancienne; elle est spécifiquement destinée à des apostats: aussi bien enfants ignorants qu'adultes forcés (n. 13); mais elle n'envisage pas le cas des apostats volontaires. La prière prévoit que, comme effet de la conversion, l'étincelle du baptême, assoupie dans le cœur de l'apostat, reprenne grâce au souffle divin et que le sceau (de la confirmation) devienne plus marqué par le signe de la croix; nulle allusion cependant à une nouvelle onction, mais bien à la réintégration dans l'Église et à la communion aux saints mystères. Nulle part n'apparaît le mot ἱλασμός.

[D4]: IV PRIÈRE:

Prière pour un enfant qui a apostasié, s'est contaminé
et qui fait pénitence:
1 Seigneur Dieu tout-puissant,
2 Père de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ,
3 qui veux que tous les hommes se sauvent
4 et arrivent à la connaissance de la vérité,
5 qui à cause de la brebis perdue

30 ἕνωσον αὐτὸν (28) τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ
καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
31 ἀπόστησον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ (29) διανοίας πᾶσαν συνήθειαν
ἐθνικῆς ἀθεότητος (30)
32 καὶ κατευθύνας (31) αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀξίως τῶν ἐντολῶν σου
πορεύεσθαι (32)
33 καὶ τῆς τῶν σωτηρίων (33) σου μυστηρίων
ἀκατακρίτου μεταλήψεως καταξίωσον (34),
34 καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ· τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας (35).
35 (36) Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν·
36 Θεὸς τοῦ ἐλεεῖν καὶ (37) σῴζειν
37 καὶ (σοὶ τὴν δόξαν add COI EBE SEV, ἀναπέμπομεν·
38 τῷ Πατρὶ add COI EBE, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ ad COI)

(28) ἕ.α.: ἐν SEV SIN.
(29) ἑ: αὐτοῦ COI
(30) ἀπόστησον... ἀθεότητος: καὶ πάσης ἐθνικῆς ἀθεότητος συνήθειαν ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ SEV: καὶ πᾶσαν ἐθνικῆς ἀθεότητος συνήθειαν ἀπόστησον τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας SIN.
(31) κ.κ.: κατεύθηνον SEV SIN.
(32) τοῦ... πορεύεσθαι: ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς σου καὶ τοῖς προστάγμασίν σου πολιτεύεσθαι SEV SIN.
(33) σ.: θείων SEV SIN.
(34) ἀ.μ.κ.: ἀκατακρίτως καταξίωσον μεταλήψεως SEV: ἀκατακρίτως ἀξιοῦσθαι μεταλήψεως SIN.
(35) ἀξιωθῆναι ad SEV: μέτοχον ἀναδειχθῆναι SIN.
(36) Ἐκφώ. add COI SIN.
(37) hic desinit SIN.

[D4]: BES 107v (STA 232, cf. ROM 476),
[COI 135 (MAJ 320, cf. DMI 1027), EBE 238v;
cf. Grott. Gb2: 137v ubi plures differentiae],
(cf. GOA 691, ZER 595, PAP 451):

(107v) Εὐχ⟨ὴ⟩ ἐπὶ ἀποστατήσαντος παιδὸς καὶ μαγαρίσαντος
καὶ μετανοοῦντος·
1 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
2 ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου / BES 108 / ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
3 ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι
4 καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν,
5 ὁ διὰ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον

6 as envoyé dans le monde ton Fils unique
7 comme sauveur et rédempteur,
8 pour qu'il recherche et recouvre ton image:
9 nous te prions et te supplions:
10 accueille ton serviteur N.
11 qui recourt à tes miséricordes
12 et qui étant enfant avait eu la foi droite et pure
13 grâce au saint baptême,
14 et qui étant déchu de celle-ci en raison du jeune âge
ou d'autre quelconque circonstance,
15 fait maintenant retour
16 et par la pénitence et l'instruction
17 court de nouveau vers ta bonté:
18 verse sur lui la tendresse de ta philanthropie,
19 accueille-le comme le prodigue
20 qui revient vers toi, Dieu et Père,
21 écarte de lui toute erreur et arrière-pensée de l'ennemi,
22 range-le dans le saint troupeau de tes brebis spirituelles,
23 orne-le maintenant aussi avec la gloire du très saint nom
de ton Christ,
24 fais-le participer avec tous tes fidèles des purs sacrements
25 pour la rémission de ses fautes précédentes,
26 la sécurité du futur
27 et la protection de l'âme et du corps:
28 accorde-lui toujours et partout de se réfugier en toi,
29 de fréquenter tes églises
30 et d'accomplir ce qui t'est agréable,
31 pour que par les bonnes œuvres il se montre héritier
de ton royaume céleste,
32 duquel fais-nous dignes nous aussi ensemble avec lui:
33 par (tes) miséricordes de par la grâce de ton Christ,
34 avec lequel te convient toute gloire, honneur et adoration,

6 τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν ἐξαποστείλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον
7 σωτῆρα καὶ λυτρωτήν,
8 ἵνα τὴν σὴν ἀναζητήσῃ καὶ ἀνασώσῃ εἰκόνα·
9 σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν·
10 πρόσδεξαι τὸν δοῦλον σου τὸνδε
11 τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου προστρέχοντα
12 καὶ τυχόντα τὰ μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀμωμήτου
πρὸς σὲ πίστεως
13 διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος,
14 ἐκπεσόντα δὲ ταύτης διὰ νηπιότητα ἤ τινα ἄλλην περιπέτειαν,
15 ἐπιστρέφοντα δὲ νῦν
16 καὶ διὰ μετανοίας καὶ ἐπιγνώσεως
17 πρὸς τὴν σὴν πάλιν δρομοῦντα χρηστότητα·
18 ἔκχεον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν,
19 προσδεξαι αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν ἄσωτον
20 πρὸς σέ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατῆρα ἐπανακάμπτοντα,
21 ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν πλάνην καὶ ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ,
22 σύνταξον αὐτὸν τῇ τῶν λογικῶν σου προβάτων ἁγίᾳ ποίμνῃ,
23 κόσμησον αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ παναγίου ὀνόματος
τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,
24 μέτοχον ἀπέργασαι σὺν πᾶσι πιστοῖς
τῶν ἀχράντων ἁγιασμάτων σου
25 εἰς ἄφεσιν μεν τῶν προ-/ 108v / γεγονότων (2)
σφαλμάτων αὐτοῦ,
26 ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος
27 καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος·
28 δὸς αὐτῷ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ πρὸς σὲ καταφεύγειν,
29 σχολάζειν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σου,
30 καὶ τὰ εὐάρεστά σοι ἐπιτελεῖν,
31 ἵνα καὶ κληρονόμος δι' ἀγαθοεργίας ἀναφανῇ
τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας,
32 ἧς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσον σὺν αὐτῷ·
33 οἰκτιρμοῖς δια τῆς χάριτος (3) τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,
34 μεθ' οὗ σοὶ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις·

(1) σὺν π.π.τ.ἀ.ἀ.σου: μετὰ πάντων τῶν πιστῶν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου Gb2.

(2) γεγονότων COI.

(3) δ.τ.χ.: καὶ χάριτι COI.

35 au Père et au Fils et au saint Esprit,
36 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles des siècles.
Amen.

Cette prière, qui est la dernière des quatre prières «d'expiation», ne contient pas le mot spécifique ἱλασμός, pas plus que celui de contamination d'ailleurs. Elle se retrouve comme prière indépendante, en dehors de toute diataxe, dans un bon nombre de mss. Parfois elle constitue une diataxe à part à la suite de celle de Méthode. Puisque le terme μαγαρίσαντος du titre semble être un néologisme, les dictionnaires classiques ne pourront guère nous aider à comprendre son sens exact: du contexte historique on peut penser tout d'abord à une contamination religieuse de l'enfant forcé de pratiquer une fausse religion, sans exclure cependant la contamination morale due à un type de violence physique sur la personne, qui dans le Kanonarion pénitentiel du patriarche Jean — duquel nous parlerons dans un travail à suivre — est considérée comme un empêchement à l'ordination sacerdotale.

La prière, qui ne parle ni de contamination ni d'expiation, possède par contre une intéressante description de l'iter du converti (nn. 12-16): l'enfant qui avait été baptisé et qui s'était écarté de la foi, — sans grande responsabilité, paraît-il, de sa part — qui maintenant retourne à l'Église en passant par l'état pénitentiel et en s'instruissant dans la foi, sera réintégré dans le troupeau du Christ (22), recouvrera la gloire du nom de chrétien (23) et pourra participer de nouveau aux purs «hagiasmata» (24) pour la rémission de ses fautes (25). Il est évident que par ἁγιάσματα il faut comprendre les sacrements: la communion en premier lieu (les «dons sanctifiés», avons-nous traduit ailleurs) qui elle-même donne la rémission des péchés, après l'achèvement de la période pénitentielle qui a précédé la récitation de la prière en question; évidemment il ne faut pas penser à une confession auriculaire; faut-il faire entrer dans le hagiasmata le rite même de la chrismation? Sans être évidente, elle ne serait pas exclue du texte de la prière; elle est supposée dans le contexte de la Diataxe de Méthode; mais puisque la prière semble antérieure, et en tout cas indépendante de cette Diataxe, il est bien possible que notre prière ait été récitée sans pratiquer aucune onction.

[D5]: V PRIÈRE: DE KEPHALOKLISIA:

Le diacre dit: (Inclinez-vos) têtes. Le célébrant prie:
1 Toi qui ayant incliné les cieux

35 τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ (4) Πνεύματι,
36 νῦν (καὶ add COI EBE, ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. ad COI)

(4) σοὶ... ἁγίῳ: εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου COI EBE.

= Sequitur in BES 108v (ROM 477) oratio B1/IV ad faciendum ethnicum catechumenum: cf. OCP 1983: 81.

[D5]: COI 136 (MAJ 321, cf. DMI 1027),
[EBE 239, cf. Grott. Gb2: 139 ubi plures differentiae],
(cf. GOA 691, ZER 596, PAP 452):

(COI 136) Εἰρήνη πᾶσι. Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος· Τὰς κεφαλάς, ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς (1).
1 Ὁ κλίνας οὐρανοὺς

(1) Καὶ τοῦ... ἱερευς: Ὁ διάκονος· Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν EBE.

2 es descendu pour le salut du genre humain,
3 qui par ta croix nous as libérés de la malédiction des ancêtres,
4 et nous as reconduit à la vie heureuse,
5 qui as dit qu'il y a de la joie au ciel même
pour un seul pénitent:
6 accueille maintenant aussi la brebis spirituelle perdue
7 et unis-la à ton troupeau;
8 éloigne d'elle les loups rapaces,
9 rends-la digne de piétiner les serpents et les scorpions,
10 gardée par ta croix
11 et protégée par la gloire de ton nom adorable
12 qui a été invoqué par nous tes serviteurs:
13 car tu es notre Dieu,
14 un Dieu qui a pitié et sauve
15 et à toi nous rendons gloire.

Cette prière de kephaloklisia, qui manque dans BES et dans tous les mss plus anciens, mais qui se trouve déjà dans Grottaferrata Gb4, est un très bon complément — et en cela elle remplit bien son rôle de prière de kephaloklisia — aux prières précédentes et spécialement à [D4]. Il s'agit d'un très beau texte pénitentiel de contenu générique et appliquable à n'importe quel pénitent; il ne possède aucune allusion à l'onction qui va suivre, ni à la réception de la communion. Très suggestive l'évocation de la faune hostile au converti: loups, serpents et scorpions, rendus inoffensifs par la croix.

III: RITE DE L'ONCTION:

Dd1): rubrique ancienne (COI EBE):
- Et prenant (le célébrant) le saint myron, signe (le converti)
sur le front, les mains et le pieds, et dit la prière: [D6]

Dd2): autre rubrique ancienne (Gb2):
- Et le célébrant prend le saint myron et le signe
sur le front, la poitrine et les mains.

Dd3): rubrique intermédiaire (Vatopedi 134:340v):
- (après la renonciation à Satan et à Mahomet
et une adhésion au Christ de type baptismal):

2 καὶ καταβὰς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
3 ὁ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου τῆς προγονικῆς κατάρας ἐλευθερώσας ἡμᾶς,
4 καὶ πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἐπαναγαγὼν,
5 ὁ εἰπὼν γίνεσθαι χαρὰν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ (2) ἐφ' ἑνὶ μετανοοῦντι·
6 πρόσδεξαι καὶ νῦν τὸ ἀπολωλὸς σου πρόβατον λογικὸν
7 καὶ τῇ ποιμνῇ σου σύναψον,
8 τοὺς ἁρπάσαντας λύκους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσόβησον,
9 ἀξίωσον αὐτὸν ἐπάνω πατεῖν ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων
10 τειχιζόμενον τῷ σταυρῷ σου
11 καὶ φρουρούμενον τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ σου ὀνόματος
12 τοῦ ἐπικεκλημένου ἡμῖν τοῖς δούλοις σου. (3)
13 Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν·
14 Θεὸς τοῦ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν,
15 καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν (ἀναπ⟨έμπομεν⟩ ad EBE)

(2) ἐπὶ γῆς ad EBE.
(3) Ἐκφώ. ad COI in textu, EBE ut de more in margine.

III: RITE DE L'ONCTION:

Dd1): COI 136 (MAJ 322, cf. DMI 1027) [EBE 239v]:
(COI 136) Καὶ λαμβάνων ἅγιον μύρον
σφραγίζει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας
καὶ εὔχεται·

Dd2): Grott. Gb2: 139v:
Καὶ λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ ἅγιον μύρον καὶ σφραγίζει αὐτὸν
εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ εἰς τὸ στῆθος καὶ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας.

Dd3): Vatopedi 134/745: 340v ss (a.1538) = DMI 775
(après l'abjuration):
Τότε λαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ ἅγιον μύρον σφραγίζει αὐτοῦ

Et alors le célébrant prenant le saint myron, lui signe
le front, les mains et les pieds, ajoutant:
«Sceau du don de l'Esprit saint». Amen.

Dd4): rubrique simplifiée (Vatopedi 134:343):
- Alors il l'interroge sur les renoncements indiqués
et ainsi l'oint avec le myron.

Dd5): Rubrique moderne (GOA ZER PAP):
- Et après la prière, prenant le saint myron il l'oint
selon le rite des baptisés, faisant le signe de croix
sur le front, les yeux, les narines, la bouche,
les deux oreilles, les mains, la poitrine, le dos et les genoux,
en disant: «Sceau du don de l'Esprit saint». Amen.
Et après l'onction il dit cette prière sur sa tête: [D6]

L'onction de COI BES sur le front, les mains et les pieds, sans aucune formule qui l'accompagne, n'est pas une onction post-baptismale. L'ajout de la formule «Sceau du don» à cette même triple onction dans le Vatopedi 134, la fait approcher de l'onction post-baptismale de l'Euchologe de Constantinople, qui cependant prescrivait l'onction du front, des yeux, des narines, de la bouche et des deux oreilles, mais non celle des mains et des pieds; nous avons donné à cette formule le sigle V0A(9). L'onction des imprimés (GOA ZER PAP) est déjà une onction parfaitement post-baptismale, mais non constantinopolitaine (formule V3B, avec l'ajout encore du dos). La rubrique des imprimés est donc la seule à correspondre exactement à la prescription de la Diataxe de suivre le rite des nouveaux baptisés; prescription qui n'est pas respectée par COI et EBE.

[D6]: PRIÈRE APRÈS L'ONCTION:

1 Seigneur Dieu tout-puissant,
2 qui par l'envoi de ton très saint Esprit
3 as rempli de grâce tes saints disciples,

(9) Cf. OCP 1987: 83.

τὸ μέτωπον, τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας
ἐπιλέγων· Σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν·

Dd4): Vatopedi 134/745: 343 = DMI 776:
Εἶτα ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν τὰς προγεγραμμένας ἀποταγὰς
καὶ οὕτως ἀπομυρώνει αὐτον.

Dd5): GOA 692, ZER 596, PAP 452:
Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον μύρον
χρίει αὐτόν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν βαπτιζομένων
ποιῶν σταυροῦ τύπον
ἐπί τε τοῦ μετώπου, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τῶν μυκτήρων,
καὶ τοῦ στόματος, καὶ τῶν δύο ὠτίων,
καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ στήβους, καὶ τῶν μεταφρένων,
καὶ τῶν γονάτων,
λέγων· Σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου (Ἀμήν ad ZER),
καὶ μετὰ τὴν χρίσιν λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην
ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ·

[D6]: COI 136v (MAJ 322, cf. DMI 1027),
[BES 239v; cf. Grott. Gb2: 139v ubi plures differentiae],
(cf. GOA 692, ZER 596, PAP 452):

1 (COI 136v) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
2 ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος
3 χάριτος ἐμπλήσας τοὺς ἁγίους σου μαθητάς,

4 qui as fait revenir ton serviteur N. du chemin erroné
5 l'as acheminé vers la droite foi en toi
6 et l'as fait digne de la bonne odeur de ton saint Esprit
7 par l'onction de ce myron:
8 protège-le dans ta sanctification,
9 accorde-lui de cheminer selon ta volonté
10 et concède-lui de jouir ensemble avec nous
de tes redoutables mystères;
11 et ayant gardé la droite foi en toi,
12 de se montrer digne de ton règne céleste
13 par la grâce de ton Christ:
14 avec lequel te conviennent toute gloire, honneur et adoration:
15 au Père et au Fils et au saint Esprit,
16 maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles.

Cette prière fait allusion à l'onction que l'on vient de conférer et à l'eucharistie qui devrait suivre, peut-être après un certain temps d'épreuve; aucune mention n'est faite ni du baptême ni de l'apostasie, mais seulement du retour du faux chemin.

4 ὁ καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε ἐπιστρέψας
ἐκ τῆς πεπλανημένης ὁδοῦ
5 καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς σὲ πίστιν ὀρθὴν καθοδηγήσας
6 καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος
7 διὰ τῆς τοῦ μύρου τούτου χρίσεως ἀξίωσας·
8 φύλαξον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ σῷ ἁγιασμῷ,
9 δὸς αὐτῷ τοῦ (1) κατὰ τὸ θέλημά σου πορεύεσθαι,
10 καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀπολαύσει γενέσθαι
καὶ τῶν φρικτῶν σου μυστηρίων,
11 καὶ τηρήσαντα τὴν εἰς σὲ πίστιν ὀρθὴν
12 ἐπάξιον φανῆναι καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας
13 διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου·
14 μεθ' οὗ σοὶ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις·
15 τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,
16 νῦν (2) καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

(1) τὸ EBE.
(2) hic desinit EBE.

= Sequitur in COI 136v et EBE 240 oratio B1/IV ad faciendum ethnicum catechumenum.

APPENDICE

I) TABLEAU DES EUCHOLOGES DE DMITRIEVSKIJ:

A: Diataxe de Méthode:

1) non suivie par aucune prière (ou omises par DMI):

Koutloumousiou 491:359	(XIV)	=DMI 358
Lavra 31:160v	(XV)	=DMI 630
Chaushk. (Vlatad.) 29:383	(XV)	=DMI 649
Karakall. 170:154v	(XV)	=DMI 658
Karakall. 151:124v	(1553)	=DMI 792
Lavra H. 104:97	(1561)	=DMI 794

2) suivie des prières [D3] [D4]:

Lavra 103:281	(XV)	=DMI 625

3) suivie des prières [D1] [D3] [D4]:

Lavra 21:245v	(1435)	=DMI 418
Lavra 88:396	(1475)	=DMI 440

4) suivie des prières [D3] [D5], abjuration et onction d'un ex-musulman, prière [D6]:

Vatopedi 134/745:340v	(1538)	=DMI 775

NB1: suit (f. 343) une diataxe anonyme: prière [D4], onction d'un enfant;

NB2: suit (f. 395) autre Diataxe de Méthode (sans prières, renvoi: GOA 689)

5) suivie des prières [D1] [D2] [D3] [D4] [D5] [D6]:

Vatopedi 133/744:313-317	(XIV)	=DMI 292

NB: cf. Ἑτέρα διάταξις Μεθοδίου πατριάρχου:

Dionys. 523:360	(1613)	=DMI 967

B: Diataxes anonymes:

1) Ὅπως χρὴ δέχεσθαι... plus prières [D3] [D4]:

Dionys. 487:184	(1573)	=DMI 799

2) Ἀκολουθία ἐὰν τις μαγαρίσῃ... (sans indication de prière):

H. Taphos (CP) 134:96v	(1584)	=DMI 802

3) Τάξις... ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρνουμένων τὴν πίστιν... (texte proche de la Diataxe de Méthode) plus les prières [D1] [D3]:

Esphigmen. 208:85	(XVI)	=DMI 839

NB: ibidem suit:

4) Τάξις... περὶ χριστιανοὺς μαγαρίσαντας... plus prière [D3] et onction:

Esphigmen. 208:89	(XVI)	=DMI 840

Cf. Diataxe du patriarche Gennadios Scholarios:

Vatopedi 134/745:325v	(1538)	=DMI 775
Dionys. 523:366	(1613)	=DMI 967

C: Prière [D1] a la suite de la diataxe de Méthode: εὐχὴ ἱλασμοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀπ' ἀρνήσεως ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν:

1) suivie des prières [D3] [D4]:

Lavra 21:246	(1435)	=DMI 418
Lavra 88:396v	(1475)	=DMI 440

2) suivie des prières [D2] [D3] [D4] [D5] [D6]:

Vatopedi 133/744:313-317	(XIV)	=DMI 292

D: Prière [D1] a la suite d'une diataxe anonyme: précédée par: *αἱ δὲ ἱλαστήριοι εὐχαὶ ἅς ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰσὶν αὗται*, et suivie de [D3]:

Esphigmen. 208	(XVI)	=DMI 839

E: Prière [D2] a la suite de la diataxe de Méthode: entre les prières [D1] et [D3] [D4] [D5] [D6]:

Vatopedi 133-744:313-317	(XIV)	=DMI 292

F: Prière [D3] en dehors de toute diataxe:

1) seule: ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων:

Sinai 962:136v	(XI-XII)	=DMI 71

2) seule: ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων εἰς ἔθνος:

Sinai 973:105	(1153)	=DMI 117
Ms arkh. Antonin: f. 28	(XIII)	=DMI 190
Sinai 980: «f. 241v»(?)	(1475)	=DMI 432
Sinai 988:49v	(XV)	=DMI 583
Alexandr. 455:154	(1501)	=DMI 667

3) seule: πρὸς χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ:
Sinai 982:72v (XIII) =DMI 241
Sinai 971:152v (τάξις) (XIII-XIV) =DMI 254
Lavra 7:80 (XIV) =DMI 366
4) suivie des prières [D?] [D4]: πρὸς χριστιανὸν μαγαρίσαντα ὑπαχθέντα:
Sinai 978:218v (XVI) =DMI 862

G: Prière [D3] a la suite de la diataxe de Méthode: πρὸς χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας, toujours en compagnie d'autres prières:

1) suivie de [D4]: Lavra 103:283 (XV) =DMI 625
2) entre [D1] et [D4]: Lavra 88:397v (1475) =DMI 440
3) entre [D1] [D2] et [D4]: Lavra 21:247 (1435) =DMI 418
4) suivie de [D5], rite et [D6]; suit autre rite avec [D4]:
Vatopedi 134/745: post f. 340 (1538) =DMI 775
5) entre [D1] [D2] et [D4] [D5] [D6]:
Vatopedi 133/744:313-317 (XIV) =DMI 292

H: [D3] a la suite d'une diataxe anonyme:

1) après [D1]: ἑτέρα ἱλαστική:
Esphigmen. 208:85 (XVI) =DMI 839
2) dans une taxis περὶ χριστιανοὺς μαγαρίσαντας:
Esphigmen. 208:89 (XVI) =DMI 839

I: Prière [D4] a la suite de la diataxe de Méthode:

1) après la prière [D3]:
Lavra 103 (XV) =DMI 625
b) après les prières [D1] [D3]:
Lavra 21:248 (1435) =DMI 418
Lavra 88:398 (1475) =DMI 440
c) entre les prières [D1] [D2] [D3] et [D4] [D5]:
Vatopedi 133-744:313-317 (XIV) =DMI 292

J: Prière [D4] a la suite d'une diataxe anonyme:

1) dans un rite spécial différent de la Diataxe de Méthode:
Vatopedi 134/745:343 (1538) =DMI 776
2) après la prière [D3]:
Dionys. 487:306 (1573) =DMI 799

K: PRIÈRE [D4] EN DEHORS DE TOUTE DIATAXE:

1) après la prière [D3] et autre prière non identifiée:

Sinai 978:222v	(XVI)	=DMI 862

NB: cf. diataxe anonyme avec la rubrique de [D4] sans mention (dans DMI) de la prière elle-même:

Dionys. 523:364v	(1613)	=DMI 967

II) TABLEAU DES EUCHOLOGES DE GROTTAFERRATA:

Grott. Gb4: 130v-132v: DIATAXE DE MÉTHODE: suivie des prières [D1] [D3]
Grott. Gb2: 136-139v: SUITE SANS DIATAXE: prières [D3] [D4] [D5] (cf. variantes), Dd2): onction non baptismale, prière [D6]? (cf. variantes)
Grott. Gb11:14: UNE SEULE PRIERE: [D3]

CONCLUSIONS

Arrivés à ce point de notre étude, nous pouvons hasarder quelques conclusions:

I. La Diataxe attribuée au patriarche Méthode d'après les mss constantinopolitains du XIe siècle semble bien être son œuvre; mais naturellement dans la version «d'économie» de Dd1), qui, après deux ans de sévère pénitence, réadmettait à la communion l'apostat volontaire; et cela ignorant le canon 73 de S. Basile, qui avait probablement été reconsidéré lors de la réforme pénitentielle attribuée au patriarche Jean Nisteutîs de la fin du VIe siècle (nous préparons un travail sur cette question) et qui plus tard sera remis en vigueur comme en témoignent les mss du XV-XVI siècle, cités par PAP.

Le ms Gb4 nous donne une Diataxe de Méthode dont le titre est très proche de celui de la prière [D3], mais qui pour le reste du texte concorde exactement avec la Diataxe classique de Méthode. Nous ne pensons pas qu'on puisse démontrer à partir de ce seul cas que le titre primitif de Méthode était différent; naturellement il a dû

être un peu plus concis que l'actuel car l'auteur n'aurait pas pu s'attribuer lui-même le titre de ἁγιώτατος.

La Diataxe de Méthode prévoit huit jours de suite la récitation des «prières d'expiation» sans spécifier lesquelles ni indiquer leur nombre. Le fait que la Diataxe soit suivie dans un ms de Constantinople (BES) par quatre prières et par six dans d'autres (COI EBE) semble être dû à l'initiative des rédacteurs et copistes postérieurs. Nous reviendrons bientôt sur cette question.

La même Diataxe indique comment après les huit jours de récitation des prières d'expiation, le converti doit être oint avec le même rite que les néophytes, c'est à dire en lui administrant l'onction post-baptismale, qui dans la forme constantinopolitaine du temps comportait l'onction du front, des yeux, des narines, de la bouche et des oreilles, en disant (une seule fois) la formule: Σφραγὶς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου, sans l'ajout de l'Amen(10). Nous pensons que c'est justement cette répétition de l'onction post-baptismale sur l'ex-apostat, qui caractérise l'attribution du rite au patriarche Méthode, puisque il semble bien que la praxis de recevoir les apostats par la récitation de l'une ou l'autre prière d'expiation, ainsi que par un rite d'onction (non baptismale), ait existé bien avant Méthode. Mais nous reviendrons aussi sur cette question.

· II. Les imprimés, prévoyant comme une question de fait que les quatre prières soient dites l'une après l'autre, ont opté pour éliminer les anciens titres-rubriques de chaque prière en les substituant par des opportuns Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Nous avions constaté que les prières d'expiation (ἱλαστικαί, ἱλαστίριοι, τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ), avant d'être regroupées à la suite de la Diataxe de Méthode, avaient déjà existé, chacune dans un contexte rituel différent, seules ou par groupes de deux ou de trois; parfois même à l'intérieur de certaines «diataxes anonymes» très probablement antérieures à celle de Méthode; les mss semblent avoir été composés — nous l'avons déjà constaté en d'autres occasions — avec une fort grande liberté de choix des pièces à copier. Très probablement on ne prévoyait pas que toutes les prières soient dites l'une après l'autre; vraisemblablement elles étaient choisies d'après les différents cas d'apostasie ou ad libitum. Il est

(10) Cf. OCP 1987: 78.

peu probable en tout cas que la prière [D4], qui est toujours destinée à un enfant, ait été dite aussi pour un adulte.

La prière [D3] est celle qui a eu le plus de diffusion. Elle porte deux titres-rubrique d'après les mss:

a) un moins fréquent mais probablement plus ancien: prière ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων ou encore ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων εἰς ἔθνος,
b) et un second plus répandu: prière πρὸς χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ...

Plus tard la dénomination μαγαρίσαντος, faisant allusion à une contamination, sera réservée aux enfants.

La prière [D4], toujours destinée à l'enfant μαγαρίσαντος ou contaminé, est assez fréquente dans les mss, quoique moins que la précédente.

La prière [D5], qui est toujours à la fin de la série des prières, se trouve le plus souvent comme prière de kephaloklisia à la suite de [D4], mais aussi de [D3]. BES en l'omettant, l'a probablement considéré comme faisant partie du rite de l'onction, qu'elle précède sans autre préambule, sans que son texte le mentionne. Mais une prière de kephaloklisia n'ouvre jamais un office.

La prière [D6] fait partie du rite de l'onction; elle semble cependant antérieure à la Diataxe de Méthode.

La prière [D1], qui n'est pas très fréquente, apparaît toujours en premier lieu, immédiatement après une diataxe anonyme ou après celle de Méthode; elle est toujours suivie d'une autre prière: [D3] en général. Mais puisque il ne semble pas que [D3] dépende d'aucune diataxe, il est bien probable que [D1] ait été considérée comme la prière la plus adaptée pour être employée comme prière d'expiation préparatoire à l'onction des apostats; peut être l'unique prière nécessaire, les autres étant facultatives.

La prière [D2] est plutôt rare dans nos mss.

III. La question la plus obscure est celle du rite de l'onction qui suit les cinq prières d'expiation. Nous avons déjà formulé l'hypothèse que le fait d'invoquer l'autorité de l'auteur dans un titre grandiloquent — cas plus unique que rare dans l'Euchologe — soit dû à la nouveauté que ce rite introduisait: celle d'appliquer aux rénégats le rite d'onction post-baptismale qu'on n'appliquait même pas aux nestoriens et eutychiens — baptisés et confirmés hors de l'Église Ortho-

doxe — et qu'on réservait aux ariens et macédoniens — baptisés «comme nous», mais non confirmés dans leur Église, probablement car celle-ci n'acceptait pas le canon 48 du concile de Laodicée[11].

COI et EBE, dans le désir d'être complets sans doute — on a déjà remarqué cette tendance de COI, dans les vêpres de la Pentecôte[12] par exemple — mais au détriment de la logique, ajoutent après les prières d'expiation le rite ancien, témoigné encore par d'autres mss périphériques, consistant en une onction, sans aucune formule, du front, des mains et des pieds, ou bien, du front, de la poitrine et des mains. Mais cela les met en contradiction frappante avec la Diataxe elle-même qui prescrivait l'onction post-baptismale. Cela expliquerait pourquoi BES a omis ce rituel périmé, tandis que les euchologes imprimés l'ont modifié dans le sens de la Diataxe de Méthode.

Miguel ARRANZ S.J.

(11) Cf. OCP 1983: 48 et 53; ZER 128.
(12) Cf. OCP 1982: 95.

UGO ZANETTI, S.J.

La distribution des psaumes dans l'horologion copte *

Le mot *horologion* signifie, on le sait, «la prière des heures» — laquelle, dès l'origine, repose essentiellement sur le psautier. Celui-ci

(*) Le présent article fait suite à *Horologion copte*, Mus 102 (1989) p. 237-254. Comme précédemment, le P. Wadîd de Saint-Macaire a eu l'extrême obligeance non seulement de relire notre texte, mais encore de procéder pour nous à diverses vérifications dans les mss.: qu'il veuille bien accepter nos plus vifs remerciements.

Liste des abréviations

Abû-l-Barakât, *Lampe des Ténèbres*, éd. SAMIR (Le Caire, 1971) =
مصباح الظلمة في إيضاح الخدمة، للقس شمس الرياسة أبو البركات
المعروف بابن كبر، الجزء الأول، مكتبة الكاروز، القاهرة، ١٩٧١.

Ağbîya 1975 = ϯⲁϫⲡⲓⲁ — الاجبية, «Al-kârûz», 1975 (1691 A.M.): édition bilingue, copte et arabe.

ATIYA, *Manuscripts* = A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai. A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, 1955.

AMÉLINEAU, *Géographie* = É. AMÉLINEAU, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris, 1893.

BLACK, *Horologion* = M. BLACK, *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion. (Berlin Ms. Or. Oct. 1019)*, (= *Texts & Studies.* New Series, 1), Cambridge, 1954.

BRIQUET = CH.-M. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes.* Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, Paris (etc.), 1907 (4 vol.).

BURMESTER, *Hours* = O. H. E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Canonical Hours of the Coptic Church*, dans *OCP*, 2 (1936), p. 78-100.

BURMESTER, *Horologion* = O. H. E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Horologion of the*

OCP 56 (1990) 323-369

pouvait être intégralement récité chaque jour — et on sait qu'il y eut et qu'il y a encore des ermites qui, dédiant à Dieu tout leur temps,

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Egyptian Church, (= *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Aegyptiaca*, sine numero), Le Caire, 1973.

BURMESTER, *Lit. Serv.* = O. H. E. KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments*, (= *Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte.* Textes et Documents, X), Le Caire, 1967.

Cat. AC Caire = G. GRAF, *Catalogue de mss arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, (= *Studi e Testi*, 63), Cité du Vatican, 1934.

Cat. BBC = *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani*, t. II a, *recensuit Arnoldus* VAN LANTSCHOOT, Cité du Vatican, 1947.

Cat. Mus. Br. = *Catalogus codicum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, II, 1 (mss arabes), Londres, 1946.

Cat. Mus. Copt. = M. SIMAIKA et YASSA 'ABD al-MASIH, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Mss...*, Vol. I (Musée Copte), Le Caire, 1939.

Cat. VC = *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani*, t. I, *recensuerunt Adulphus* HEBBELYNCK *et Arnoldus* VAN LANTSCHOOT, Cité du Vatican, 1937.

CLAUDE LABÎB = CLAUDE LABÎB, Ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲱⲇⲏ. Le Caire, 1897 (texte bohaïrique et version arabe en parallèle).

CRUM, *Dict.* = W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939.

Filigranes vénitiens = Ugo ZANETTI S.J., *Filigranes vénitiens en Égypte*, in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini S.J.*, (= *Studi albanologici.* Studi e Testi, 6), Florence, éd. Leo S. Olschki, 1986.

GRAF, *Verzeichnis* = G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis kirchlicher arabischer Termini.* 2. vermehrte Auflage, (= *CSCO*, 147 = *Subsidia*, 8), Louvain, 1954.

GCAL = G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vol. (= *Studi e Testi*, 118, 133, 146, 147 et 172), Cité du Vatican, 1944-1953.

Horologion copte = U. ZANETTI, *Horologion copte et vêpres byzantines.* Mus 102 (1989) p. 237-254.

HUSMANN, *Kultmusik* = H. HUSMANN, *Die ostkirchlichen Liturgien und ihre Kultmusik*, in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum.* Kassel (etc.), 1972, p. 57-68.

HUSMANN, *Melkitisch* = H. HUSMANN, *Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: altsyrisch-melkitisch*, dans *OCP* 42 (1976), p. 156-196.

Inv. DAM = Ugo ZANETTI, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr.* Inventaire, (= *Cahiers d'Orientalisme*, 11), Genève, éd. Patrick CRAMER, 1986.

LCA = Ugo ZANETTI, *Les lectionnaires coptes annuels: Basse-Égypte*, (= *PIOL*, 33), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985.

expriment de cette manière leur désir de suivre le conseil, maintes fois répété dans l'Écriture, de prier sans cesse(1) —, mais il pouvait

LXX = A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece juxta LXX interpretes.* Stuttgart, 1965⁸.

MALAK, *Livres liturgiques* = H. MALAK (Ḥannâ Malâk). *Les livres liturgiques de l'Église Copte*, dans *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III (Orient chrétien), (= *Studi e Testi*, 233), Cité du Vatican, 1964 (p. 1-35).

MATEOS, *Horologion* = J. MATEOS, *Un horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas: le Codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)*, dans *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III (Orient chrétien), (= Studi e Testi, 233), Cité du Vatican, 1964 (p. 47-76).

MATEOS, *Office de minuit* = J. MATEOS, *Office de minuit et office du matin chez s. Athanase*, dans *OCP*, 28 (1962), p. 174-180.

MATEOS, *Psalmodie variable* = J. MATEOS S.J., *La psalmodie variable dans l'office byzantin*, in *Acta philosophica et theologica*, II, Rome, Societas Academica Dacoromana, 1964 (p. 327-339).

MATTÂ-L-MASKÎN, *Tasbiḥa* = الأب متى المسكين، التسبحة اليومية ومزامير السواعي، [«*L'office quotidien et les psaumes des heures*»], (= *Dirâsât fî-l-taqlîd al-kanasî*, 4), Monastère de St-Macaire, [1979²].

Psal. ann. 1960 = ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲇⲓⲁ *(sic)* ⲉⲑⲩ ... éditée par l'hig. ʿAṭallâh de Dair al-Muḥarraq (ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲕⲱⲥⲕⲁⲙ) en 1960 (1676 A.M.).

QUECKE, *Griech. Parallelen* = H. QUECKE, *Neue griechische Parallelen zum koptischen Horologion*, dans *Le Muséon 77* (1964), p. 285-294.

QUECKE, *Horologion* = H. QUECKE, *Ein koptisch-arabisches Horologion in der Bibliothek des Katharinenklosters auf dem Sinai (Cod. Sin. ar. 389)*, dans *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), p. 99-117.

QUECKE, *Untersuchungen* = H. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet*, (= *Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain*, 3), Louvain, 1970).

TAFT, *Hours EW* = R. TAFT, *The Liturgy of Hours in East and West*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 1986.

TURAEV, *Horologion* = Б. ТУРАЕВЪ, *Часословъ Эѳіопской Церкви* (= *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 8e série, classe historico-philologique, vol. 1, no 7), Saint-Pétersbourg, 1897.

VILLECOURT, *Observances* = L. VILLECOURT, *Les Observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église Copte. (Ch. XVI-XIX de la Lampe des Ténèbres)*, dans *Le Muséon*, 36 (1923), p. 249-292, 37 (1924), p. 201-280, et 38 (1925), p. 261-320.

WHITE, *Monasteries* = H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn*, 3 vol., New-York, 1926-1933.

ZANETTI: voir *Filigranes, Horologion copte, Inv. DAM* et *LCA*.

(1) Cf. TAFT, *Hours*, p. 4 (passages scripturaires), et p. 72 et 114 (récitation quotidienne du psautier).

aussi être distribué sur plusieurs jours, voire sur toute la semaine. L'usage actuel de l'Église Copte est très clair, et il remonte assez haut, comme en témoignent les manuscrits; toutefois, la description des *horologia* de la bibliothèque de Saint-Macaire a attiré notre attention sur quelques usages divergents qui ne pourront manquer d'intéresser les liturgistes.

Étant donné que la situation, ici, est compliquée à souhait, du fait de la présence simultanée d'offices différents dans le même manuscrit, il nous paraît plus sage de procéder avec méthode, quitte à répéter certaines données que le lecteur aurait pu trouver ailleurs. Nous allons donc commencer par présenter les divers témoins; les paragraphes suivants seront consacrés chacun à une distribution particulière.

1. Les témoins invoqués

Deux œuvres littéraires interviendront dans notre raisonnement; chacune d'elles a été étudiée sur manuscrits, et c'est pourquoi, après avoir signalé l'œuvre elle-même, nous présenterons sommairement ceux de ses manuscrits que nous avons consultés (§ 1, a et b). Les *horologia* manuscrits dont nous avons recueilli le témoignage seront caractérisés dans les alinéas suivants (§ 1, c, d et e).

a) La Lampe des Ténèbres *d'Abû-l-Barakât*

Bien des liturgistes connaissent, au moins de réputation, la célèbre encyclopédie écrite au début du XIVe siècle par le prêtre copte Šams al-Ri'âsa Abû-l-Barakât Ibn Kabar († 1321 A.D.) et intitulée en arabe *Miṣbâḥ al-ẓulma fî îḍâḥ al-ḫidma*, ce qui pourrait se traduire: *La lampe des ténèbres pour éclairer (l'intelligence) du service (liturgique).* Malgré son importance décisive, cette encyclopédie n'a jamais eu le bonheur d'une édition complète. Une pareille édition avait été entreprise avant la guerre dans la *Patrologia Orientalis*, mais elle n'a malheureusement jamais dépassé les deux premiers chapitres du livre, qui en compte vingt-quatre; plus récemment, le P. Samir en a publié, au Caire, la première moitié, c'est-à-dire les douze premiers chapitres, mais cette édition — qui n'est d'ailleurs

accessible qu'aux seuls arabisants — a vu le mauvais sort se liguer contre elle, et la suite n'a jamais paru(2).

Le chapitre 6 de cet ouvrage décrit les livres bibliques qui sont reçus dans l'Église Copte. Lorsqu'il en vient au psautier, Abû-l-Barakât ibn Kabar cueille l'occasion pour présenter les diverses espèces de division du psautier qu'il connaît: celle des Hébreux, celle des Syriens et celle des «Grecs» (*al-Rûm*). C'est cette dernière que nous analyserons au § 3 b.

Le chapitre 16, lui, est consacré à *L'ordo des prières du jour et de la nuit* — à l'horologion, donc; toujours inédit en arabe, ce chapitre a été publié en version française par dom Villecourt. Nous ne le citerons pas beaucoup, car, alors qu'il décrit abondamment les offices, il ne détaille guère quels sont les psaumes qu'il fallait réciter, sans doute parce que l'usage était censé connu de tous. Toutefois, comme il spécifie l'*ordo de la prière du milieu de la nuit*, en précisant le numéro des psaumes concernés(3), ce témoin du XIVe siècle a été ajouté aux autres, qui lui sont contemporains, dans la description de l'office de minuit tel que le prévoit de nos jours l'*ağbîya* (§ 2 a). Un peu plus loin, l'éminent liturgiste qu'était Abû-l-Barakât ne peut résister au plaisir de mentionner un office original, celui du monastère de Saint-Georges à Sadamant(4); il viendra bien à point pour étoffer notre description de l'*ordo du psautier complet* (§ 4 c).

La *Lampe des Ténèbres* nous est conservée par plusieurs manuscrits, dont les deux principaux sont traditionnellement baptisés **P** (*Paris ar. 203*) et **U** (*Upsal Vet. 12*); nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de collationner le troisième (**B** = *Berlin Diez A qu. 111*), qui ne contient que les huit premiers chapitres. Il n'y a pas lieu d'entrer ici dans les problèmes philologiques posés par ce texte: puisque nous avons pu recourir à l'examen direct des deux manuscrits principaux, nous en citerons toutes les variantes pour les quelques lignes qui intéressent cet arti-

(2) Cf. *GCAL* II, p. 439-442, où l'on trouve la référence à l'édition de la *PO* XX, fasc. 4 par Villecourt, Tisserant et Wiet, ainsi que l'indication des nombreuses éditions partielles qui en ont été faites (cf. aussi Kammerer n° 2256). L'édition du P. Samir figure dans notre *Liste des Abréviations* au nom d'Abû-l-Barakât.

(3) Villecourt, *Observances*, dans *Muséon* 37 (1924), p. 225.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 232.

cle. En pratique, nous présenterons le texte de P et mentionnerons entre crochets les deux variantes de U; puisque l'édition et la traduction utilisées ne sont pas exemptes de coquilles, ces dernières seront explicitement corrigées par un (*sic*) ou par une note.

b) La Préface au livre des Psaumes *et son «3e point»*

Le second texte cité à témoin est une œuvre intitulée *Préface au livre des psaumes*; encore inédite, semble-t-il, cette œuvre appartient à la «tradition copto-arabe», c'est-à-dire qu'elle relève de l'Église Copte, mais n'est connue qu'en langue arabe. Graf la signale dans *GCAL* II, p. 458-461, et précise qu'Abû-l-Barakât l'attribue à saint Athanase en même temps que l'*Expositio in psalmos*(5). Elle est divisée en «sept points», qui représentent les sept topiques habituels dans ce genre de préfaces; selon Graf, le troisième point de cette *Préface* traiterait de la distribution des psaumes à travers les heures canoniales d'abord selon le «système syrien», puis selon le «système copte».

Nous avons collationé ce passage dans les quatre manuscrits cités ci-dessous:

- *Barberini Or. 2*, f. 234 à 225 (*sic*). Ces dix folios arabes figurent à la fin du *Barberini Or. 2*, qui est le célèbre psautier pentaglotte originaire du monastère des Syriens (Dair al-Suryân) à Scété, et arrivé à la Vaticane après de nombreuses aventures(6); la partie copte en a été décrite par le chanoine Van Lantschoot, mais nos feuillets arabes avaient été laissés pour plus tard: *De ff. 225-234 dicetur in*

(5) *CPG* 2140 [*Clavis Patrum Graecorum* n° 2140]. — Cf. la *Lampe des Ténèbres*, 7e partie, 9°: éd. SAMIR, p. 292.

(6) Signalé, avec trois autres polyglottes originaires de Scété, par WHITE, *Monasteries*, II, p. 366, rem. 3. Rappelons brièvement que le R. P. Agathange de Vendôme, O.F.M. Cap., avait acquis ce ms. à Saint-Macaire, où le supérieur de ce couvent l'avait fait venir pour lui faire plaisir; le P. Agathange, qui travaillait pour le compte de Peiresc, l'avait échangé contre un diskos et un calice d'argent fabriqués sur mesure en France, conformément aux conditions qu'avait mises le supérieur du monastère des Syriens pour céder le précieux psautier. Mais le navire qui transportait ce ms. fut pris par les corsaires et, au lieu d'arriver à Paris, il finit par aboutir à Malte, d'où il gagna la bibliothèque du cardinal Barberini. Cf. F. NAU, *Les Ménologes des Évangéliaires copto-arabes*, (= *PO*, 10, p. 165-224): appendice 2, p. 217-222.

Catalogo codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae arabicorum(7) — catalogue qui, on le sait, n'a pas encore vu le jour. Signalons donc sommairement que, s'il est vrai que le f. 234 est restauré, tous les autres remontent bien au XIVe siècle, comme le reste du manuscrit. On y trouve, aux f. 234-227, la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* dont nous parlons, à l'intérieur de laquelle nous devons distinguer deux parties:

- le f. 232vr porte le 3e point de cette *Préface au livre des psaumes*: cette distribution des psaumes que l'on peut qualifier de «palestinienne» sera traitée au § 3 c;
- les f. 228r-227v contiennent une annexe intitulée *Ordo copte de l'horologion*, en arabe: ترتيب الاشبية القبطي (*sic*); elle est composée de deux parties: un *ordo de l'office ordinaire* et un *ordo de l'horologion complet*. L'*ordo de l'office ordinaire* ne s'écarte pas de celui des autres manuscrits anciens, et nous l'avons donc collationné avec ces derniers, au § 2 a; l'*ordo de l'horologion complet*, lui, fera l'objet du § 4 b.

- *Vat ar. 584*, f. 1-15: le manuscrit devrait dater des XIIIe-XIVe s., mais les feuillets qui nous concernent sont une addition postérieure et remontent sans doute au début du XVIe siècle(8). Nous avons collationné les f. 3v-4v, qui contiennent le 3e point de notre *Préface au livre des psaumes* et sont donc parallèles au f. 232vr du *Barberini Or. 2* (§ 3 c).

- Londres, Brit. Lib., *Arundel Or. 15*: manuscrit très soigné, avec fleurons et titres rehaussés, copié sur du papier oriental, et dépourvu de date; Graf le situe, sans doute avec raison, au XVIe siècle(9). En plus de la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* qui a attiré notre attention sur lui, ce manuscrit contient un type d'horologion auquel nous reviendrons au point (e) ci-dessous et au § 5. La *Préface*

(7) *Cat. BBC*, p. 1.

(8) On y trouve au f. 15v une note signalant un cataclysme qui s'est produit le 18 Kanûn al-ṯânî de l'an 939 de l'hégire (= 1532-33 A.D.), et au f. 15r une autre notre indiquant que ce ms. a été envoyé au Collège Maronite de Rome par le «patriarche de Qannûbîn» pour y être imprimé.

(9) *GCAL* II, p. 460: «Brit. Mus., ar. christ. 3». Cf. *Cat. Mus. Br.*, II, 1 (mss arabes): p. 3-6: ms. arabe chr. no 3=Arundel or. 15.

au livre des Psaumes qui ouvre le *codex* (f. 3-37(10)) y présente une particularité intéressante: elle rassemble en effet dans un même tableau deux usages, à savoir celui que transmet normalement la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*, qui est donc un *ordo* palestinien, et l'usage ordinaire des Coptes, lequel est chaque fois placé immédiatement à la suite de l'autre et introduit par la phrase: *tel est le premier ordo, mais celui qui en usage à présent est le suivant*, ou bien encore: *ce qui est prescrit aujourd'hui (c'est)* — en arabe هذا الترتيب الأول، والمتَمَد عليه اليوم وهو (*sic*) et الدوّن الأن de même, l'*ordo* palestinien pour l'heure de tierce est introduit par: صلاة الثالثة قديمًا, c'est-à-dire: *office de tierce, anciennement*. Pour la partie qui concerne cette *Préface* (f. 3-37), les données de l'*Arundel Or. 15* qui sont conformes à l'usage copte ont été intégrées à celles des manuscrits anciens (ci-dessous, § 2), alors que celles qui se conforment à l'usage palestinien seront présentées avec la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* (§ 3, c); les f. 38-333 seront présentés au point (e) ci-dessous, et on en traitera au § 5.

– *Vat. ar. 83*, f. 167v-178: ce manuscrit provient d'Égypte ou du Sinaï, comme en font foi l'aspect de l'écriture et l'emploi des «chiffres coptes cursifs». Aux folios indiqués, on peut y lire la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* qui a suscité notre intérêt, et le 3e point dans lequel nous cherchons des informations figure précisément aux f. 169v-170. Il s'agit en fait d'un assemblage de folios divers reliés ensemble, que Graf date des environs de l'an 1601; en tout état de cause, on trouve dans les pages citées un filigrane fréquent dans les papiers des XVIe et XVIIe siècles(11). Le texte de ce manuscrit, du moins pour le 3e point de la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*, présente un intérêt particulier pour notre recherche: en effet, après la brève introduction expliquant l'utilité spirituelle de la prière des psaumes, dont nous donnerons la traduction tout-à-l'heure, il ne donne qu'une brève description sans numéro de psaumes, farcie de termes et d'usages propres aux melkites, que nous éditerons en annexe (§ 3 d) pour permettre de le comparer au *Sin. gr. 863*.

(10) Vraisemblablement, car le *Cat. Mus. Br.* ne détaille pas suffisamment les folios, et nous ne l'avions pas noté sur place; cette *Préface* commence en tout cas avant le f. 4 et s'achève avant le f. 38. Nous ferons désormais comme si elle couvrait les f. 3 à 37.

(11) Ancre dans un cercle: cf. BRIQUET, p. 40-41.

c) Témoins de l'horologion actuel

Notre description de l'horologion actuel repose sur *Ağbîya 1975*, au texte de laquelle nous ajoutons les variantes de quelques autres témoins qui nous étaient aisément accessibles: l'édition de Burmester (*Horologion*), dans laquelle nous trouvons aussi une description de l'édition de Tuki, deux *horologia* de la Bibliothèque Vaticane analysés d'après le catalogue, le *Sinaiticus arabicus 184* (microfilmé par l'expédition américaine de 1950), ainsi que l'*ordo de l'office ordinaire* attesté par les f. 228ʳ-227ᵛ du *Barberini Or. 17*, et l'«office actuel» que décrit le manuscrit *Arundel Or. 15*; ces deux derniers témoins ont été examinés sur place. En outre, nous y avons ajouté les indications de l'horologion éthiopien «des Coptes» tel qu'il a été édité par Turaev, *Horologion.*

Burmester a collationné deux manuscrits: le premier, celui qui est reproduit en principe sans changement, est le *Mus. Copt. Lit. 361* (cat. 141), qui doit remonter au XIVᵉ siècle(12); nous le citerons par l'abréviation *MC Lit. 361.* L'autre est un manuscrit récent copié en 1950 pour le compte de Yassâ ʿAbd al-Masîḥ, dont nous ne faisons remarquer qu'un détail mineur. N'ayant pas vu le manuscrit, nous suivons l'édition de Burmester(13).

Nous n'avons pas pu examiner nous-même l'édition de l'horologion publiée à Rome en 1750 par Raphaël Ṭûḫî (couramment écrit «Tuki»)(14); mais, comme Burmester l'a collationnée et mentionnée dans son *Horologion*, et qu'elle sert de point de référence aux catalogues de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, il nous a semblé préférable de l'inclure en nous fiant à Burmester.

(12) Cf. *Cat. Mus. Copt.*, p. 71. — Ce ms. porte une note datée de l'an 750 des martyrs (= 1033/34 A.D.), qui doit sans doute être corrigée en «750 de l'hégire» (= 1349/50 A.D.), comme l'ont suggéré aussi bien les auteurs du catalogue cité que G. Graf dans son *Cat. AC Caire*: ms. nº 148, p. 61. L'affirmation de Burmester, *Horologion*, p. XXXVI, selon laquelle l'année 750 de l'hégire = 1446 A.D., provient d'une erreur de calcul; d'après les critères paléographiques, Burmester date ce ms. du XIIIᵉ ou du XIVᵉ s.

(13) Qui reprend, en l'améliorant, la description de BURMESTER, *Hours*; on aurait souhaité que l'édition de 1973 corrige explicitement les imprécisions de 1936, ce qui n'est malheureusement pas le cas, de sorte qu'il y a parfois lieu d'hésiter sur le contenu réel du ms. (le P. Quecke y a très discrètement fait allusion dans son CR: *OCP* 40, 1974, p. 203 s).

(14) Cf. MALAK, *Livres liturgiques*, p. 17; *GCAL* I, p. 649.

L'*horologion* contenu dans le ms. *Vat. Copt. 40*, qui remonte à l'an 1334 de notre ère, fut bien connu de Raphaël Tuki: celui-ci l'a en effet recopié, et le résultat de son travail forme aujourd'hui le ms. *Borg. Copt. 6*. Notre description de l'office du *Vat. Copt. 40* repose intégralement sur celle du catalogue(15).

Le *Barberini Or. 17* est, lui aussi, un *horologion*; daté de l'an 1112 A.M. (= 1396 A.D.), il a été fort bien décrit par le chan. A. Van Lantschoot(16), sur la description duquel nous nous reposons entièrement.

Nous avons déjà utilisé, dans *Horologion copte* (§ 3), le *Sinaiticus arab. 184*, dont nous avions analysé et partiellement publié les prières d'introduction.

> Rappelons que ce ms.(17) est daté par Atiya du XIIIe siècle(18), ce qui nous paraît correspondre au type d'écriture; ce petit *codex* en papier (130 × 85 mm) a conservé ses 165 premiers feuillets; il s'achève, mutilé, dans le Ps. 118 de l'office nocturne, alors que le début du ms. est intact. Il est à noter que ce ms. note les chiffres en «abuqṭî» ou «chiffres coptes cursifs», comme c'est toujours le cas en Égypte, mais aussi dans les mss sinaïtiques.

Les deux mss *Barberini Or. 2* et *Arundel Or. 15* ont été cités à l'alinéa (b) ci-dessus, puisqu'il contiennent la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*; dans la description de l'horologion copte officiel, nous leur reprenons les informations qu'ils fournissent à ce propos, respectivement l'*ordo de l'office ordinaire* aux f. 228r-227v du *Barberini Or. 2*, et l'*office actuel* (celui qui est chaque fois introduit en ces termes ou par des mots équivalents) aux f. 12v-13rv de l'*Arundel Or. 15*, à l'intérieur du 3e point de la *Préface au livre de Psaumes* et en supplément à l'office normalement décrit par celle-ci.

On sait que l'étude de l'horologion de l'Église d'Éthiopie en est encore à ses débuts; on doit en tout cas y distinguer au moins quatre types différents (cf. Taft, *Hours EW*, p. 266s), dont seul celui

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(15) *Cat. VC*, p. 211-214.

(16) *Cat. BBC*, p. 4-10.

(17) Sur lequel notre attention a été attirée par Quecke, *Horologion* (cf. p. 100, n. 4 et passim), et *Untersuchungen*, p. 30, n. 88.

(18) Atiya, *Manuscripts*, p. 7.

qu'a édité Turaev nous intéresse directement dans le cadre du présent article. Comme le savant russe mentionne, dans son apparat critique, les variantes de plusieurs mss, nous avons aussi rapporté ces dernières, en note, lorsqu'elles portaient sur la distribution des psaumes (bien que, en l'occurrence, la plupart des ces variantes paraissent aberrantes).

d) Manuscrits de l'horologion avec récitation du psautier complet

Nous verrons au § 4 quelques témoins d'un office qui n'a pas survécu officiellement dans l'Église Copte, mais qui a dû être assez répandu au Moyen Âge parmi les ermites, et qui pourrait bien l'être encore de nos jours([19]). Nous en trouverons la trace dans la *Lampe des Ténèbres* d'Abû-l-Barakât et dans le *Barberini Or. 2*, déjà cités, dans deux manuscrits de Dair al-Suryân (le «Monastère des Syriens» à Scété) qui ont été décrits par le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn([20]), et dans un manuscrit de Saint-Macaire.

Le manuscrit *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 167* (catal. 211)([21]) est un horologion arabe, muni de quelques prières en copte, qui fut achevé au mois de Tûba de l'an 1559 A.M. (= 1843 A.D.) pour le compte de Šenûda d'Aḫmîm, moine de Dair al-Muḥarraq, par Macaire, qui vivait au (même?) monastère([22]). L'index manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Saint-Macaire le qualifie de *muḥarraqawî*, «de Dair al-Muḥarraq», ce qui peut désigner aussi bien sa provenance que les particularités de l'office qu'il contient.

> Ce manuscrit comprend 180 f. de 165 × 115 mm, la surface écrite étant de 120 × 75 mm; on y compte de 12 à 14 lignes par page. L'état de conservation est satisfaisant, de sorte que la lecture du texte est aisée.

([19]) Cf. MATTÂ-L-MASKÎN, *Tasbiḥa*, p. 73-74.
([20]) *Ibid.*
([21]) Cf. *Inv. DAM*, n° 211, p. 33.
([22]) Dair al-Muḥarraq se trouve en Haute-Égypte, près d'Assiout (cf. AMÉLINEAU, *Géographie*, p. 397-399). — Le colophon de ce ms. nous laisse un problème d'interprétation: le scribe Macaire a, en effet, apposé à son propre nom «bi-l-dair», ce qui signifie littéralement «au monastère». On peut comprendre soit qu'il s'agit du même monastère que le commanditaire de ce ms., le moine Šenûda de Dair al-Muḥarraq, soit au monastère de St-Macaire, si c'est là que le ms. a été copié. Le ms. ne contient pas d'autre élément permettant de trancher, mais nous pencherions pour la première solution.

Nous ne pouvons pas décrire les deux manuscrits de Dair al-Suryân, que nous n'avons pas vus et dont il n'existe pas de catalogue. Le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn, qui ne s'y intéressait pas d'un point de vue philologique, ne donne aucune précision à leur sujet, à part leur cote: *Liturg. 326* et *Liturg. 341*. Tous ce qu'on peut en dire, c'est que, puisqu'il s'agit de manuscrits arabes, ils ont de très fortes chances d'être postérieurs à l'an mille.

Le *Barberini Or. 2* a été présenté ci-dessus (§ 1 b); on rappellera seulement que, tout comme les deux mss cités par le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn, il provient de Dair al-Suryân.

Le passage de la *Lampe des Ténèbres* auquel nous ferons allusion au § 4 c, à propos de la prière des moines de Sadamant, se trouve vers la fin du chapitre 16, lequel est consacré à l'office divin; il a été publié en version française par dom Villecourt([23]); nous l'avons vérifié sur les deux mss P et U, qui sont les seuls disponibles pour les chapitres 9 à 24.

*e) Des manuscrits à l'*ordo *byzantin?*

Enfin, en décrivant la bibliothèque de Saint-Macaire, nous avons trouvé un horologion fort original — du moins si l'on tient compte de ce qu'il doit s'agir d'un manuscrit relevant de la tradition copte —, où les 150 psaumes sont distribués sur toute la semaine, comme dans le *cursus* byzantin. Il s'agit du manuscrit *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 173* (catal. 217)([24]), lequel est dépourvu de tout colophon et de date, mais que l'étude du filigrane situe à coup sûr au XIXe ou au début du XXe siècle, la période la plus probable étant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle([25]).

([23]) VILLECOURT, *Observances*, dans *Muséon* 37 (1924), p. 232-233.

([24]) *Inv. DAM*, p. 33.

([25]) Les folios 1-2, 9-10 et 51-90 portent le filigrane d'Andrea Galvani, papetier de la région de Venise (Udine) dont la marque a fourni près du quart des papiers sur lesquels ont été copiés les mss de St-Macaire; la grande majorité de ces mss est de la seconde moitié du XIXe s. (avec, comme dates extrêmes, 1836 et 1927). Cf. *Filigranes vénitiens*, § 8, p. 453 et p. 468. — Les f. 3-8 et 11-50 sont copiés sur un papier toilé et de bonne qualité, sans filigrane. Tout le ms. est de la même main, mais la deuxième partie (f. 51-90) pourrait avoir été copiée séparément, puis reliée avec la première.

Le ms. comprend 90 folios de format 115 × 80 mm (surface écrite: environ 90 × 60 mm), portant de 8 à 10 lignes par page dans la partie qui nous intéresse ici (f. 1-50), dans laquelle la foliotation a aussi été écrite de première main; dans la deuxième partie (f. 51-90), qui a été foliotée récemment au crayon, on trouve d'ordinaire 12 lignes par page. Il n'y a ni colophon ni marque de propriété, mais Mîḫâ'îl Ḥannâ y a inscrit deux fois son nom au crayon (f. 50v et 90v).

Le contenu de ce *codex* peut être divisé en trois parties: l'horologion dont nous traiterons au § 5 (f. 1v-49); la septième prière de demande ou *ṭalaba*, à lire le dimanche (f. 51-82)(26); et quelques prières de dévotion sont connues par ailleurs, qu'il n'y a pas lieu de détailler ici (f. 82v-90)(27). Ces deux dernières séries de prières se rencontrent dans d'autres manuscrits copto-arabes.

Deux autres manuscrits au moins contiennent un horologion ayant de grandes similitudes avec celui qui a attiré notre attention, mais sans les rubriques qui prévoient l'étalement du psautier sur toute la semaine: *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 163* (catal. 207) et *Brit. Mus. Arundel Or. 15*. Ce dernier a été mentionné au point (b) ci-dessus, car il porte aussi la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*.

On peut lire une description détaillée des f. 38-333 de l'*Arundel 15* dans le catalogue des mss orientaux du Musée Britannique. Disons brièvement qu'on y trouve les cinq livres du Psautier, y compris le Ps. 151 (f. 38-283), les (15) Odes et prières bibliques auxquelles est joint le Symbole de Nicée (f. 284-320), et enfin, tout à la fin du codex, les vingt كاثسما (*kâṯismâ*) ou tropaires que l'on récite à la fin de chaque «cathisme» (κάθισμα) — correspondant à un vingtième du psautier — lorsqu'on le récite intégralement.

(26) Il s'agit d'un office de dévotion à Notre-Dame (les byzantins diraient un «canon») qui comprend en principe sept formules différentes, une par jour de la semaine; cf. *Inv. DAM*, p. 34: ms. n° 230 = *Lit. 186*, et le renvoi à *GCAL* I, 315 et 432, 7°. Ces prières sont aussi, au moins partiellement, communes à certains horologia syriens et copto-arabes, et mériteraient une étude particulière (cf. la n. 54a ci-dessous).

(27) Les f. 49v, 50rv et 90v sont blancs.

Le ms. Saint-Macaire *Lit. 163* (cat. 207), qui est du XXe s., commence par nous livrer le psautier divisé en 20 «cathismes» et 60 sections, la fin de ces dernières étant marquée par la mention *Gloire au Père* suivie d'un numéro; cela couvre les f. 2-104. Les f. 104^v-117^v nous présentent les vingt *cathismes* (au sens propre: groupes de 3 tropaires). Viennent alors les 23 odes bibliques (f. 118-137), et enfin, aux f. 137^v-170, l'*aǧbîya* réduite aux seules parties qui n'ont pas encore été transcrites.

Le *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 163* (catal. 207) comprend donc 170 f. de 205 × 140 mm, avec une surface écrite de 140 × 80 mm; il y a 18 lignes par page. Un colophon partiel figure au f. 137^v, et le colophon final au f. 170: le scribe, l'hig. Zacharie de Baramous (autre monastère scétiote), a achevé son œuvre en mars 1922 A.D.

Comme ce ms. contient un nombre particulièrement élevé d'*Odes et de prières bibliques*, il nous a paru intéressant de les détailler, dans l'ordre où elles apparaissent aux f. 118-137([28]): **1** Moïse (Ex 15,*1-24*); **2** Moïse (Dt 32,*1-43*); 3 Anne (1 Rs 2,*1-11*); **4** Ézéchias (Is 38,*10-20*), **5** Isaïe (Is 26,*9-20*), **6** Isaïe (Is 25,*1-12*); **7** Isaïe (Is 26,*1-9*); **8** Jonas (Jon 2,*2-10*); **9** Habacuc (Hab 3,*2-19*), **10** Manassé (éd. Claude Labîb, p. 17-19; grec: LXX, ode 12, p. 180-181); **11** Jérémie (Lam 5,*16-22*); **12** Baruch (Bar 2,*11-16*); **13** Élie (1 Rs 18,*36-39*); **14** David (3 Rs 29,*10-13*); **15** Salomon (1 Rs 8,*22-30*); **16** Daniel (Dan 9,*4-19*), **17** Azarias {= Dan 3,*26-51*}, **18** Trois jeunes gens (Dan

([28]) On trouvera le texte copte et une version arabe de la plupart de ces odes bibliques en appendice de l'édition du psautier bohaïrique réalisée par CLAUDE LABÎB, sauf les n°s 11, 12, 19, 20 et 21 de notre ms., qui sont absents de l'éd. de Claude Labîb. L'ordre de ce dernier n'est pas non plus identique à celui du *St-Macaire Liturg. 163*; voici le sien, cité par rapport à celui que nous donnons ci-dessus: 1 à 4, 10, 8, 9, 5 à 7, 13 à 16, [Dan 3,*1-24*, qui manque dans notre ms.], 17, 18, 22, 23, [Dan 13, *1-64*, qui manque dans notre ms.]. La plupart de ces textes sont aussi regroupés dans les éditions critiques de la LXX, immédiatement après les Psaumes (par ex. éd. RAHLFS, t. II, p. 164-188). — Les références bibliques suivent normalement le titre, aussi bien chez Claude Labîb que dans les mss, sauf celles que nous mentionnons entre accolades {=...}, que nous avons suppléées. Nous n'avons pas cherché à vérifier la conformité du texte de ces odes avec celui de l'Écriture.

3,*52-100*); **19** Michée {= Mic 7,*7-20*}; **20** Jésus ben Sirakh {= Sir 36,*1-17*}; **21** Jésus ben Sirakh {= Sir 51,*1-12*, précédé de quelques invocations}; **22** la Vierge Marie (Lc 1,*46-55*); **23** Zacharie le prêtre (Lc 1,*68-79*)([28a]).

Nous reviendrons au § 5 sur les cathismes et leur contenu, en parlant de l'horologion auquel ils sont adjoints.

2. La distribution des psaumes dans l'horologion copte officiel

Afin de faciliter au lecteur la comparaison entre les divers types d'office qui vont être décrits, il ne paraît pas inutile de rappeler ici quels sont les psaumes récités aujourd'hui dans l'horologion copte ou *ağbîya* (du copte bohaïrique ⲁϫⲡ heure)([29]), dont la tradition est fermement attestée pour le XIVe siècle, et remonte vraisemblablement plus haut([30]). Étant donné le but de la présente étude, nous nous dispensons de rappeler les lectures bibliques, tropaires et autres pièces qui interviennent dans l'office, dont on trouvera la description ailleurs([31]); on ne perdra pas de vue, toutefois, que l'horologion de l'Église Copte est rigoureusement le même chaque jour, sans la moindre variation, quel que soit le jour de l'année([32]).

([28a]) Il n'est pas sans intérêt de signaler ici que 20 de ces odes (toutes, sauf les nos 19, 20 et 21) sont récitées dans la nuit du Samedi Saint (c'est-à-dire au soir du Vendredi Saint).

([29]) Voir le dictionnaire de Crum, col. 777b. Ce terme correspond à ὡρολόγιον. — La prononciation correcte est *ağbîya*, et non *ağabiyya* (malgré Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 4); on transcrit d'ordinaire *ağbiyya*, malgré l'absence de redoublement («tašdîd»), parce que la prononciation courante en Égypte tend à transformer en *-iyy-* le groupe *-îy-*.

([30]) Voir l'état détaillé de la question dans Quecke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 20-42. Les mss *Vat. Copt. 40, Barberini Or. 17* et *MC Lit. 361* sont tous du XIVe s.

([31]) Cf. Quecke, *ibid.*; Burmester, *Lit. Serv.*, p. 99-107; Id., *Hours*, dans *OCP*, 2 (1936), p. 78-100; Taft, *Hours EW*, p. 252-253.

([32]) Pour être tout à fait exact, précisons que l'on ne récite pas l'*ağbîya* les trois jours de Pâques, de l'Épiphanie et de Noël, ni durant la Semaine Sainte (qui a ses offices propres).

a) Les psaumes de l'Ağbîya

Après les prières préparatoires et l'hymne propre à l'heure que l'on va commencer(33), on récite actuellement les psaumes suivants(34):

- Matines (19 psaumes): Ps. 1 à 6, 8*, 11 et 12, 14 et 15, 18, 24*, 26*, 62*, 66*, 69*, 112*, 142*:

[*Variantes*:

MC Lit. 361(35), *Sin. ar. 184* et *Barb. Or. 2* et *17* (12 psaumes): Ps. 10 au lieu du Ps. 8(36); aucun des psaumes 24, 26, 62, 66, 69, 112, 142.

Vat. Copt. 40 (14 [15?] psaumes): Ps. 10 au lieu du Ps. 8; inclut les Ps. 26 et 142, mais non les psaumes 24, 62, 66, 69, [et 112?](37).

(33) Que nous avons décrites dans *Horologion copte*, § 3. Rappelons que ces prières préparatoires ne sont dites qu'une seule fois, alors que la formule d'introduction est récitée au début de chaque heure.

(34) Nous suivons *Ağbîya 1975* — à laquelle le *Sinait. arab. 389* est identique en ce qui concerne la distribution des psaumes (cf. QUECKE, *Horologion*, p. 106 ss) et c'est pourquoi nous ne le mentionnons pas —, en présentant simultanément les variantes de l'édition de Tuki et celles des mss *MC Lit. 361, Arundel Or. 15, Vat. Copt 40, Barberini Or. 2 et 17*, ainsi que de l'horologion éthiopien «des Coptes», selon l'édition de Turaev (dont nous n'avons collationné que le texte russe, auquel l'original éthiopien ne correspond pas toujours, sans explication suffisante dans l'apparat critique). L'astérisque dans l'énumération des psaumes de l'*Ağbîya 1975* signale la présence d'une variante dans un des autres témoins. — Pour l'office de minuit, nous ajoutons aussi les variantes que donne Abû-l-Barakât au chap. XVI de la *Lampe* (cf. VILLECOURT, *Observances*, dans *Muséon* 37, p. 225 [ms. P] et 241 [variantes de U, au fol. 180v, l. 3]). — Il est à noter que Burmester, *Horologion*, p. X à XVII, donne une synthèse des offices, comme il l'avait déjà fait dans *Hours*, p. 90-100.

(35) L'usage ancien, attesté dans tous les mss que nous citons, était de réciter 12 psaumes (cf. ci-dessous); toutefois, pour se conformer à l'office actuel, Burmester a ajouté à son édition les 7 psaumes supplémentaires en les reprenant de l'éd. Tuki (cf. BURMESTER, *Horologion*, p. 18 et p. 148, n. 1).

(36) Cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, n. 86 de la p. 29: la tradition manuscrite hésite entre le Ps. 10 et le Ps. 8; le P. Quecke cite aussi l'exemple du *Borg. Copt. 11*, un ms. copié par Tuki, où l'on trouve ces deux psaumes ensemble, ce qui augmente le total d'une unité. Pour notre part, nous n'avons trouvé le Ps. 8 que dans les éditions modernes et dans l'usage syrien; nous y reviendrons au point *c* ci-dessous: *Quelques observations*, (1°), p. 346.

(37) *Cat. VC*, p. 211: ce catalogue signale le Ps. 150 (*sic*: lire Ps. 50!)

Arund. Or. 15 (16 psaumes): Ps. 10 au lieu du Ps. 8; inclut les Ps. 62, 66, 69 et 112, mais non les psaumes 24, 26, 142.
TURAEV (18 psaumes): Ps. 10 au lieu du Ps. 8; omet le Ps. 24. Variantes d'autres mss (Turaev p. 11, n. 1): le *St-Pétersbourg 12* ajoute le Ps. 113, le *Berlin 57* ajoute le Ps. 91, enfin le *Paris éth. 81* ajoute les Ps. 8 et 84.
TUKI (19 psaumes): Ps. 10 au lieu du Ps. 8; le reste comme dans l'*Ağbîya 1975*].

- Tierce (12 psaumes): Ps. 19, 22 et 23, 25, 28 et 29, 33, 40, 42, 44 à 46.

[*Arundel Or. 15* (12 psaumes): Ps. 27 au lieu de 25(38)].

- Sexte (12 psaumes): Ps. 53, 56, 60, 62, 66, 69, 83 à 86, 90, 92.

[*Vat. Copt. 40* et Tuki (13 psaumes): ajoutent le Ps. 54 après le Ps. 53(38a)].

- None (12 psaumes): Ps. 95 à 100, 109 à 112(39), 114 et 115.
- Vêpres (12 psaumes): Ps. 116 et 117, 119 à 128.
- Complies (12 psaumes): Ps. 129 à 133, 136 et 137, 140 et 141, 145 à 147.

[TURAEV: comme ci-dessus, mais le ms. *St-Pétersbourg 12* ajoute encore les Ps. 134, 135, 144 et 145 à cette série (*sic*: p. 89 n. 2)].

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avant le Ps. 1, et ne fait aucune mention, ni positive ni négative, du Ps. 112, lequel est imprimé à la p. 64 de Tuki selon Burmester, *Horologion*, p. 22. Il se pourrait donc que le *Vat. Copt. 40* contienne aussi le Ps. 112, oublié lors de la description, et que ce ms. arrive dès lors au total de 15 psaumes (non de 14) pour matines; si ce n'était point le cas, ce ms. présenterait la même distribution que l'office syrien dont il sera question plus loin, p. 346, (2°).

(38) Nous n'avons pas la photo du ms., et nous utilisons des notes prises sur place il y a plusieurs années; nous ne pouvons pas exclure avoir, par distraction, écrit «27» au lieu de «25».

(38a) Ce psaume est présent dans la distribution syrienne: cf. ci-dessous, (3°), p. 346.

(39) Le *Sin. ar. 184* note «113» (en toutes lettres) dans la rubrique (f. 105r), mais donne bien le Ps. 112 — erreur que l'on pourrait mettre en rapport avec la distribution «syrienne»: cf. ci-dessous, (4°), p. 346.

- Prière du voile (29 psaumes): Ps. 4, 6, 12, 15*, 24, 26, 66, 69*, 22*, 29, 42*, 56*, 85, 90, 96*, 109*, 114* et 115*, 120*, 128* à 133, 136*, 140, 145, et enfin Ps. 118, v. 153-176*.

[Cette prière manque dans *Sin. ar. 184, Vat. Copt. 40, Barb. Or. 2* et *17, Arundel Or. 15*, ainsi que dans *MC Lit. 361*([40]) et dans Turaev.

TUKI (18 psaumes): Ps. 4, 6, 12, 24, 26, 66, 85, 90, 116* et 117*, 122*, 130 à 133, 137*, 29* (*sic*) et enfin Ps. 118, v. 153-154 et 161-163*([41])].

- Prière de minuit (32 psaumes) avec trois nocturnes:

- 1er nocturne (9 psaumes)([42]): Ps. 3*, 6*, 12*, 69*, 85*, 90*, 116*, 117* et 118.

[*Variantes*:

Sin. ar. 184([43]), *Vat. Copt. 40, Barb. Or. 2* et *17*, et *MC Lit. 361*: Ps. 118 seulement.

Arundel Or. 15 ([4] psaumes)([44]): Ps. 3 à reprendre de prime, Ps. 85 et 90 à reprendre de sexte, et le Ps. 118.

ABÛ-L-BARAKÂT: ms. P: Ps. 110, 3, 90 et 118; ms. U: Ps. 3, 6, 85, 90, 117 et 118].

([40]) Burmester signale indirectement que cet office (qui est propre aux moines) manque dans son ms. principal (cf. *Horologion*, p. XV n. 7, p. 105 et p. 209); il l'avait dit de manière plus explicite dans *Hours*, p. 98-100. Cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 34-39.

([41]) Cité d'après Burmester. — Les psaumes marqués d'un astérisque constituent une variante par rapport à l'usage actuel, attesté par *Ağbîya 1975*.

([42]) Le Ps. 133, explicitement marqué dans *Ağbîya 1975*, ne doit pas être compté ici, car il fait partie de l'hymne ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲡϣⲱⲓ «Levez-vous»; à sa suite on chante encore (toujours sur le même ton) la strophe 22 (vv. 169-176) du Ps. 118, et quelques autres prières et extraits de psaumes (cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 238 s). À cause de son v. 2, le psaume 133 joue le rôle d'invitatoire à la prière de minuit presque partout en Orient (cf. MATEOS, *Office de minuit*, p. 176-178; TAFT, *Hours EW*, p. 81).

([43]) Ce ms. est mutilé de la fin (le f. 165v s'interrompt sur le v. 153), mais on voit qu'il ne comportait que le Ps. 118 à l'office de minuit, puisque le début de ce psaume suit immédiatement le titre de l'office.

([44]) Ce ms. signale «28 psaumes» pour la totalité de la prière de minuit; il ne précise pas le nombre de psaumes du 1er nocture mais, puisque le 2e et le 3e nocturne ont chacun 12 psaumes, il va de soi que le 1er doit en comporter quatre, ce qui correspond effectivement au contenu du ms.: il n'y a donc pas d'erreur possible.

- 2e nocturne (10 psaumes): Ps. 119 à 128.

[*Variantes*:

Vat. Copt. 40 et *Barb. Or. 2* et *17*, *Arundel Or. 15*, ms. éd. par *MC Lit. 361*, et Tuki: «les psaumes des vêpres»: en principe, il faudrait donc ajouter les Ps. 116 et 117 avant le Ps. 119(45).

Turaev: «les 10 psaumes des vêpres de 119 à 129»(45a). Variante du ms. St-Pétersbourg 12 (Turaev, p. 117, n. 1): «tous les psaumes de vêpres».

Abû-l-Barakât: ms. P: les psaumes des vêpres en entier = 12 psaumes; ms. U: «10 psaumes, et c'est le total de la prière du coucher du soleil»].

- 3e nocturne (12 psaumes): tous les psaumes des complies(46).

[*Vat. Copt. 40, Barb. Or. 17, Arundel Or. 15, MC Lit. 361*, Tuki et Abû-l-Barakât: *idem*].

Ce n'est un mystère pour personne que l'usage ancien de Basse-Égypte était de réciter 12 psaumes à chaque heure, ainsi que nous le rapporte Cassien(47); c'était encore le cas au XIVe siècle, comme nous le savons à la fois par Abû-l-Barakât et par les manuscrits. Avec le temps, on a ajouté 7 psaumes aux matines, et on a créé la «prière du voile» qui n'existait pas antérieurement(48); nous verrons ci-dessous une piste qui pourrait nous permettre de situer ce nouveau développement.

(45) Le ms *Arundel Or. 15* ajoute même explicitement, comme le fait aussi le ms. P d'Abû-l-Barakât: «et cela fait 12 psaumes».

(45a) *Litt.* «en reprenant depuis ኀቤከ [= Ps. 119] jusqu'à እምዕምቅ [= Ps. 129]»; on voit aisément que cela ne fait dix psaumes, et non onze, que si le Ps. 129 est considéré comme un *terminus ante quem*.

(46) Par suite d'une coquille, *Ağbîyą 1975* (p. 381) semble n'exiger que 11 psaumes pour ce nocturne (renvoi à la p. 270 au lieu de 269), mais la rubrique, qui prescrit de lire tous les psaumes de complies, ne laisse aucun doute.

(47) Cassien, *Instit.*, II, 5. Cf. Taft, *Hours EW*, p. 58-62, et p. 72 à propos de l'utilisation du témoignage de Pallade, *Hist. Laus.*, 32.

(48) Cf. Quecke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 29-30 (matines) et 34-39 (prière du voile).

b) Les psaumes exclus de l'ağbîya

Il reste donc 74 psaumes qui n'interviennent jamais dans l'horologion copte, et que les manuscrits appelent المزامير الغير محفوظة ou المزامير الكبار («les psaumes non mémorisés» ou «les grands psaumes»). En voici la liste:

Ps. 7, 9, 10, 13, 16 et 17, 20 et 21, 27, 30 à 32, 34 à 39, 41, 43, 47 à 52, 54 et 55, 57 à 59, 61, 63 à 65, 67 et 68, 70 à 82, 87 à 89, 91, 93 et 94, 101 à 108, 113, 134 et 135, 138 et 139, 143 et 144, 148 à 150 (et 151)([49]).

Il va de soi que cette liste ne signifie nullement que les psaumes en question ne seraient jamais récités à l'église: c'est ainsi que les Ps. 135 et 148 à 150 sont récités quotidiennement dans la psalmodie([50]). Les autres interviennent régulièrement dans les lectionnaires, et plusieurs d'entre eux ont été intégrés dans d'autres parties de la liturgie, par exemple sous forme d'hymnes. Simplement, dans l'usage actuel, ils ne font pas partie de l'*horologion*: nous verrons plus loin que ce ne fut pas toujours le cas.

c) Dans les manuscrits syriaques

Ce grand savant que fut Hugh G. Evelyn White avait, dans une note qui semble être passée inaperçue, signalé que l'office copte se retrouvait aussi dans trois manuscrits syriaques originaires de Dair al-Suryân([51]). Vu leur âge et leur structure particulière, il ne nous a pas semblé inutile d'attirer l'attention sur eux — d'autant plus que le parallèle que le Prof. Husmann a récemment établi entre ces trois

([49]) Le Ps. 151 n'intervient jamais, lui non plus, dans l'horologion officiel, mais il figure d'ordinaire dans les psautiers et fait partie de la liste des «psaumes non mémorisés» dans les mss qui transcrivent ces derniers à part, comme le ms. St-Macaire, cat. 208 = *Liturg. 164*. — Le total de ces psaumes est bien de 74 (75 avec le Ps. 151), non de 76 comme on l'entend parfois et comme nous l'avions écrit nous-même (*Inv. DAM*, p. 33).

([50]) Le Ps. 135 forme la «2e ode», les Ps. 148-150 le «4e ode»; celle-ci est chantée le soir et à l'office de nuit, alors que la «2e ode» n'est chantée qu'à l'office de nuit. Cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 54; TAFT, *Hours EW*, p. 255-256.

([51]) WHITE, *Monasteries*, II, p. 282 et n. 3, ainsi que p. 378 (et n. 3).

psautiers et un nouvel «office monastique syrien» est susceptible d'ouvrir des voies nouvelles en liturgie comparée.

Il s'agit de deux mss de Londres et un de Paris(52), qui remonteraient respectivement aux XIIIe, XIV-XVe et XVIIIe siècles. Le titre du *Brit. Lib. Add. 17.221* est tout à fait explicite, puisqu'il parle de la sélection «des psaumes disposés pour les temps de prière d'après l'*ordo* des Égyptiens du désert de Scéte»(53). Ces trois mss ont aussi été remarqués par le Prof. Husmann, qui les a toutefois mis en rapport avec un horologion purement syriaque, le *Brit. Lib. Add. 17.241*, du XIIIe s.: si nous comprenons bien le Prof. Husmann, ces quatre mss, pris ensemble, permettraient de reconstituer un «rituel monastique syro-orthodoxe» inconnu auparavant(54).

On sait que la Bible syriaque divise le Psautier de manière différente de la LXX; par souci de clarté, nous donnerons donc ci-dessous la numérotation syriaque, et la ferons suivre entre crochets du numéro équivalent dans la LXX. La liste est celle de Husmann, *Kultmusik*, p. 61; par souci de précision, nous signalons toutes les divergences de chacun de ces trois mss, d'après les catalogues de Wright et de Zotenberg. Nous ne tenons aucun compte des autres prières, même lorsqu'elles

(52) *Brit. Lib. Add. 14.723*, f. 66-113, et *Add. 17.221*, respectivement décrits par W. WRIGTH, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I (Londres, 1870), n°s 217 et 218, p. 144-145; *Paris Bibl. Nat. Syr. 178*, f. 7-105 (en carshouni), décrit par H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques... de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874), p. 124.

(53) WRIGHT, *ibid.*, p. 145 (n° 218 = ms. *Brit. Lib. Add. 17.221*). — Le mot syriaque ܫܒܝܬܐ, ici conjecturellement traduit par «sélection», signifie normalement «captivité».

(54) Le *Brit. Lib. Add. 17.241* est décrit dans WRIGHT, *ibid.*, p. 312 (n° 392); nous n'avons vu aucun de ces mss syriaques, qui n'ont attiré notre attention qu'au moment où cet article était presque achevé. Nous nous reposons intégralement sur le parallèle établi par le Prof. Husmann: «... aber der Kodex add. 17 241 des Britischen Museums aus dem 13. Jh. überliefert eine offensichtlich syrischen-orthodoxe Liturgie, die von der bisher allein bekannte Normalliturgie erheblich verschieden ist. Durch ihre ausgedehnten Psalterlesungen erweist sich diese Liturgie als monastisch — drei Psalterien des syrischen Skete-Kloster in der nordwestägyptischen Wüste, Paris Bibl. nat. Syr. 178, Britisches Museum add. 14 723 und 17 221, sind erhalten geblieben und erlauben eine Rekonstruktion der Psalmenverteilung dieser Liturgie». (HUSMANN, *Kultmusik*, p. 58).

sont mentionnées dans les catalogues([54a]); nous ne nous arrêtons pas non plus pour l'instant à la suggestion du Prof. Husmann, selon laquelle ces psaumes, ajoutés à ceux que l'office pouvait prévoir par ailleurs pour les «parties fixes» (comme les psaumes lucernaires aux vêpres), amenaient les moines à réciter quotidiennement l'intégralité du psautier.

- Prime (15 psaumes): Ps. 1 à 6, 8, 11 à 13, 15-16, 19, 27, 142.
  [LXX = 1 à 6, 8, 10 à 12, 14-15, 18, 26, 142]
  Var.: le *BL Add. 14.723* est acéphale (les Ps. 1-13 manquent)
- Tierce (12 Psaumes): Ps. 20, 23 à 26, 29-30, 34, 41, 43, 46-47.
  [LXX = 19, 22 à 25, 28-29, 33, 40, 42, 45-46]
- Sexte (12 Psaumes): Ps. 54, 57, 61, 65, 55, 48, 84 à 87, 91, 93.
  [LXX = 53, 56, 60, 64, 54, 47, 83 à 86, 90, 92]
- None (13 Psaumes([55])): Ps. 96 à 103, 110 à 113, 115.
  [LXX = 95 à 102, 109 à 112, 114-115]
  Var.: les mss *BL Add. 14.723* et *Add. 17.221* ne portent pas les Ps. 102 et 103 [LXX = 101 et 102]
- Vêpres (11 Psaumes): Ps. 35, 38 à 40, 31, 48, 59, 71, 28, 116-117.
  [LXX = 34, 37 à 39, 30, 47, 58, 70, 27, 116-117]
  Var.: - le *BL Add. 14.723* ne porte pas les Ps. 59 et 116, mais ajoute les Ps. 140 et 118 v. 105-112 après le Ps. 117. - le *BL Add. 17.221* est mutilé et s'interrompt sur le Ps. 40 (LXX = 39).
- Complies: (néant).
  [Manque dans les mss *BL Add. 14.723* et *Add. 17.221*; office présent dans le *Par. Syr. 178*, où aucun psaume n'y est prévu]
- Minuit:
  - 1er nocturne: Ps. 118 [LXX *idem*]
  Var.: d'après Zotenberg, le *Par. Syr. 178* indiquerait ce psaume pour le second nocturne, après une lacune; il y a lieu de soupçonner une erreur (de Zotenberg ou du relieur)
  - 2e nocturne (12 psaumes): Ps. 119 à 130 [LXX *idem*]
  Var.: - le *BL Add. 14.723* est mutilé et s'interrompt sur le Ps. 126; - pour le *par. Syr. 178*, voir au 1er nocturne

([54a]) Cf. la n. 26 ci-dessus.

([55]) Correspondant à 14 psaumes de la LXX, puisque syr. 115 = LXX 114 et 115.

- 3e nocturne (10 psaumes): 17, 86, 131, 136-137, 139, 144 à 147[56]
  [LXX = 16, 85, 131, 136-137, 139, 144 à 147]
  Var.: les deux mss londoniens étant mutilés, ce nocturne n'est attesté que par le *Par. Syr. 178.*

La mise en parallèle de cette distribution avec celle de l'horologion copte décrite au point (a) de ce § 2 appelle pas mal de commentaires! Le plus simple est de dresser un tableau qui mette en évidence les psaumes qui sont communs, ceux qui sont propres à cet office syrien (*ps. pr. syr.*) et ceux qui ne se trouvent que dans l'horologion copte (*ps. pr. cop.*). Nous n'avons pas repris ci-dessous les psaumes de complies, pour lesquelles les syriens ne prévoient pas de psaume, ni ceux de la «prière du voile», qui est propre aux coptes; un astérisque avertit qu'on trouvera plus loin un commentaire spécifique.

Matin[57]:	*ps. communs*:	1 à 6, 8*, 11-12, 14-15, 26 et 142 (= 12 ps.)
	ps. pr. syr.:	10*
	ps. pr. cop.:	24, 62, 66, 69, 112*
Tierce:	*ps. communs*:	19, 22-23, 25, 28-29, 33, 40, 42, 45-46 (= 11 ps.)
	ps. pr. syr.:	24
	ps. pr. cop.:	44
Sexte:	*ps. communs*:	53, 56, 60, 83 à 86, 90, 92 (= 9 ps.)
	ps. pr. syr.:	64, 54*, 47
	ps. pr. cop.:	62, 66, 69
None:	*ps. communs*:	95 à 100, 109 à 112*, 114-115 (= 12 ps.[58])
	ps. pr. syr.:	101*, 102*
	ps. pr. cop.:	néant
Vêpres:	*ps. communs*:	116, 117 (= 2* ps.)
	ps. pr. syr.:	34, 37 à 39, 30, 47, 58, 70, 27 (+ var.*)
	ps. pr. cop.:	119 à 128

(56) Suivis des cantiques de Moïse et d'Isaïe, dont nous ne tenons pas compte, vu l'optique très précise de la présente étude.
(57) Peu importe que l'on nomme cet office *matines* ou *prime*.
(58) En comptant comme la LXX (Ps. 115 syr. = 114 et 115 LXX).

Minuit:

- 1er nocturne: Ps. 118* commun
- 2e nocturne:

ps. communs:	119 à 128 (= 10* ps.)
ps. pr. syr.:	129, 130
ps. pr. cop.:	néant

- 3e nocturne:

ps. communs:	136-137, 145 à 147 (= 5 ps.)
ps. pr. syr.:	16, 85, 131, 139, 144
ps. pr. cop.:	129 à 133, 140-141

Quelques observations:

- (1°) Le matin, on constate que l'office syrien prévoit à la fois le Ps. 8 et le Ps. 10; ce point pourrait permettre d'expliquer la fluctuation entre ces deux psaumes, déjà signalée par Quecke (cf. ci-dessus, n. 36).

- (2°) Les psaumes qui «manquent» dans l'horologion syrien sont très probablement les mêmes que ceux qui manquent dans le *Vat. Copt. 40* (cf. ci-dessus, n. 37).

- (3°) Le Ps. 54 est prévu à sexte par le *Vat. Copt. 40* et par l'édition de Tuki (cf. ci-dessus, n. 38a).

- (4°) Il y a lieu de rappeler ici que le *Sin. arab. 140* a erronément noté (en toutes lettres) «Psaume 113» au lieu de «Psaume 112» pour none, et que ce chiffre correspond effectivement à la numérotation de la Peshitta (cf. ci-dessus, n. 39); bien que ce soit la seule erreur de ce genre que nous y ayons relevée, on ne peut pas exclure qu'elle remplisse ici la fonction d'organe-témoin.

- (5°) À none encore, les deux mss syriaques les plus anciens omettent les Ps. 102 et 103 (LXX = 101 et 102); pour cet office, leur distribution est donc identique à celle de l'*ağbîya* copte.

- (6°) Aux vêpres, les deux traditions liturgiques divergent presque totalement. À part les Ps. 116 et 117, communs, l'office syrien présente à cet endroit une série de psaumes qui paraît assez originale. La variante du *BL Add. 14.723* correspond à l'usage syrien, qui prévoit les Ps. 140 et 118 v. 105-112 à *ramšo.*

- (7°) Le Ps. 118 au 1er nocturne du «mesonyktikon» est commun à ces mss syriaques et aux anciens mss coptes; cela

n'a rien d'étonnant, car ce psaume est éminemment adapté à l'office de nuit.

- (8°) Au 2e nocturne, l'office syrien ajoute les Ps. 129 et 130 aux Ps. 119-128, peut-être pour atteindre le total de 12 psaumes. Rappelons que, chez les coptes, il y a une divergence sur le nombre de psaumes de ce nocturne, 10 ou 12, en particulier entre les deux témoins de la *Lampe des Ténèbres* d'Abû-l-Barakât (cf. ci-dessus).

- (9°) La présence de cinq psaumes communs au 3e nocturne ne semble pas rapprocher davantage nos deux traditions: il est visible que la structure des 2e et 3e nocturne est différente.

On voit donc que la remarque faite au passage par Evelyn White — que sa modestie poussait par ailleurs à avouer franchement son incapacité à collationner un horologion fragmentaire(59) —, ouvre la porte à d'ultérieures recherches en liturgie comparée, qui promettent d'être fructueuses. La piste que nous venons de suggérer n'est qu'une première possibilité.

3. UN *ORDO* PALESTINIEN

En effet, l'étude des manuscrits montre que d'autres manières de répartir le *canon* des psaumes ont existé en terre d'Égypte(60). Il en est une dont nous pouvons trouver mention à la fois dans *La lampe des ténèbres* d'Abû-l-Barakât, où elle est attribuée aux «Grecs» (*al-Rûm*), et dans la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*, citée au § 1 b ci-dessus; cette dernière, on l'a dit, présente en principe deux distributions distinctes, attribuées l'une aux «Syriens» et l'autre aux Coptes. Lorsqu'elle est effectivement présente dans les manuscrits, la seconde s'intègre dans la division de l'*Aǧbîya* déjà connue, que nous venons de voir; l'autre, par contre, s'est révélée à l'examen correspondre

(59) Cf. *Monasteries*, I, p. 214: D. 1 (Cairo, n° 82). Cet horologion n'est pas unilingue sahidique, puisqu'il comprend des passages en sahidique et d'autres en bohaïrique: cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 85, n. 32 et 33.

(60) Le mot *canon* désignant évidemment ici «la norme de la psalmodie, c.-à-d. de la répartition du psautier dans l'office» (MATEOS, *Horologion*, p. 59).

d'assez près à l'*horologion* de tradition sabaïte attesté par le *Sin. gr. 863*, que le P. Mateos a publié(61).

a) L'office du Sin. gr. 863

Il n'y a pas lieu d'insister sur les particularités si bien exposées par le P. Mateos(62) mais, pour la commodité du lecteur, il convient de reprendre ici la distribution psalmique de ce manuscrit intitulé Ὡρολόγιον κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα.

La structure des heures est toujours la même; on peut la résumer comme suit(63):

- prières préparatories: *Gloire au Père, Notre Père*, invitatoire *Venez adorons*.
- à la 1e heure du jour ou de la nuit(64), une formule à répéter trois fois. Celle du matin (Ἡ νὺξ παρῆλθεν...) se retrouve dans l'office copte actuel(65); celle de la nuit lui fait pendant.
- des psaumes prescrits pour cette heure.
- divers tropaires, dont certains variables d'après le jour de la semaine(66).
- répétition de quelques versets repris de psaumes.
- *Trisaghion, Credo* et *Notre Père*.

(61) Par contre, elle est moins proche de l'horologion syro-palestinien édité par BLACK, *Horologion*, et c'est pourquoi nous n'accordons pas de mention particulière à ce dernier.

(62) MATEOS, *Horologion*.

(63) Le ms. ne mentionne les prières initiales et finales que pour l'heure de prime; selon MATEOS, *Horologion*, p. 61-64, elles devaient vraisemblablement être répétées à chaque petite heure (la structure des vêpres n'est pas identique). Nous ne reprenons pas ici le détail de ces prières, qui sortent du cadre du présent article, mais nous avons tenu à en rappeler la structure. — QUECKE, *Griech. Parallelen*, a mis en évidence trois éléments communs à ce ms. et à l'horologion copte actuel: la formule d'introduction de la 1e heure, ainsi que les tropaires de sexte et de none (cf. ci-dessous).

(64) Ce ms. distingue en effet les heures du jour des heures de la nuit, mais il n'y a pas lieu d'insister sur cette particularité pour le moment.

(65) Cf. *Horologion copte*, § 3, et note 25 (et le renvoi à QUECKE, *Griech. Parallelen*, p. 286).

(66) Ceux de sexte et de none se retrouvent dans l'horologion copte actuel: cf. QUECKE, *Griech. Parallelen*, p. 286 ss.

À vêpres, le nombre de psaumes est beaucoup plus élevé qu'aux petites heures: on commence par le psaume 103, puis les 16 psaumes graduels divisés en trois στάσεις (Ps. 119-123, 124-128, 129-133), suivis des quatre psaumes du lucernaire (Ps. 140, 141, 129, 116); vient alors l'hymne *Joyeuse lumière*, un *prokeimenon*, le Καταξίωσον, le *Nunc dimittis* et les prières finales.

Voici la distribution des psaumes que présente ce manuscrit:

1) Ps. 1 à 8 (ces psaumes ne sont introduits par aucune rubrique, et le P. Mateos ne voit pas pourquoi on les a ainsi copiés en tête du manuscrit(67).

2) Prime: Ps. 5, 45, 66, 69, 89, 91, 100, 112.

3) Tierce: Ps. 16, 24, 42, 50, 142, 144, 150.

4) Sexte: Ps. 53, 54, 68, 69, 90, 145.

5) None: Ps. 83, 84, 85 (ainsi que la 7e ode: Dan 3,*26-36*).

6) Office de la communion, commençant par le chant des *Béatitudes* (et s'achevant par une prière d'action de grâce).

7) Vêpres: Ps. 103, 119 à 133, 140, 141, 129, 116.

8) Complies: Ps. 4, 12, 26 ... (le ms. est mutilé).

b) La Lampe des Ténèbres *d'Abû-l-Barakât*

Voici à présent l'office qu'Abû-l-Barakât décrit dans la 6e partie de sa *Lampe des Ténèbres* en l'attribuant aux «Grecs» (cf. ci-dessus, § 1, a).

Parlant du Psautier, il en énumère les divisions possibles: celle des Hébreux, celle des Syriens et celle des «Grecs» (*al-Rûm*). Pour ces derniers, il présente d'abord la division palestinienne du psautier en 19 (20) *cathismes*(68), puis il enchaîne(69):

(67) Cf. Mateos, *Horologion*, p. 59-60.

(68) La division d'Abû-l-Barakât comprend 19 sections au lieu de 20, parce qu'il a réuni dans la première les Ps. 1 à 16, ordinairement divisés en deux parties (Ps. 1-8 et 9-16). De plus, dans l'éd. du P. Samir, les «cathismes» 11 et 12 d'Abû-l-Barakât (= respectivement 12 et 13 de la division ordinaire), doivent se lire respectivement «Ps. 85 *(sic)* à 90» et «Ps. 91 *(sic)* à 100». — Nous reviendrons sur cette division au § 5 a.

(69) Cf. *Lampe*, éd. Samir, p. 234. Tout en respectant l'original, nous avons voulu présenter ici une version française commode plutôt qu'une traduction littérale. — Nous corrigeons ici par un *(sic)* les coquilles typographiques que cette édition présente dans la notation des chiffres; nous suivons le

... et, dans leur office(70), *(les «Grecs») récitent 80 psaumes, à savoir:*

- *prime (19 psaumes): Ps. 3, 5, 37, 45, 50, 62, 66, 69, 87* (sic), *89* (sic), *91, 94, 99, 102, 112, 142, 148, 149, 150;*
- *tierce (7 psaumes): Ps. 16, 24, 42, 50, 60, 144* (sic), *150;*
- *sexte (6 psaumes): Ps. 53, 54, 55, 56, 90, 145;*
- *none (4 psaumes): 83* (sic), *84* (sic), *85* (sic), *137;*
- *vêpres (13 psaumes): du Ps. 1 au Ps. 8, et aussi les Ps. 103* [ms. U: 113], *116, 129* [ms. U: 119, comme dans l'éd.(71)], *140, 141;*
- *complies (8 psaumes): Ps. 4, 6, 12, 24, 26, 30, 90, 120* (sic).
- *minuit (23 psaumes): 3, 50, 90, 116 à 135.*

Et ils attribuent à David 72 (sic) *psaumes.*

La dernière phrase, relative au nombre de psaumes attribués à David dans le psautier, ne concerne guère la présente étude; il n'est pourtant pas indifférent de remarquer que ce nombre de 72 est également présent dans la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*, comme nous le dit Graf (*GCAL*, II, p. 460). Nous savons déjà qu'Abû-l-Barakât ibn Kabar connaissait cette *Préface*, qu'il attribue à saint Athanase: il n'y a guère de doute qu'il l'ait utilisée aussi pour le point qui nous concerne pour l'instant et que, notamment, il lui ait repris la distribution du psautier imprimée ci-dessus; par ailleurs, ce que nous savons des habitudes de l'éminent liturgiste nous pousse à croire qu'il ne s'est pas contenté de copier servilement, et nous verrons plus loin (point *e*, 1°) qu'il en a amélioré un détail précis de la présentation.

c) La Préface au livre des Psaumes *(3e point)*

De l'œuvre littéraire que nous avons présentée au § 1 b, il n'a pas paru utile d'imprimer ici le texte arabe; en effet, les quatre

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ms. P tout en signalant (à vêpres) les deux variantes de U et, en note, la variante de la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* selon le ms. *Arundel Or. 15*.

(70) Litt.: *dans leur sept prières* (expression courante, chez les Coptes, pour désigner les heures canoniales — cf. Ps. 118,*164* — indépendamment du nombre réel d'offices concernés).

(71) Le ms. *Arundel Or. 15*, f. 13r, porte aussi «119».

manuscrits que nous avons collationnés([72]) comprennent un nombre élevé de lacunes et de variantes mineures qui n'affectent guère le sens général, mais dont il n'est pas possible de faire abstraction lorsqu'on veut publier l'original — et cela aurait excédé le cadre du présent article. Par contre, nous donnons ci-dessous la traduction française du texte que nous avons établi, grâce à laquelle le lecteur pourra se rendre compte de la manière dont il présente la prière de l'*horologion*.

Le troisième [point]: l'ordre et la disposition de ce livre vénérable [= le psautier] sont que, si quelqu'un en récite ce à quoi il est tenu([73])*, le jour et la nuit, avec une âme pure, les sens exempts de trouble et avec une intention droite et pure, la Divine Providence l'aidera et la grâce du Seigneur l'entourera, sous la garde de l'Esprit-Saint (protection magnifique!), et Dieu habitera en lui et s'y plaira.*

Et on sait que la règle [qânûn = κανών] de la sainte Église universelle rend témoignage que le devoir de toute personne adulte et majeure est de réciter chaque jour et [chaque] nuit, perpétuellement et toujours, tout au long des temps et des jours, au moments fixés et aux temps connus [de tous], les sept prières offertes à Dieu([74]) *(qu'Il soit béni et exalté!) [lesquelles sont tirées] de ce noble livre. [C'est là] une précepte certain et un devoir éternel, sans compter la récitation de ce qu'on y ajoute: [prières] de louange, de demande et d'adoration, et les prières reprises aux prophètes, aux justes, aux saints et aux bienheureux. Et ces prières comportent 80 psaumes, divisés selon les heures, les temps et les moments*([75]).

([72]) *Barberini Or. 2*, f. 232rv; *Vat. ar. 83*, f. 169v-170; *Vat. ar. 584*, f. 3v-4v; *Arundel Or. 15*, f. 12-13 (tous cités au § 1 ci-dessus). La *GCAL* II, 460-461 cite plusieurs autres mss.

([73]) N'oublions pas que, dans l'Église Copte, tous les chrétiens sont tenus de prier quotidiennement l'*ağbîya*, les laïcs aussi bien que les moines et les prêtres. La seule différence entre eux est que la «prière du voile» ne doit être récitée que par les moines.

([74]) Dans le *Vat. ar. 83*: ... envoyées par Dieu.

([75]) La dernière phrase (*Et ces prières*...) est intégralement omise dans le *Vat. ar. 83*; dans le *Vat. ar. 584*, le début est illisible et, en tout état de cause, les deux derniers mots arabes manquent certainement. Par contre, elle est présente dans le *Barberini Or. 2* et dans le ms. *Arundel Or. 15*, avec quelques différences verbales.

(Série des psaumes: identique à celle d'Abû-l-Barakât)

> *Et c'est ainsi que nous avons expliqué quels sont les psaumes qu'il faut réciter dans les sept prières: c'est l'*ordo *de ce livre, sa division (de l'office) et sa somme (de prières).*

Avant cette dernière phrase de conclusion se trouvait la série des psaumes prescrits pour chaque heure, qu'il n'y a pas lieu de transcrire, car elle est identique à celle d'Abû-l-Barakât. En fait, les trois manuscrits considérés (*Barberini Or. 2, Vatican ar. 584* et *Arundel Or. 15*) présentent tous de menus accidents (trous, haplographies, fautes de copiste), de sorte qu'aucun d'eux ne donne la série de manière aussi complète que la *Lampe des Ténèbres*, mais il n'y a absolument aucun doute possible sur leur identité. La seule variante utile, celle que le ms. *Arundel Or. 15* présente aux vêpres, a été signalée ci-dessus (note 71).

La série particulière du *Vat. ar. 83* sera transcrite plus loin.

Une question reste pendante: selon Graf, la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* attribuerait cet *ordo* aux «Syriens». À vrai dire, nous n'avons trouvé nous-même, dans les passages de cette *Préface* que nous avons lus, ni mention de nationalité ni attribution; le témoin le plus explicite de ce point de vue est encore le manuscrit *Arundel Or. 15*, lequel distingue l'«usage ancien» de celui qui est en cours. C'est peut-être en vertu d'une conjecture que Graf a écrit: «... Verteilung der Psalmen ... zuerst des syrischen, dann des koptischen Offiziums» (*GCAL*, II, p. 459). Abû-l-Barakât, lui, n'hésitait pas et attribuait aux «Grecs» aussi bien la division (sabaïte) du psautier en 19 (20) cathismes que l'office décrit ci-dessus, dont la comparaison montrera à l'évidence qu'il est aussi sabaïte, donc «melkite» et par conséquent «grec» aux yeux d'un copte ... Mais, pour que le parallèle ressorte mieux encore, examinons la série que présente le *Vat. ar. 83.*

d) L'office sabaïte du Vat. ar. 83

Nous avons signalé ci-dessus que, dans sa transcription de la *Préface au livre des Psaumes,* le *Vat. ar. 83* omettait entièrement la phrase *Et ces prières comportent 80 psaumes, divisés selon les heures, les temps et les moments,* et qu'il présentait un office fort différent

de celui que contiennent les autres manuscrits. Pour mieux en faire ressortir le caractère «melkite», nous allons en donner le texte arabe(76):

أول ذلك صلاة سَحَر والساعة الاوّلة من النهار.
الساعة الثالثة والسادسة والكارزمي أي التطويبات.
الساعة التاسعة والأسبارينون أي الغروب.
وصلاة النوم وصلاة نصف الليّل تفصيلها بساعتها.
وما يُصلاّ في هذا السبع صلوات من هذا
المصحف الشريف.

«*En premier lieu* matines et prime; *tierce et sexte*, les μακαρισμοί ou béatitudes; *none* et l'ἑσπερινόν ou vêpres; *complies* et la prière de minuit, *détaillée selon ses heures*(76a). Et (c'est) ce que l'on prie, au cours de ces sept prières(76b), de ce livre vénérable(77)».

Quelques mots de commentaire:

– le mot employé pour «matines» est ici «saḥar», couramment utilisé en ce sens chez les Melkites, et non pas «fağr», que porte à cet endroit la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* dans les trois autres manuscrits que nous avons collationnés; ces deux mots arabes sont à peu près synonymes et signifient «aube» (= ὄρθρος). Les Coptes disent aujourd'hui «bâkir» (prière du matin), mais ils n'ont pas le correspondant exact de l'office byzantin car, chez eux, l'office de l'aube a matériellement disparu(78).

(76) Nous respectons les lignes et la graphie du ms., y compris pour les accents-voyelles, et rendons par une surligne ce qui y est écrit en rouge.

(76a) Il faut comprendre *selon ses trois nocturnes*.

(76b) Voir n. 70 ci-dessus.

(77) Nous avons mis en italiques ce qui est écrit en rouge dans le manuscrit.

(78) Selon toute vraisemblance, l'office jadis célébré «au chant du coq»

- «prime» est en fait textuellement «la première heure du jour», terme que l'on ne peut pas ne pas rapprocher de εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας du *Sin. gr. 863*(79).

- les μακαρισμοί, mot grec simplement translittéré en arabe «makârizmî», correspond sans doute à l'«office de la communion» que l'on trouve dans le *Sin. gr. 863*, f. 75, et qui est à l'origine de l'actuel office byzantin des *Typika*(80).

- le nom grec des vêpres est, lui aussi, purement et simplement translittéré «asbârînûn» = ἑσπερινόν, terme que l'on ne rencontre jamais chez les Coptes (alors que λυχνικόν, lui, y est attesté).

- enfin, ou pourrait s'étonner de ce que la distribution des psaumes n'ait point été exposée en détail: peut-être les heures canoniales reposaient-elles sur la récitation du psautier cathisme par cathisme, auquel ce cas, il n'était pas nécessaire de fournir beaucoup d'explications(81); ou, plus simplement, le scribe a pu juger inutile de transcrire ces détails que tous étaient censés connaître parce que le manuscrit modèle appartenait à une autre tradition liturgique que la sienne propre, comme on peut le voir à la présence des éléments melkites que nous venons de mettre en évidence dans cette *Préface*.

e) Brève synthèse

Au terme de ce paragraphe consacré à l'étude d'un *ordo* «étranger» (soit «grec», soit peut-être «syrien»), attesté dans deux œuvres littéraires que nous avons lues dans des manuscrits arabes appartenant à des Coptes, il semble permis de souligner l'intérêt que présente ce témoignage pour l'étude de l'office sabaïte. Revoyons l'office du *Sin. gr. 863*:

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s'est rattaché à celui de minuit et persisterait peut-être sous la forme de la «Psalmodie»: cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 17-19 (et aussi le renvoi à la p. 184 n. 160, où est résumée la position du P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn, *Tasbiḥa*, p. 171 = p. 120 de l'éd. de 1979).

(79) Cf. MATEOS, *Horologion*, p. 60-61 (et ci-dessus, n. 64).

(80) Cf. MATEOS, *Horologion*, p. 54 et 64. — Dans l'horologion copte actuel, l'évangile (invariable) de sexte est précisément Mt 5,*1-16*, qui comprend les Béatitudes; s'il faut y voir un rapport, on pourrait songer à une influence palestinienne sur l'office copte.

(81) Ce serait un usage analogue à celui qui sera décrit au § 5 ci-dessous.

1) Les Ps. 1 à 8 (= 1er cathisme) ouvrent l'office des vêpres, et le P. Mateos avoue franchement ne pouvoir fournir d'explication à ce fait(82). Nous ne le pouvons pas davantage, mais il y a lieu de faire remarquer que nos manuscrits copto-arabes signalent aussi ces 8 psaumes à l'ouverture des vêpres; mieux même, Abû-l-Barakât les signale ensemble — alors que, dans tous les autres cas, il énumère les psaumes un par un, même lorsqu'ils se suivent (par exemple à sexte) — et il les sépare du reste par l'expression «et encore»: «du (psaume) 1 au (psaume) 8, et encore 103, 116, ...» — en arabe: من ١ الى ٨، وايضًا ١٠٣، ١١٦،... . Il y a ici lieu de faire remarquer que les manuscrits de la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* énumèrent les Ps. 1 à 8 comme les autres (1, 2, 3, ...) et qu'ils n'ajoutent pas «et encore»: signe, à notre avis, qu'Abû-l-Barakât a intentionnellement modifié la présentation pour mieux en exprimer le contenu.

2) Beaucoup de psaumes du *Sin. gr. 863* se retrouvent, aux mêmes heures, dans notre série, mais celle-ci en comprend davantage. Pour que notre comparaison soit plus fructueuse, nous y inclurons l'office byzantin actuel, dont on trouvera le texte dans n'importe quel Ὡρολόγιον grec(83); il est à noter que la distribution des psaumes qu'on y trouve est déjà attestée au XIIe siècle par le manuscrit syro-palestinien édité par Black, *Horologion*. Voici donc l'analyse des similitudes et des différences:

- prime: les Ps. 5, 45, 66, 69, 89, 91 et 112 sont communs; le Ps. 100 du *Sin. gr. 863* manque dans notre série; mais celle-ci comprend 12 psaumes absents du *Sin. gr. 863*(84):

a) les Ps. 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142 qui forment l'hexapsalme de l'*orthros* byzantin;

b) les Ps. 50, 94 et 99 absents de l'office grec à cet endroit;

c) les Ps. 148, 149 et 150, anciens psaumes des laudes, qui concluent aujourd'hui l'*orthros* byzantin.

- tierce: les Ps. 16, 24, 42, 50, 144, 150 sont communs; le Ps. 142 du *Sin. gr. 863* manque dans notre série; le Ps. 60 de celle-ci,

(82) Mateos, *Horologion*, p. 59-60.

(83) Nous avons sous la main l'éd. romaine de 1937, imprimée à Grottaferrata.

(84) On n'oubliera pas que le *Sin. gr. 863* est mutilé de la fin: la dernière partie des complies y manque, ainsi que l'office de nuit, auquel l'*orthros* s'était sans doute déjà joint. Pour ces parties, nous ne pouvons comparer qu'avec l'office byzantin actuel (appuyé par le ms. de Black).

absent du *Sin gr. 863*, est attesté au *mésôrion* de tierce dans l'office grec([85]).

- sexte: les Ps. 53, 54, 90, 145 sont communs; les Ps. 68 et 69 du *Sin. gr. 863* manquent dans notre série; les Ps. 55 et 56 de celle-ci ne figurent pas dans le *Sin. gr. 863*, mais bien dans le *mésôrion* de sexte (avec le Ps. 69).

- none: les Ps. 83, 84 et 85 sont communs; la 7e ode prescrite par le *Sin. gr. 863* ne l'est pas dans notre série; le Ps. 137, qui occupe la place de cette 7e ode, est absent du *Sin. gr. 863*, mais figure au *mésôrion* de none (entre les Ps. 112 et 139).

- vêpres: les Ps. 1 à 8 ont été évoqués ci-dessus; le Ps. 103 est commun([86]); les quatre autres psaumes sont aussi communs, mais leur ordre est inversé deux par deux (116, 129 / 140, 141); on sait que l'usage hiérosolymitain plaçait les Ps. 140 et 141 avant les deux autres([87]), alors que nous verrons l'*ordo du psautier complet* suivre l'ordre croissant des psaumes.

- complies: les Ps. 4, 12 et 26 sont communs; les Ps. 6 et 24, présents dans notre série, manquaient certainement dans le *Sin. gr. 863*; les Ps. 30 et 90 sont présents dans notre série et dans les complies byzantines, à un endroit où le *Sin. gr. 863* est mutilé; le Ps. 120, également attesté dans notre série, ne figure ni dans le *Sin. gr. 863* qui est mutilé, ni à cet endroit de l'office byzantin.

- minuit: notre série, qui comprend 23 psaumes, est structurée de manière tout à fait différente de celle de l'office byzantin; on peut y relever que le Ps. 118, qui est parfaitement adapté à l'office de minuit, et le Ps. 50, qui est récurrent, figurent des deux côtés — le *Sin. gr. 863* manquant toujours à l'appel par suite de la mutilation qu'il a subie.

([85]) Le μεσώριον est un office supplémentaire des jours de jeûne; celui de tierce comprend les Ps. 29, 31 et 60 (aussi dans Black, *Horologion*).

([86]) Y compris dans le ms. éd. par Black, *Horologion*, où il faut corriger «102» en «103» aux p. 84 et 260 (*ad* fol. 70a), et dans l'index de la p. 456 (les fol. 6b et 50b portent bien le Ps. 102, mais le Ps. 103 doit être ajouté avec la référence «70b» qui a été indûment attribuée au Ps. 102, comme l'indiquent la rubrique syriaque et l'*incipit* du psaume). — Dans la série d'Abû-l-Barakât, la référence «113» indiquée par le ms. U ne peut être qu'une erreur.

([87]) Comme c'est le cas dans la *prière «selon le rite du Caire»* (cf. *Horologion copte*, § 4: n. 43, p. 247).

Les constatations que nous venons de faire devront, sans aucun doute, être intégrées à un ensemble plus large, et rejoindre notamment l'étude des horologia, sinaïtiques ou autres, dont le contenu s'écarte de la tradition commune; c'est ainsi que le P. Mateos avait signalé le *Sin. gr. 864*, qui était alors inédit(88). Depuis lors, le Prof. Husmann s'est occupé de ce témoin et en a signalé un autre analogue(89). Et celui qui se donnera la peine d'examiner à fond cette question trouvera sans aucun doute encore pas mal d'éléments nouveaux.

4. L'*ORDO* DU PSAUTIER COMPLET

Le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn signale, dans son ouvrage sur l'office quotidien, deux manuscrits du monastère des Syriens, à Scété, qui prévoient la récitation quotidienne de tout le psautier; par la même occasion, il émet l'idée que les Pères du désert récitaient les 150 psaumes chaque jour ou tous les deux jours, et que ce serait de cette dernière règle que tireraient leur origine les 74 (76) psaumes qui, aujourd'hui, se répètent invariablement tous les jours: la série prévue pour un des deux jours aurait fini par prévaloir seule(90).

Une distribution des psaumes fort proche de celle qu'indique le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn peut aussi se lire dans le *Barberini Or. 2*, dont on sait qu'il provient aussi du monastère des Syriens. D'autre part, Abû-l-Barakât mentionne, à la fin du chapitre 16 de sa *Lampe des*

(88) Cf. MATEOS, *Horologion*, p. 60 et n. 12.

(89) HUSMANN, *Melkitisch*, p. 174-177, signale le *Paris Bibl. Nat. gr. 331*, dont il rapporte la distribution des psaumes heure par heure, et rappelle la série de 19 psaumes que prévoit le *Sinait. gr. 864* pour none; il signale par la même occasion avoir étudié ce dernier ms. aux p. 22-27 d'une publication qui nous est restée inaccessible: H. HUSMANN, *Hymnus und Troparion*, dans *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 1971, p. 7-86.

(90) MATTÂ-L-MASKÎN, *Tasbiḥa*, p. 73 et 74. — Cette explication présente toutefois une difficulté: les psaumes omis de l'horologion actuel sont les plus longs (à l'exception du Ps. 118, caractéristique de l'office de minuit), comme en témoigne l'appellation des mss elle-même (cf. ci-dessus, § 2 b). Est-ce dû au seul hasard? — Le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn parle des «74» psaumes récités quotidiennement; nous en comptons 76, et 74 absents de l'horologion (cf. ci-dessus, § 2).

Ténèbres, l'usage du couvent de Sadamant, où l'on récitait chaque jour tout le psautier. Enfin, nous avons trouvé à Saint-Macaire un horologion original, qui prévoit la récitation quotidienne des 151 psaumes([91]). Il vaut la peine de présenter en détail chacun de ces offices, bien qu'ils n'aient sans doute pas été les seuls en leur genre dans l'Église Copte, comme on le verra au témoignage des vêpres éthiopiennes; d'autres chercheurs viendront probablent compléter plus tard ces informations.

a) Les deux manuscrits présentés par le P. Mattâ-l-Maskîn

N'ayant pas vu personnellement ces manuscrits, dont aucun catalogue n'est publié, nous ne pouvons en fournir la description, ni même en donner une date approximative; voici l'office qu'ils contiennent:

- *Dair al-Suryân, ms. Liturg. 326*

Matin:	Ps. 1-18
Tierce:	Ps. 19-52
Sexte:	Ps. 53-94
None:	Ps. 95-115
Vêpres:	Ps. 116-117 et 119-128([92])
Complies:	Ps. 129-151 (y compris donc le Ps. 151)
Minuit:	Ps. 118

- *Dair al-Suryân, ms. Liturg. 341*([93])

Matin:	Ps. 1-23
Tierce:	Ps. 24-53
Sexte:	Ps. 54-94
None:	Ps. 95-115
Vêpres:	Ps. 116-128
Complies:	Ps. 129-151 (y compris donc le Ps. 151)
Minuit:	Ps. 118

([91]) Cf. ci-dessus, § 1 d et note 49: le Ps. 151 semble être intégré de manière régulière dans ce type d'*ordo*.

([92]) Cette série des psaumes de vêpres est la seule qui corresponde matériellement avec celle de l'horologion actuel (cf. ci-dessus, § 2a).

([93]) Dans ce ms., *vêpres* et *complies* sont nommés respectivement *prière de la 11e* et *de la 12e heure*. De plus, ce ms. commence par la prière de minuit, que nous citons ici en dernier lieu, pour faciliter la comparaison.

b) Le Barberini Or. 2

Nous avons mentionné, en présentant ce manuscrit (§ 1 b), qu'il contient notamment un *ordo* de l'horologion (copte) complet, intitulé en arabe(94): ترتيب الصلوات بالمزمور كامل ce qui signifie: *ordo des prières avec le psaume au complet* (sic). Cet *ordo* se trouve dans une annexe à la *Préface au livre des Psaumes*, juste avant la «prière de saint Grégoire» indiquée par Graf parmi les additions possibles(95). Le voici(96):

Prime [28 psaumes]: Ps. 1 à 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34 à 36.
Tierce [20 psaumes]: Ps. 19, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 37 à 49.
Sexte [20 psaumes]: Ps. 51 à 60, 62, 66, 69, 77, 83 à 86, 90, 92.
None [17 psaumes]: Ps. 91, 93 à 100, 107, 109 à 115.
Vêpres [11 psaumes]: Ps. 61, 63 à 65, 101 à 103, 116, 129, 140, 141(97).
Complies [17 psaumes]: Ps. 71 à 76, 78 à 82, 87 à 89, 104 à 106(98).
Minuit [35 psaumes]: Ps. 67, 68, 117 à 139, 142 à 151.

Une remarque particulière concernant l'office de minuit: les psaumes 118 et 135 y sont chacun suivis de quatre points en forme de croix, et le ms. remarque, en rouge: *à chaque croix* [c'est-à-dire quatre points], *on lit une prière de demande, et à la fin de la prière aussi, avant Κύριε ἐλέησον*; en arabe, le texte est: عند كل صليب تقرا قطعة طلبة واخر الصلاة قطعة ايضًا تقال قبل كريا ليصون.

(94) Nous transcrivons fidèlement le ms.; on remarquera à la fois le mot *mazmûr (psaume* au lieu de *psautier*) et l'adjectif (privé d'article).

(95) *GCAL* II, 459, l. 4 *ab imo.*

(96) Nous regroupons les psaumes consécutifs, alors que le ms. les énumère: 1, 2, 3, 4, . . .

(97) Les Ps. 116, 129, 140 et 141 sont isolés des autres par quatre points placés avant et après leur groupe, et une note suit: *Et ces quatre psaumes sont récités au λυχνικόν (luḫnîkun).* Cf. *Horologion copte*, § 4: p. 247, n. 42.

(98) Les nombres 78 et 79 sont répétés, par dittographie; par ailleurs, seul le dernier chiffre du nombre 104 est lisible, mais son identité ne fait aucun doute: d'une part, la psaume 94 (seul autre candidat possible entre 89 et 105) figure déjà à none et, d'autre part, l'office des moines de Sadamant, que nous allons voir, porte aussi 104 à cet endroit.

Sans doute fallait-il réciter un tropaire[99] à cet endroit, de manière à couper l'office de minuit en trois nocturnes.

c) L'office du monastère de Saint-Georges à Sadamant

Une fois de plus, nous devons citer la *Lampe des Ténèbres* d'Abû-l-Barakât, laquelle attribue aux moines du *monastère de Mâr Georges à Sadamant*[100] l'usage de «répartir tous les psaumes entres les heures de la nuit et du jour». Voici le contenu de leur office[101]:

Prime [29 psaumes]: Ps. 1 à 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30 à 32, 34 à 36.
Tierce [18 psaumes]: Ps. 19, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 37 à 47.
Sexte [22 psaumes[102]]: Ps. 48 à 60, 62, 66, 69, 77, 83 à 86, 90, 92.
None [17 psaumes]: Ps. 91, 93 à 100, 107, 109 à 115.
Vêpres [11 psaumes]: Ps. 61, 63 à 65, 101 à 103, 108, 116, 140, 141.
Complies [17 psaumes]: Ps. 71 à 76, 78 à 82, 87 à 89, 104 à 106.
Minuit [36 psaumes]: Ps. 67, 68, 70, 117 à 139, 142 à 151.

«Et ils lisent le *Lychnikon* au soir ('ašiyah) de chaque jour, d'après son livre arrangé selon les jours»[103].

d) L'office du manuscrit Saint-Macaire, Liturg. 167

C'est le manuscrit *Liturg. 167* (catal. 211) de la bibliothèque de Saint-Macaire qui a été à l'origine de la présente enquête sur la répartition des psaumes dans l'office copte. Au premier abord, sa structure nous avait paru assez artificielle, comme s'il s'agissait d'un

(99) Même terme arabe (طلبة) que dans le mss *Sin. ar. 184* et *389*: cf. QUECKE, *Horologion*, p. 111, n. 46.

(100) Villecourt écrit «Sandamant», ce qui ne correspond ni à l'orthographe des deux mss, ni à l'usage habituel; cf. AMÉLINEAU, *Géographie*, p. 363 (village de Moyenne-Égypte, dans la province de Banî Soueif).

(101) Cf. VILLECOURT, *Observances*, dans *Muséon* 37 (1924), p. 232-233.

(102) En fait 23 psaumes: erreur d'Abû-l-Barakât.

(103) Pour le λυχνικόν, cf. *Horologion copte*, § 4: p. 247 et n. 44.

office copte ordinaire que l'on aurait «gonflé» de manière à atteindre les 151 psaumes quotidiens, et cela d'autant plus que le reste de l'office (tropaires, *Gloire au Père*, profession de foi, prières répétitives...) semble bien être le même que celui de l'*Ağbîya*(104). Au terme de cette recherche, pourtant, nous devons bien avouer que les parallèles anciens dont il vient d'être fait état nous forcent à changer d'avis: bien que récent, cet horologion transmet sans doute une tradition attestée depuis des siècles. Voici la distribution des psaumes qu'il propose:

Matin [29 psaumes]; Ps. 1 à 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30 à 32, 34 à 36.
Tierce [19 psaumes]: Ps. 50, 19, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 37 à 47.
Sexte [22 psaumes]: Ps. 48, 49, 51 à 62, 66, 69, 77, 83 à 86, 90, 92.
None [18 psaumes]: Ps. 77, 91, 93 à 100, 107, 109 à 115.
Vêpres [15 psaumes]: Ps. 71 à 76, 78 à 82, 87 à 89, 106.
Complies [12 psaumes]: Ps. 116, 61, 63 à 65, 101 à 105, 140, 141.
Minuit [37 psaumes(105)]: Ps. [133], 67, 68, 70, 117 à 139, 142 à 151, 108.

Remarques:

1) La prière du matin intègre la totalité de l'«*ordo* du désert de saint Antoine», qui est actuellement récité à la suite de matines et avant l'offrande de l'encens(106).

(104) Il est vrai que, n'ayant pas le temps d'analyser une par une toutes les prières contenues dans ce ms., nous nous sommes contenté de sondages: ceux-ci nous ont chaque fois montré l'identité entre les prières de ce ms. et celle de l'*Ağbîya 1975*.

(105) En ne comptant pas le Ps. 133 au début de la série, que nous avons placé entre crochets: en effet ce psaume sera récité plus loin dans ce même office, et il est sans doute placé ici comme invitatoire à la prière de minuit (cf. la n. 42 ci-dessus).

(106) *Psal. ann. 1960*, p. 283-291. Intitulée *Doxologie (du ton) «Adam» qui se dit après les psaumes de matines* [comprendre «après l'office du matin»], *selon l'ordo du désert de saint Antoine*; elle commence par: «Nous adorons le Père, le Fils et l'Esprit-Saint. Réjouis-toi, Église, maison des anges».

2) On a tôt fait de noter que les psaumes de vêpres ont pris la place de ceux de complies et vice-versa: même si nous n'avions pas les parallèles pour nous le dire, les Ps. 116 et surtout 140-141 sont assez caractéristiques de l'office de vêpres pour qu'on puisse légitimement s'étonner de les voir aux complies.

3) La prière de minuit, dans laquelle aucune divison en «nocturnes» n'est indiquée, comporte néanmoins des divisions internes: le Ps. 118 est entrecoupé de *Gloire au Père (Δόξα)* et suivi d'un évangile et de prières, comme dans l'*aǧbîya* ordinaire; de même, il y a un évangile et des prières entre les Ps. 128 et 129, et encore de même après le Ps. 108; l'office s'achève, comme d'habitude, par la prière de renvoi (dont la formule est longue si elle est prononcée par un prêtre, et brève autrement([107]).

e) Brève synthèse

Ces quatre offices([108]) sont, on le voit, fort proches l'un de l'autre, et ils relèvent du même principe: distribuer les 151 psaumes sur les sept «heures» quotidiennes. L'ordre suivi est plutôt celui du psautier, mais un certain nombre d'exceptions viennent interrompre la progression ordinaire. Certains déplacements se comprennent sans effort, comme ceux des Ps. 116 et 140-141 aux vêpres; d'autres mériteraient d'être étudiés.

Il serait surtout intéressant de chercher à savoir s'il s'agit d'un office déjà structuré que l'on aurait ultérieurement «gonflé» de ma-

([107]) Il semble plus conforme au contenu de cette prière de traduire «prière de renvoi» ou, littéralement «prière de dissolution (de l'assemblée)», plutôt que par «Absolution» comme le fait BURMESTER, *Lit. Serv.*, p. 107 et n. 1; en effet, il n'y est nullement question de pardon des péchés, comme le mot *absolution* pourrait le donner à entendre, mais simplement de dissoudre l'assemblée, comme le fait le grec ἀπόλυσις. — Par ailleurs, Burmester ne signale pas ce qu'il faut faire si aucun prêtre n'est présent; dans ce cas, on se contente de la prière qui figure dans *Aǧbîya 1975*, p. 389-391, au lieu de la formule sacerdotale, *ibid.*, p. 392-419. Il est à noter que, dans la pratique actuelle, il semble que cette dernière n'est prononcée par le prêtre que si l'on doit célébrer la messe ce jour-là; autrement, on utilise la formule brève, récitée par n'importe quel membre de l'assemblée, même si un prêtre est présent.

([108]) Cinq, si l'on veut compter comme distincts les deux mss de Dair al-Suryân.

nière à y inclure l'intégralité du psautier, ou si, au contraire, il pourrait s'agir d'une distribution des psaumes conçue dès l'origine pour permettre la récitation quotidienne des 151 psaumes. L'analyse interne est, certes, susceptible de fournir des éléments de réponse; il serait toutefois utile, nous semble-t-il, de poursuivre aussi l'enquête dans les manuscrits avant de chercher à établir une synthèse, et notamment d'étudier des cas analogues attestés ailleurs(109). N'ayant pas nous-même le loisir de poursuivre cette recherche, nous osons espérer que d'autres s'y intéresseront.

5. UN *ORDO* TYPIQUEMENT BYZANTIN?

À l'opposé des manuscrits que nous venons de citer, qui vont bien au-delà de la mesure habituelle dans l'Église Copte, nous allons maintenant en analyser un qui, à l'exemple des Églises de tradition byzantine, distribue sur une semaine entière les 150 psaumes. Puisque ce type d'horologion utilise les cathismes, nous devrons toutefois commencer par éclaircir ce point (a), avant d'aborder l'essentiel du sujet.

a) La division en cathismes

On sait que le psautier était originellement divisé en 60 parties — idéalement composées chacune de trois psaumes —, qui furent par la suite regroupées en unités plus grandes (20 chez les chaldéens, les coptes et les byzantins, et 15 chez les syriens et les maronites). On lisait le psautier et, après chaque unité, on récitait une prière et on accomplissait une prostration, par esprit de pénitence. Comme le P. Mateos l'a montré, c'est d'après ce modèle qu'il faut interpréter l'office nocturne décrit dans le *De Virginitate* attribué à S. Athanase (*CPG* 2248)(110). Le même auteur a souligné que le nom de *cathisme*

(109) Cf. HUSMANN, *Kultmusik*, p. 61 (l'ancien cursus maronite, qui prévoyait de réciter quotidiennement le psautier, et le «rituel monastique syro-orthodoxe» — celui que nous avons présenté au § 2c ci-dessus — qui aurait fait de même en comptabilisant les psaumes fixes avec ceux du *canon*). Cf. aussi ID., *Melkitisch*, p. 174-177 (mss. *Paris gr. 331* et *Sinait. gr. 864*), qui ont un *cursus* différent des autres horologia.

(110) Cf. MATEOS, *Office de minuit*, p. 174-176.

ne convient qu'aux tropaires que l'on exécute entre les psaumes et pendant lesquels on s'asseyait pour prendre un peu de repos, puisqu'on écoutait toujours la «stichologie» ou lecture des psaumes debout et immobile; c'est par une extension indue — mais aujourd'hui généralisée — que le terme a fini par s'appliquer aux sections du psautier(111).

C'est avec ces divisions que Claude Labîb a publié son édition du psautier bohaïrique: les 20 cathismes et les 60 *Gloire au Père* (ⲆⲟⲝⲀ) y sont mentionnés et même dûment numérotés(112). Bien que ce système soit connu par ailleurs, il nous a semblé commode pour le lecteur d'en rappeler brièvement les parties principales, ce qui mettra aussi en valeur les légères divergences que l'on rencontre parfois.

Voici donc les sections, improprement appelées *cathismes*: **1** = Ps. 1-8, **2** = Ps. 9-16, **3** = Ps. 17-23, **4** = Ps. 24-31, **5** = Ps. 32-36, **6** = Ps. 37-45, **7** = Ps. 46-54, **8** = Ps. 55-63, **9** = Ps. 64-69, **10** = Ps. 70-76, **11** = Ps. 77-84, **12** = Ps. 85-90, **13** = Ps. 91-100, **14** = Ps. 101-104, **15** = Ps. 105-108, **16** = Ps. 109-117, **17** = Ps. 118, **18** = Ps. 119-133, **19** = Ps. 134-142, **20** = Ps. 143-150. Cette division, propre au psautier byzantin de Palestine, est entrée par la suite à Costantinople; elle a été adoptée dans l'édition de Claude Labîb, sans nul doute en accord avec les mss; le ms. *Arundel Or. 15* la suit aussi, sauf qu'il achève le 5e section avec le Ps. 37 au lieu du Ps. 36 (la 6e section est écourtée d'une unité: Ps. 38-45). Quant à la *Lampe des Ténè-*

(111) Mateos, *Horologion*, p. 59-60.

(112) Claude Labîb a sans doute dû répartir son travail sur plusieurs années, ce qui a entraîné la présence d'un certain nombre d'inconséquences dans son édition (cf. *LCA*, p. 120, n. 8). C'est ainsi que les dix premières sections du psautier portent le mot *cathisme* (suivi du numéro voulu: *cathisme 1, cathisme 2,...*) à la fin de la section, de telle sorte que ce mot «appelle» la série de tropaires voulue (précisément le *cathisme 1, cathisme 2,...*); c'est l'usage ancien, conforme à ce que le P. Mateos signale pour deux mss grecs (*Horologion*, p. 60). À partir du milieu du psautier, Claude Labîb a changé de méthode: à la fin du Ps. 84 on trouve «Cathisme 12», ce qui annonce donc la section du psautier (improprement appelée «cathisme») que l'on va commencer et ne correspond plus aux tropaires qu'il faut réciter à cet endroit (après le Ps. 84, on doit réciter le *cathisme 11*, mention qui ne figure nulle part dans l'édition de Claude Labîb).

bres d'Abû-l-Barakât (chap. 6), elle ne connaît que 19 sections, parce qu'elle réunit en une seule les deux premières (Ps. 1-16)([113]).

Le type d'horologion sur lequel nous voulons attirer l'attention à présent prévoit simplement la récitation continue du psautier, une section après l'autre, en concluant chaque section par le cathisme (groupe de tropaires) correspondant. C'est le système actuellement en vigueur dans les Églises de tradition byzantine, où le psautier est réparti sur toute la semaine([114]); mais notons bien que la récitation *currente psalterio* n'y occupe qu'une portion de l'office divin (et, de nos jours, certes pas la plus importante), car les parties fixes et les hymnes poétiques variables sont venues s'agglutiner autour de la lecture du psautier, qu'elles ont presque étouffé([115]). Certains psautiers appartenant à la tradition copte présentent la même disposition mais, à part l'horologion de Saint-Macaire qui sera décrit au point (b) ci-dessous, aucun ne porte de rubrique spécifiant endéans quelle période il faut achever le psautier. S'il y a manifestement lieu de comparer leur structure avec celle de l'office palestinien, il serait imprudent de conclure trop vite à une influence, puisque le *De Virginitate* cité au début de ce paragraphe est sans aucun doute antérieur à la fixation des usages que nous connaissons aujourd'hui.

Pour réciter cet office très simple, deux éléments sont nécessaires: un psautier intégral, et le texte des groupes de tropaires ou *cathismes*([116]). En fait, on y ajoutait sans aucun doute d'autres élé-

([113]) Éd. SAMIR, p. 234. Il s'agit du passage où sont présentées les différentes divisions du psautier, dans la description des Livres Saints; nous y avons fait allusion ci-dessus, au § 3 b (cf. note 68 ci-dessus).

([114]) Ce système distingue la période d'été de celle d'hiver, et le carême y a un statut particulier; on en trouvera une description commodément accessible dans MATEOS, *Psalmodie variable.*

([115]) La liturgie byzantine actuelle résulte de la fusion de l'ancien rituel constantinopolitain avec celui de Saint-Sabas; pour une brève histoire de l'office, cf. TAFT, *Hours EW*, p. 273-291. L'ancien office constantinopolitain a été étudié par le P. M. Arranz dans une longue série d'articles dont on trouvera les références *ibid.*, p. 384.

([116]) L'étude du texte de ces cathismes permettrait sans aucun doute de leur trouver des parallèles dans l'usage grec. Il faudrait commencer par voir combien de ces tropaires font déjà partie de l'horologion copte actuel et rentrent donc dans le cadre d'études antérieures: cf. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen*, p. 47-52 (et en particulier p. 48), et les renvois.

ments, comme les odes bibliques ou les prières d'introduction que tout le monde savait par cœur, et les hymnes et prières consacrés par l'usage; ces derniers, toutefois, ne figurent pas dans les psautiers, et nous ne pouvons donc pas les prendre en considération pour le moment; il serait hautement souhaitable qu'ils puissent faire l'objet d'une autre recherche.

Le ms. *Arundel or. 15* (du f. 38 à la fin([117])) est un exemple de psautier construit comme nous venons de le dire: les 151 psaumes, 18 odes et prières bibliques([118]) suivies du Symbole de Nicée, et les vingt كاثسمات (*kâṯismât*) à réciter à la fin de chaque section du psautier. Il en va de même du *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 163* (catal. 207), où le psautier lui-même, qui est précédé par les prières introductoires à tout office([119]), est divisé en 20 sections et 60 «doxa»; les *cathismes* proprement dits, c'est-à-dire les groupes de trois tropaires, viennent alors, l'un à la suite de l'autre, et les 23 odes bibliques concluent le manuscrit([120]). La seule chose que nous ne savons pas, c'est d'après quel principe devait être distribué l'office de ces deux manuscrits([121]).

b) L'horologion du ms. Saint-Macaire Liturg. 173

Par contre, l'horologion du *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 173* contient des rubriques tout à fait explicites, grâce auxquelles on peut sans aucune hésitation le rapprocher de l'usage byzantin. En effet, la première partie de ce manuscrit (f. 1ᵛ-49), qui seule nous intéresse pour

([117]) Rappelons que les f. 3-37 de ce ms. contiennent la *Préface au livre des Psaumes* dont il a été question ci-dessus aux §§ 1 b et 3 c.

([118]) Dans *Cat. Mus. Br.*, II, p. 5, le nº 5 de la description comprend les quatre odes d'Isaïe, et c'est pourquoi nous comptons 18 et non 15 odes.

([119]) Cf. Burmester, *Lit. Serv.*, p. 99 ss. Nous avons analysé ces prières préparatoires dans *Horologion copte*, § 3.

([120]) Voir la description au § 1 e ci-dessus.

([121]) Le *Sinait. arab. 232* (cf. Atiya, *Manuscripts*, p. 7) est construit sur le même modèle que le *St-Macaire Lit. 173*, dont on va parler au point *b*, mais il est acéphale; il commence dans les psaumes du 7ᵉ «cathisme» (Ps. 47 ou 48), et le texte de ses tropaires, placé chaque fois après le groupe des psaumes, nous a semblé — d'après le bout d'*incipit* que nous avions — être le même que celui de l'*Arundel or. 15.* Si cela s'avérait exact, nous tiendrions la preuve que l'office de ce dernier témoin doit s'interpréter comme celui qui va être décrit (cf. la n. 124 ci-dessous).

l'instant, contient les *indications* des psaumes (non leur texte complet), mais transcrit intégralement les *cathismes* ou groupes de tropaires situés chacun à la fin de la section du psautier à laquelle ils se rapportent, ainsi que la mention des jours où il faut les réciter; les voici, en résumé:

Soir du dimanche (f. 1v-3): Ps. 1-8 + cathisme 1;
Aube[121a] *du dimanche* (f. 3-8v): Ps. 9-16 + cath. 2, et Ps. 17-23 + cath. 3.
Soir du lundi (sic; f. 8v-15v): Ps. 24-31 + cath. 4, Ps. 32-36 + cath. 5, et Ps. 37-45 + cath. 6.
Aube du mardi (f. 15v-22): Ps. 46-54 + cath. 7, Ps. 55-63 + cath. 8 et Ps. 64-69 + cath. 9.
Aube du mercredi (f. 22v-29v): Ps. 70-76 + cath. 10, Ps. 77-84 + cath. 11, et Ps. 85-90 + cath. 12.
Aube du jeudi (f. 29v-37): Ps. 91-100 + cath. 13, Ps. 101-104 + cath. 14, et Ps. 105-108 + cath. 15.
Aube du samedi (sic; f. 37-41v): Ps. 109-117 + cath. 16, et Ps. 118 + cath. 17.
Aube du vendredi (sic; f. 41v-49): Ps. 119-133 + cath. 18, Ps. 134-142 + cath. 19, et Ps. 143-150 + cath. 20.

On voit que, d'après ces indications, seuls les soirs du dimanche et du lundi ont un office, alors que l'aube du lundi n'en a point. En fait, il y a lieu de se demander s'il ne s'agit pas d'une erreur du scribe: en lisant *le matin du lundi* au lieu du *soir du lundi*, on arriverait pratiquement à la distribution des psaumes que connaît l'Église byzantine pendant les mois d'hiver([122]); la seule divergence concerne les psaumes du samedi matin, placés avant ceux du vendredi, mais personne ne s'étonnera de voir que le scribe a respecté

([121a]) En arabe «saḥar» et non «bâkir» (cf. ci-dessus, § 3 d, p. 353); il s'agit évidemment de la vigile nocturne du dimanche.

([122]) De la clôture de la fête de la Croix à l'entrée en Carême, sauf que les psaumes graduels (Ps. 119-133 = «cathisme» 18, suivant l'usage impropre mais aujourd'hui généralisé de ce terme) ne se récitent pas aux matines du vendredi (où on ne lit que les «cathismes» 19 et 20 = Ps. 134-150), mais se répètent quotidiennement aux vêpres des jours de semaine, du lundi au vendredi. Cf. MATEOS, *Psalmodie variable*, p. 328-329. Comme notre ms. ne prévoit pas de section du psautier pour les vêpres, les psaumes graduels ont retrouvé leur place normale.

l'ordre du psautier([123]). Quant à l'office initial, celui du «soir du dimanche», il se rapporte sans aucun doute à la vigile dominicale du samedi soir: comme dans la tradition palestinienne, on inaugurait une nouvelle lecture du psautier en même temps que la semaine, qui commence avec la célébration hebdomadaire de la résurrection.

Une analogie aussi complète avec l'usage palestinien ne pouvant pas être le résultat d'une simple coïncidence, il y aurait lieu non seulement d'analyser en détail les tropaires de ce manuscrit et de les comparer aux autres offices coptes de structure analogue([124]), mais surtout d'intégrer ces données à l'étude de l'horologion palestinien. Une fois de plus apparaît ainsi le rôle éminent de Jérusalem comme «capitale de la liturgie chrétienne».

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En guise de conclusion...

Les lignes qui précèdent ne prétendent nullement établir l'histoire de la récitation de l'office divin dans l'Église Copte; au contraire, le lecteur aura compris que nous voulions ouvrir des pistes de recherche — pistes auxquelles nous avons été nous-même amené par la description de la riche bibliothèque du monastère de Saint-Macaire. Cherchant à savoir si les manuscrits macariotes que nous décrivions représentaient un *hapax* dans la tradition de l'Égypte, nous avons été surpris par les nombreux liens qui, au gré de notre modeste enquête, se tissaient autour de ces offices qui, à première vue, s'écartaient franchement de l'*Ağbîya* imprimée. Peu à peu, les élé-

([123]) En effet, dans le système byzantin actuel les «cathismes» 16 et 17 (Ps. 109-118) sont toujours réservés au samedi matin, jour de la commémoraison des saints et des défunts (cf. *ibid.*, p. 339), et c'est pourquoi les «cathismes» 19 et 20 sont lus le vendredi matin.

([124]) Grâce à l'amabilité du P. Wadîd, qui a bien voulu nous transcrire l'*incipit* d'un certain nombre de tropaires du *Saint-Macaire Liturg. 173*, nous pouvons au moins affirmer que leur série est identique à celle de l'*Arundel or. 15* et du *Sinait. arab. 232*. Par contre, le texte arabe de ces tropaires, qui est matériellement différent, est probablement le fruit de traductions indépendantes, celle des mss. *Arundel or. 15* et *Sin. ar. 232* étant vraisemblablement la même (cf. la n. 121 ci-dessus).

ments épars se sont rassemblés autour de quelques centres de gravité, ainsi que nous avons essayé de l'exposer dans les divers paragraphes ci-dessus. Il est clair, en tout cas, que beaucoup de ces traits communs nous orientent vers Jérusalem. N'ayant pas nous-même le loisir de poursuivre cette recherche, nous avons eu à cœur de signaler au moins quels sont les jalons que nous avons rencontrés, espérant que d'autres liturgistes pourront tracer la route vers la Ville Sainte.

Ugo ZANETTI S.J.

UCL, *Institut Orientaliste,*
Louvain-la-Neuve

Société des Bollandistes,
Bruxelles

STEPHEN GERO

Galen on the Christians

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE ARABIC EVIDENCE *

In his critique of Richard Walzer's detailed discussion of Galen's well-known statement on the admirable morals of the

* *Abbreviations:*

ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER = H. O. FLEISCHER (ed.), *Abulfedae historia anteislamica* (Leipzig, 1831).
ABŪ SULAYMĀN, *Muntaḫab*, ed. DUNLOP = D. M. DUNLOP (ed.) *The Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī* (The Hague, 1979).
ABŪ SULAYMĀN, *Muntaḫab*, ed. BADAWI = 'A. BADAWI, *Abû Sulaymân al-Sijistâni Muntakhab Siwan al-Hikmah et Trois Traités* (Teheran, 1974).
AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO = *Agapius Episcopus Mabbugensis Historia Universalis* (C.S.C.O., Scriptores arabici, ser. 3, tomus 5 (Beirut-Paris, 1912, reprint Louvain 1965).
AGAPIUS, ed. VASILIEV = A. VASILIEV (ed.), *Kitāb al-'Unvan. Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, part 1, P.O. 5, 4 (1909), P.O. 11, 1 (1915); part 2, P.O. 7, 4 (1911), P.O. 8, 3 (1912). Continuous pagination of the text in square brackets, separately for part 1 and part 2.
AL-BĪRŪNĪ, *India*, ed. Hyderabad = *Kitāb fī Tahqīq-i-Mā li'l-Hind or Al-Bīrūnī's India (Arabic Text)*, (Hyderabad, 1958).
'ALĪ IBN RIḌWĀN, *Maqāla*, ed. DIETRICH = A. DIETRICH (ed.), "'Alī ibn Riḍwān, 'Über den Weg zur Glückseligkeit durch den ärztlichen Beruf'". *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge*, Nr. 129 (Göttingen, 1982).
AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, *Tanbīh*, ed. de GOEJE = M. J. DE GOEJE (ed.), *Kitâb at-tanbîh wa'l-ischrâf auctore al-Masūdī* (Leiden, 1894).
AL-MUBAŠŠIR, *Muḫtār*, ed. BADAWI = 'A. BADAWI (ed.), *Abu'l-Wafā' al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik, Los bocados de oro (Mujtār al-Ḥikam)* (Madrid, 1958).
AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, ed. FLÜGEL = G. FLÜGEL (ed.), *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1871).
BAR HEBRAEUS, *Chron.syr.*, ed. BEDJAN = P. BEDJAN (ed.), *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon syriacum* (Paris, 1890).

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Christians, which is transmitted in several Muslim and Christian

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BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.*, ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ = A. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ (ed.), *Ta'rīḫ muḫtaṣar al-duwal* (Beirut, 1891).

BERGSTRÄSSER, *Neue Materialien* = G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie* (Leipzig, 1932).

DEGEN, *Galen im Syrischen* = R. DEGEN, *Galen im Syrischen: Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens*, in V. Nutton (ed.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects* (London, 1981), pp. 131-36.

ELIAS of NISIBIS, pt. 1, ed. BROOKS = E. W. BROOKS (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* (C.S.C.O., Scriptores syri, ser. 3, tomus 7 (Paris and Leipzig, 1910).

EUTYCHIUS, ed. BREYDY = M. BREYDY (ed.), *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* (C.S.C.O., vol. 471, Scriptores arabici, tomus 44 (Louvain, 1985).

EUTYCHIUS, ed. CHEIKHO = *Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, pars 1, ed. P. CHEIKHO (C.S.C.O., Scriptores arabici, ser. 3, tomus 6 (Beirut-Paris, 1906)); pars 2, ed. P. Cheikho *et al*, tomus 7 (Beirut-Paris, 1909).

GALEN, *De moribus*, ed. KRAUS = P. KRAUS (ed.), *Kitāb al-aḫlāq li-Jālīnūs*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, vol. 5 (Cairo, 1937), pp. 1-51 (Arabic pagination).

GALEN, *De theriaca ad Pisonem*, ed. RICHTER-BERNBURG = L. RICHTER-BERNBURG (ed.), *Eine arabische Version der pseudogalenischen Schrift De Theriaca ad Pisonem* (Dissertation, Göttingen, 1969).

GALEN, *Opera*, ed. KÜHN = C. G. KÜHN, (ed.), *Claudii Galeni opera omnia* (Leipzig, 1821-33; reprint Hildesheim, 1964-65).

ḤAMZA OF ISFAHAN, *Ta'rīḫ*. ed. GOTTWALDT = I. M. E. GOTTWALDT (ed.), *Hamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg-Leipzig, 1844).

ḤUNAYN, *Risāla*, ed. BERGSTRÄSSER = ḤUNAYN IBN ISḤĀQ, *Risāla ilā 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā*, in G. BERGSTRÄSSER (ed.), *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 1-53. (Arabic pagination).

IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, *'Uyūn*, ed. MÜLLER = A. MÜLLER (ed.)., *Ibn Abi Useibia*, (Königsberg, 1884); parts I and II separately paginated.

IBN AL-AṮĪR, *Kāmil*, vol. 1, ed. TORNBERG = C. G. TORNBERG (ed.), *Ibn el-Athiri chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1897).

IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, *Ta'rīḫ*, ed. LIPPERT = J. LIPPERT (ed.), *Ibn al-Qifṭī's Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* (Leipzig, 1903).

IBN JULJUL, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. SAYYID = F. SAYYID (ed.), *Les générations des médecins et des sages...* (Cairo, 1955).

IBN ŠADDĀD, *Al-A'laq*, ed. EDDÉ = A. M. EDDÉ (ed.), *La description de la Syrie du Nord de 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād: al-A'lāq al-ḫaṭīra fī ḏikr umarā' al-Šam wa'l-Ǧazīra, Bulletin d'études orientales* 22-23 (1980-81), pp. 265ff.

IBN ZUR'A, *Maqāla*, ed. SBATH = P. SBATH (ed.), *Vingt traités Philosophiques*

sources(1), Giorgio Levi Della Vida devotes particular attention to the evidence provided by Bar Hebraeus, the great thirteenth-century Jacobite polymath(2). Bar Hebraeus gives an account of Galen which includes the quotation in question in his *Chronicon syriacum* (henceforth abbreviated *Chron. syr.*)(3) as well as in his later Arabic

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et Apologétiques d'Auteurs Arabes Chrétiens du IXe au XIVe siècle (Cairo, 1929), pp. 19ff.

ISḤĀQ IBN ḤUNAYN, *Ta'rīḫ*, ed. ROSENTHAL = F. ROSENTHAL, *Ishâq b. Ḥunayn's Ta'rîḫ al-aṭibbā'*, *Oriens* 7 (1954), pp. 61ff.

KÖBERT, *Urteil* = R. KÖBERT, *Das nur in arabischer Überlieferung erhaltene Urteil Galens über die Christen, Orientalia* n.s. 25 (1956), pp. 404ff.

LC = *Liber canonum, apud* Agapius, ed. CHEIKHO, pp. 145ff.

LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Two Fragments,* = G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Two Fragments of Galen in Arabic Translation, Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 (1950), pp. 182ff.

MICHAEL THE SYRIAN, ed. CHABOT = J.-B. CHABOT (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien...* vol. 4 (Paris, 1910).

MS, MSS = manuscript, manuscripts.

NASRALLAH, *Histoire,* vols. II/2, III/1 = J. NASRALLAH, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, vol. II, tome 2 (Louvain, 1988); vol. III, tome 1 (Louvain, 1983).

OROSIUS, ed. BADAWI = *Orosii historiarum contra paganos. Antiqua versione [sic] arabica. Edidit et Prolegomenis instruxit Abdurrahman BADAWI* (Beirut, 1982).

OROSIUS, ed. ZANGEMEISTER = C. ZANGEMEISTER (ed.), *Pauli Orosii historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (Leipzig, 1889).

Plato Arabus, vol. 1, ed. KRAUS/WALZER = P. KRAUS and R. WALZER (eds.), *Plato Arabus... volumen I. Galeni compendium Timaei Platonis aliorumque dialogorum synopsis quae exstant fragmenta* (London, 1951).

ṢĀ'ID AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. BŪ-'ALWĀN = H. BŪ-'ALWĀN (ed.), *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (Beirut, 1985).

ṢĀ'ID AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. CHEIKHO = L. CHEIKHO (ed.), *Kitâb Tabaqât al-Umam ou les Catégories des Nations par Abou Qâsim ibn Ṣâ'id l'Andalous* (Beirut, 1912).

Synodicon Vetus, ed. DUFFY-PARKER = J. DUFFY and J. PARKER (eds.), *The Synodicon Vetus* (Washington, 1979).

ULLMANN, *Medizin* = M. ULLMANN, *Die Medizin im Islam* (Leiden, 1970).

WALZER, *Galen* = R. WALZER, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (London, 1949).

(1) WALZER, *Galen*, pp. 15ff., 87ff.

(2) LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Two Fragments*, pp. 182ff.

(3) The exact title is "Book of the Chronicle (*maktbānutā*) of the Times"; for the text of passage see P. BEDJAN (ed.), *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon syriacum* (Paris, 1890), p. 53, lines 11ff. BEDJAN'S text, (which was

Historia dynastiarum (abbreviated *Dyn.*)(4). He asserts in both works that the statement is found in Galen's commentary(5) on Plato's Phaedo(6). The whole Muslim tradition claims that it comes from Galen's summary of (or commentary on) the Republic(7).

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rather eclectically established and is without a critical apparatus) is translated in E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj...* vol. 1 (London, 1932), pp. 53-54. The passage of interest was separately translated from the Syriac by LEVI DELLA VIDA, who collated and noted some variants from Vat syr. 166 and 167 (*op. cit.* pp. 184-85). On the manuscripts of the *Chronicon syriacum* see further GSL, p. 318, n. 6.

(4) More precisely entitled "Compendium (*muḫtaṣar*) of the History of the Dynasties"; for the passage see A. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ (ed.), *Ta'rīḫ muḫtaṣar al-duwal* (Beirut, 1890), pp. 122, lines 10ff. = E. POCOCKIUS, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum* (Oxford, 1668), p. 123, lines 3ff. On this, perhaps the very last work of Bar Hebraeus see GCAL, vol. 2, pp. 274-5 and, on the exact title as well as on additional information about the MSS, Kh. SAMIR, *Trois manuscrits de la chronique arabe de Barhebraeus à Istambul*, OCP 46 (1980), pp. 142-44.

(5) *pušāqā* (*Chron.syr.*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 53, line 16), *šarḥ* (*Dyn.*, ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 123, line 3). That Galen's work is called a "commentary" both by Bar Hebraeus and by Ibn al-Qifṭī (see note 7) can be regarded as support for a common dependence of both on 'Ubaydallah (see below, n. 64).

(6) Bar Hebraeus writes in Syriac *P'dwn* (to be pronounced "*Pedon*"?) and in Arabic *F'dn*, to be vocalized as *Fādun*, which is the common Arabic rendering of Φαίδων (see e.g. IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 18, line 4; AL-BIRŪNĪ, *India*, ed. Hyderabad, p. 43, line 10). Noteworthy is that in the early and well-written manuscript Bodl. Huntingdon Nr. 52 (14th cent.?), reproduced by Budge as vol. 2 of his *Chronography* (see note 3 above), the name of the dialogue is omitted after the words "in the commentary of the book of Plato" (p. 19, left column, line 12). A later hand wrote the name *Jālīnūs* in Arabic diagonally over the column. The spelling *P'hdwn* in the older edition of P. J. BRUNS and G. G. KIRSCH (*Bar-Hebraei Chronicon syriacum* (Leipzig, 1788), p. 58, line 4) is probably just a misprint.

(7) *jawāmi'* in AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, (*Tanbīh*, ed. de GOEJE, p. 131, line 10), IBN AL-AṮĪR (*Kāmil*, vol. 1, ed. TORNBERG, p. 327, line 13), ABU'L-FIDĀ' (ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, line 16), and in the Christian witness IBN ZUR'A (*Maqāla*, ed. SBATH, p. 35, line 10); but *tafsīr*, "commentary" in IBN AL-QIFṬĪ (ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, line 2) and IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 76, last line). Another fragment of Galen's work on the Republic in a Judaeo-Arabic source is characterized as being taken from a *talḫīs*, again "summary" or "abstract" (IBN AQNIN, ed. KRAUS/WALZER, *Plato Arabus*, vol. 1, p. 38, no. 2, line 1). The term *jawāmi'*, literally "summaries", is the broken plural of *jāmi'* ("assembly", "collection"), but seems to be often used in the singular sense of the epitome of a single book; thus Ḥunayn refers simply to the "*ja-*

Walzer is accordingly inclined to dismiss the attribution provided by Bar Hebraeus as simply inaccurate(8). Levi Della Vida, however, points out(9) that the entire Arabic version of Bar Hebraeus' account of Galen is identical, except for minor, mostly orthographical variations, with one found in the so-called Kitāb al-'Unwān, the tenth-century chronicle of Agapius (Maḥbūb) of Manbij(10), edited by

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wāmi' of the book known as the Timaeus" (*Risāla*, ed. BERGSTRÄSSER, p. 51, line 20), and al-Nadīm notes Galen's *jawāmi'* of Plato's Parmenides (*Fihrist*, ed. FLÜGEL, vol. 1, p. 246, line 12). Terminology is not rigid, of course, in such cases; thus Ibn Rušd's one commentary on the Republic (itself probably dependent on Galen's!) is called sometimes *jawāmi'* and at other times *talḫīs*, though never *šarḥ* (see E. I. J. ROSENTHAL, *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 9).

(8) The mention of the Phaedo instead of the Republic is "due to Barhebraeus' notorious carelessness in such matters and of no significance whatsoever" (WALZER *Galen*, p. 93). As a witness for Bar Hebraeus' supposed carelessness Walzer rather misleadingly adduces H. F. JANSSENS' preliminary remarks to his edition of a minor philosophical work of our author (*L'Entretien de la Sagesse. Introduction aux oeuvres philosophiques de Bar Hebraeus* (Liège-Paris, 1937), p. 23); but Janssens merely refers here to Bar Hebraeus' inaccurancy in matters of philosophical terminology and argumentation, not in questions of authorship! Walzer himself, furthermore, in an encyclopaedia article written some twenty years after his book leaves the question of attribution open, clearly under the influence of Levi Della Vida's comments — the Galen citation, he says here, was found either in the Republic summary or in the Phaedo commentary (article *Galenos* in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* vol. 8 (1972), col. 783).

(9) LEVI DELLA VIDA *Two Fragments*, p. 185.

(10) On Agapius and this unique (extant) work written by him see GCAL, II pp. 39-40. Incidentally, *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, "book of the title" is hardly the correct designation of the work, *pace* e.g. GCAL, *loc. cit.* and C. KARALEVSKY, art. *Agapios de Minbij, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* vol. 1 (1912), col. 899. This rather strange appellation is found only in the relatively late Oxford MS (Bodl. Huntingdon 478) and its descendants; the older Sinai MS (No. 580) calls the chronicle simply *kitāb al-ta'rīḫ* (ed. VASILIEV, part I [9], line 2). Its *'unwān*, its *intentio* if one will, is directed to the eminent patron Abū Mūsā 'Isā ibn al-Ḥusayn (line 6); the Oxford MS applies the word *'unwān* to the book itself and transfers the laudatory epithets originally bestowed on Abū Mūsā to it! Agapius' own designation for his work is "Book of the origins of the creation" (ed. VASILIEV, part 1, p. [271], line 7). It is also perhaps worthwhile to point out that Agapius is called "bishop (*usquf*) of the city of Manbij" only in the title of the unique MS of the second part (see below, note 21); in the introductory paragraph in the several MSS of the first part of the chronicle (see below, note

Louis Cheikho([11]); thus, Levi Della Vida continues, Bar Hebraeus' immediate source, Agapius, has been identified, and, since Agapius' chronicle ist older than the other Arabic sources, Bar Hebraeus' attribution of the Galen fragment to the Phaedo commentary must be given serious consideration. Levi Della Vida does not, to be sure, go so far as to reject *in toto* the Muslim evidence; rather, in harmonizing fashion, he concludes that Galen may well have included the statement about the Christians in both summaries, that of the Republic and that of the Phaedo([12]). Raimund Köbert in his discussion of selected aspects of our Galen passage follows Levi Della Vida's identification of Agapius as Bar Hebraeus' source([13]). Most recently, but clearly without any knowledge of Levi Della Vida's prior discovery, Shlomo Pines again drew attention to the occurence of the Galen passage in the Cheikho edition of Agapius and compared it with Bar Hebraeus' and the Muslim material, as presented and interpreted by Walzer([14]).

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18) he is only "Agapius [or the Arabic equivalent, Maḥbūb], son of Constantine, the Greek (*rūmī*), of Manbij". The 10th-century Muslim historian al--Mas'ūdī also mentions the work only as "the book of Maḥbūb, son of Constantine of Manbij"; by contrast he notes the patriarchal dignity of Eutychius of Alexandria, the author of another well-known Melkite chronicle (*Tanbīh*, ed. de GOEJE, p. 154, lines 13ff.). Was the episcopal dignity only posthumously bestowed on Agapius, by the late medieval literary tradition? The 10th-century date for Agapius' history itself is made certain by a chronological reference to the year 941-42 in the work (pt. 2, ed. VASILIEV, p. [196], line 3).

([11]) AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 10 — p. 181, line 5. Cheikho, incidentally, already observed that this is the famous statement of Galen reported by ABU'L-FIDĀ', (ed. FLEISCHER, p. 181, note 2), but he made no connection with Bar Hebraeus.

([12]) LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Two Fragments*, p. 186. DEGEN, *Galen in Syrischen*, p. 155, no. 96, following Levi Della Vida, leaves the question of the Republic versus the Phaedo undecided. ULLMANN, *Medizin*, p. 64, rather curiously, does not seem to be aware of the identity of the Bar Hebraeus fragment from Galen's Phaedo commentary and the Republic synopsis citation of the Muslim tradition.

([13]) KÖBERT, *Urteil*, p. 406.

([14]) S. PINES, *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications* (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 73ff. ("Appendix: Galen on Christians, According to Agapius"). Though Pines is at least indirectly aware of the existence of the Arabic chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, he compares the Agapius text only with the discrepant Syriac version (via the 18th-century Latin translation used by Walzer!); the substantial identity of the Arabic Agapius and

On closer examination, however, both the dating of the newly-discovered Agapius testimony and the nature of its relationship to the work of Bar Hebraeus prove to be considerably more problematic than these questions have hitherto appeared([15]). The Galen passage is found in Cheikho's edition of Agapius, but not in Alexander Vasiliev's independent and better edition of the chronicle([16]). The explanation for this prima facie strange discrepancy is simple and disconcerting. The passage of interest is found in fact in a work

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Bar Hebraeus texts thus escapes him. Pines' all too speculative attempt to connect the Galen passage with Eusebius' summary of Philo's description of the Therapeutae does not concern us here (see below, note 123).

([15]) As it is well known, Bar Hebraeus' main source is the 12th-century chronicle of Michael the Syrian. Though chronologically possible, the direct utilization of Agapius on the part of Bar Hebraeus (leaving aside for the moment the Galen passage itself) is not entirely certain. The instance of the Abgar legend, where — according to Cheikho — BAR HEBRAEUS (ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 112, lines 7ff.) copies AGAPIUS (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 241, lines 1ff.) is not decisive; the coincidence is in the text of the well-known correspondence between Jesus and Abgar, not in the narrative context. By contrast the account of the reign of Maurice in AGAPIUS (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 325, lines 16ff.) is very close to that of BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.*, ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ (p. 152, lines 5ff.), but of course the dependence on a common source is not to be ruled out. Elsewhere in fact this seems to be case; for the complicated relationship of the several chronicles in reporting one period of Byzantine history see the present writer's *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (C.S.C.O., vol. 346 (Louvain, 1973), pp. 199-209).

([16]) Vasiliev's edition of Agapius appeared in several fascicles of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, but not entirely in the expected chronological sequence. He published about half of the first part in vol. 5, fasc. 4 (1909), then the whole second part in vol. 7, fasc. 4 (1911) and vol. 8, fasc. 3 (1912); in the last place appeared the concluding portion of the first part, in vol. 11, fasc. 1 (1915). It is in this last fascicle that the discrepancy between the extent of the material included in CHEIKHO'S and VASILIEV'S editions comes to light. Graf in his account of Agapius (GCAL, II, pp. 39-40) overlooked this last section of Vasiliev's edition; in the corrigenda to vol. 2 published in his vol. 3 (Vatican, 1949) he does register it, without comment (p. 519). Levi Della Vida does not refer to Vasiliev's edition and maybe did not even know it; Pines (see note 14 above), who utilized Vasiliev's edition of Agapius in his discussion of the *Testimonium Flavianum* (*op. cit.* pp. 6ff.), curiously does not comment on the telltale lack of the Galen text from it. E. Honigmann does remark that the LC is lacking in Vasiliev's edition (see below, note 24) but makes nothing of the matter.

intitled in the incipit "the Book of Holy Canons" (henceforth referred to as *Liber Canonum* and abbreviated LC), which was printed by Cheikho as part of Agapius' chronicle([17]). The LC is indeed only transmitted in the several manuscripts which contain it as immediately following the first part of Agapius([18]). The work however is anonymous and there is no inherent justification, *pace* Cheikho, for

([17]) AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, pp. 145ff. The title *kitāb al-qawānīn al-muqaddasa* (p. 145, line 21) for such a work as a whole is not quite appropriate; this designation was normally bestowed on a collection of disciplinary enactments, canons stricte dictu of several church councils. Though, as we shall see, a detailed account of church councils is given, no particular attention is paid to their canons. Was perhaps the original title of (chronological) canon, often used for listing of rulers and suchlike, later misinterpreted by a redactor, who was led astray by the prominent role of church councils in the compilation?

([18]) The LC is found in the four MSS (all late, 16th cent. and younger), which Cheikho, working in Lebanon, used (Beirut (Univ. St. Joseph) 3 and 4, Šarfeh ar. 16, and Jerus. Holy Sepulchre 93). The LC is also contained in Bodl. ar. chr. 51 (Huntingdon 478), dated to A.D. 1320, fol. 192ff. (see A. NICOLL, *Bibliotheca Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus, pars secunda*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1821), p. 57). Cheikho asserts that the manuscripts he employed are basically identical with the Oxford MS (though Cheikho clearly did not collate the latter); see his *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits historiques de la Bibliothèque Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph, Université Saint Joseph. Mélanges de la Faculté orientale* 6 (1913), p. 215 and AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 5. The incipit of the Jerusalem MS, as reproduced by K. M. KOIKYLIDES (Κατάλογος ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης (Jerusalem, 1901), p. 83, lines 7ff.) does agree with that of the Oxford MS (ed. VASILIEV, pt. 1, p. [9], left column). But the LC is not found as an appendix in the oldest manuscript of Agapius, namely Sin. ar. 580 (dated 989 A.D.; see M. KAMIL, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 50, under Nr. 579 [580]); this is quite clear from the detailed description of the MS in A. VASILIEV, *Agapij Manbidžeskij, khristianskij arabskij istorik X veka, Vizantijskij Vremennik* 11 (1904), pp. 582ff. The LC likewise is lacking in the abbreviated version of Agapius in Sin. ar. 456 dated to ca. the 13th cent. (see KAMIL, *op. cit.* p. 32 under No. 409 [456] and A. S. ATIYA, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 15 under No. 456), as VASILIEV'S comments (*loc. cit.*) show. On the problem of the several numbering systems of the Sinai MSS see KH. SAMIR, *Tables de concordance des manuscrits arabes chrétiens du Caire et du Sinai* (C.S.C.O., vol. 482 (Louvain, 1986)), pp. 3ff. For a listing of the MSS of Agapius see also NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II/2, p. 52.

simply treating it as part of Agapius' chronicle, or as its continuation in any real sense. Vasiliev, rightly, did not print it as such and does not note the LC in his description of the manuscripts of Agapius([19]). Cheikho, for his part, provides no explicit reason for its inclusion in his Agapius edition and does not even comment on the chronological discrepancy which results if the LC is regarded as the concluding portion of the *pars prior* of Agapius' work([20]). Furthermore, though the LC covers in part the same period as the second section of Agapius' chronicle (which, in contrast to the first part, is extant only in one manuscrip)([21]), there is again no reason to connect the two texts([22]). The situation is clear: the LC is a separate composition,

([19]) See VASILIEV'S discussion of Bodl. ar. 51 (his MS C), which contains the LC, in the introduction to his edition (PO 5, 4, p. [7]) and in the article in the *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (see note 18), pp. 571ff.

([20]) "Duplici parte constat, prior ad obitum Theodosii Junioris pergit, posterior reliquum operis complectitur" (AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, "Monitum editoris", p. 4). But the second part of Agapius begins in fact with the story of Jesus from the gospels and other sources; it reaches the time of Theodosius II only much later (approximately at p. 400 of Cheikho's edition). So, if the first part includes the LC, the edited second part is hardly its completion, but is rather to a great extent a parallel account.

([21]) Flor. Pal. Med. or. 132; S. E. ASSEMANI'S description (*Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mss. orientalium catalogus...* (Florence, 1742), p. 213) is extremely curious. It asserts not only that the narrative of Roman emperors goes down to the emperor Andronicus II and the year 1283, and the account of Muslim history even to A.D. 1312, but also that the author is a fanatical monophysite, who rejects the council of Chalcedon. In fact the text as we have is the work of a Melkite, which breaks off with events of the 770's (death of Constantine V, the accession of Leo IV and the caliph al-Maḥdī). Did Assemani by inadvertence describe some other historical work of the Florence collection? Yet his reproduction of the incipit and the information about the scribe (*op. cit.*, p. LIX) are accurate. Vasiliev himself confesses his perplexity as to where Assemani got his information (*Agapij Manbidžeskij*, p. 579).

([22]) This is what E. B. Pusey, in a comment to Nicoll's description of the Oxford MS proposed, if I understand him rightly ("Ex argumenti natura et ex eo quod Assemani fide retulimur ad p. 56, n.[c] [this is Assemani's description of the Florence MS] verisimile est hanc Partem ejusdem esse auctoris, qui primam scripsit, etsi historia Imperatorum in Assemani codice ad tempus multo recentius est deducta" (*op. cit.* (note 18), p. 506); i.e. Pusey surmises that the LC is a short or truncated version of the second part of Agapius' chronicle, as described by Assemani. In the index to the Oxford catalogue the "Liber canonum ss" is accordingly attributed to Agapius, though with the

quite distinct from both parts of Agapius' world chronicle. It was joined later onto the first part of Agapius' chronicle in the manuscript tradition, probably sometime between the late tenth and the early fourteenth centuries([23]).

The LC is a substantial and valuable work, which has been, strange to say, entirely neglected (with one exception)([24]) by modern scholarship([25]); a detailed description and analysis of its contents cannot however be provided here. A world chronicle in its own right, with most likelihood written originally in Greek([26]), the LC

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cautionary remark "ut videtur" (*op. cit.* p. 664, b). Since the second part is now edited and available for comparison it is clear that such is not the case; the LC and the second part of Agapius are two quite different works!

([23]) A *terminus ante quem* of course is the dated 14th-cent. Oxford MS (see note 18). In this connection it is surely significant that the 13th-cent. chronicle of Jirjis al-Makīn, (see GCAL, II, pp. 348ff.) includes numerous extracts from both parts of Agapius' work (under the designation "Al-Manbijī", but none from the LC (see the excerpts, down to the reign of Maurice from Par. ar. 294 in AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, pp. 381ff.). Al-Makīn apparently relied on a MS of the complete Agapius (such as today no longer exists), without however the LC as an appendage to the first part. IBN ŠADDĀD (13th cent.) quotes, freely, two short passages from the first part proper of Agapius (ed. EDDÉ, p. 298, last line; p. 317, third line from bottom). To speculate somewhat, it is quite feasible that the (late 13th cent.?) redactor-collector responsible for the disposition of the Oxford manuscript or its immediate ancestor appended the LC to the first part of Agapius to compensate for the lack of the second part, a rarer work which was no longer available to him.

([24]) E. HONIGMANN, who remarks that Agapius inserted the so-called *Book of the holy canons* between the first and the second parts of his *Universal History* (*Patristic Studies* (Vatican, 1953), p. 2). See further below, note 33.

([25]) In particular Graf did not register the LC as part of Cheikho's Agapius edition (see above n. 10); what is more surprising is that Graf, who included many inedita in his survey, on the basis of catalogue descriptions and his own researches, makes no reference to the LC, though it was already identified and described in some detail in Nicoll's catalogue. NASRALLAH in his recent history of Melkite literature only repeats Cheikho's statement that the first part of Agapius goes as far as Theodosius II (*Histoire*, vol. II/2, pp. 50-52).

([26]) In the list of the kings of Rome both the sequence and the number of regnal years are indicated with Greek numerals (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 156, lines 1-6); a phrase about the condemnation of the "infernal Mani" and the presbyter Diodoriades is transcribed from the Greek, including the case endings of the two proper names; the original wording is preserved in the *Synodicon*

covers the period from the creation of the world to the fifth century A.D. After an account of the priestly succession during the time of the patriarchs and afterwards(27), somewhat surprisingly particular attention is paid to local Roman history proper, from Aeneas until Tarquin: this material is with much likelihood ultimately taken from a minor chronicle of Rome, perhaps mediated via some late antique Christian compendium(28). Consonant with a tradition of Syriac chronography(29) the whole Republican period is passed over in silence; the imperial era by contrast is covered in detail, from Julius Caesar until the sons of Constantine the Great. In most manuscripts(30) another section is added, which continues the narrative into the fifth century, as far as the emperors Theodosius II and Marcian and the events surrounding the council of Chalcedon(31). Inter-

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Vetus (AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 185, line 1 = SV, ed. DUFFY-PARKER, p. 20, lines 2-3 from the bottom). See also below, note 40.

(27) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 145, lines 4ff.

(28) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 155, lines 5ff. The list shows close affinity to the well-known catalogue of Latin kings preserved in Eusebius' Chronicle and in later sources; see H. GELZER, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, vol. II, 1 (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 83ff.

(29) MICHAEL the SYRIAN, ed. CHABOT, pp. 743, 745; ELIAS of NISIBIS, ed. BROOKS, p. 32, line 20ff.; p. 39, lines 4ff. In late antique Greco-Latin chronography also the republican period, if not entirely neglected, is at least often dismissed in a few lines; thus in the *Excerpta Barbari* (both in the Greek and in the Latin versions) it is simply remarked that there were consuls (ὕπατοι, principes) from the time of Tarquin until the reign of Julius Caesar (ed. C. FRICK, *Chronica minora*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1902), p. 302, lines 28-29; p. 303, lines 28-29).

(30) But the Šarfeh MS (Cheikho's MS C) breaks off at p. 225, line 8 of the edition, with the council of Milan; so does the Oxford MS (Hunt. 478, fol. 301, line 2 from bottom = LC, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 225, line 8). Does this reflect the original extent of the LC?

(31) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 225, line 9 — p. 231 (end). This section, which begins with the conversion of Constantine, represents chronologically an abrupt regression, since the preceding narrative has already progressed past Constantine's reign, to the council of Milan. It begins with the words "then we turn to the reign of the sublime (*mu'aẓẓam*) and great (*kabīr*) Constantine" and is introduced by the formula "the chronicler (*mu'arriḫ*) said" (225, lines 9-10), not elsewhere used in the text. It no longer has conciliar material in common with the SV and makes an altogether different impression from the foregoing. One can hardly resist the conclusion that this section is a secondary, though early addition to the original LC.

woven with the account of secular events in this latter part of the LC is a narrative of church-historical character, organized around a numerated sequence of church councils, beginning with the apostolic council in Jerusalem down to the (pro-Arian) council of Milan in A.D. 355(32). Here the source can be clearly identified; the LC incorporated a historically arranged list of councils, which both in its sequence and the wording quite exactly corresponds to the first part of the *Synodicon Vetus* (henceforth abbreviated SV), a well-known Byzantine compilation of the ninth century(33). Here with much likelihood the LC depends on a source which the *Synodicon Vetus*, with small modifications, also reproduces(34). That the sequence comes to an end with the relatively minor council of Milan(35) indi-

(32) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 224, lines 12ff. On this synod see Ch. J. HEFELE-H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. I, pt. 2 (Paris, 1907), pp. 872ff.

(33) SV, ed. DUFFY-PARKER. The editors distinguish two versions; the LC is affiliated with the "vulgate" first recension, which was already published in the 17th century. To the list of MSS utilized should be added *Paris. gr.* 572 (saec. XVI), which gives a seemingly different (third?) recension, reaching from the council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata (No 27) to the second council of Nicaea (No 152); see Ch. J. HEFELE-H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. I, pt. 1 (Paris, 1907), p. 128, note 3).

(34) E. Honigmann has explicitly recognized a connection between the LC and the SV, but he misleadingly characterizes the LC as an "incomplete Arabic translation" of the Synodicon Vetus, which was incorporated by Agapius in the chronicle (HONIGMANN, *Patristic Studies*, p. 2). Our preceding analysis has already shown that the simple attribution to Agapius cannot be sustained; as we shall presently see, the LC is not a witness for a translation of the *Synodicon Vetus* itself but rather of a common source. HONIGMANN further says that the LC "goes down to 378 A.D." (*loc. cit.*); now, though the death of Valens on the battlefield (378 A.D.) is mentioned (p. 229, line 7) the narrative is continued as far as Chalcedon and the patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria (p. 23, lines 7ff.). The section that parallels the *Synodicon Vetus* comes to an end with the council of Milan (355 A.D.). Cheikho has already pointed to sections of the *Synodicon Vetus* (printed piecemeal in MANSI), as parallels to, or sources for the conciliar narrative of the LC (see e.g. p. 179, n. 3), but he did not make clear that these all belong to the same text, namely the *Synodicon Vetus*.

(35) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 224, lines 12ff. On this council see HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.*, pp. 869ff. In the *Synodicon Vetus* it is no 52 (ed. DUFFY-PARKER, p. 46); in the LC it is assigned exceptionally no number — rather it is designated tellingly as "the last (*āḫir*) synod" (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 224, line 12)! The normal formula for a entry in the LC is "the synod (*al-majma'*)" followed by the ordinal number written out in words. By contrast in the

cates that the time of original composition of the list of councils is not later than the third quarter of the fourth century(36). The LC itself, however, may have been compiled sometime in the late fifth or even in the sixth century(37). The extant text seems to have been translated directly from Greek into Arabic, perhaps in the tenth century; despite numerous Syriacisms it is not necessary to postulate an intermediate Syriac stage. Several extensive sections, in particular the long biographical accounts of Bardaiṣan(38) and Mani(39), which clearly interrupt the flow of the narrative and which *grosso modo* reflect the Syro-Arabic heresiological tradition, may well have been added to the text at the time of the translation into Arabic.

The Galen passage is found in a section of the text placed after the account of the twentieth council, held in Rome under Pope Victor against Sabellius, Noetus and Valentinus, at the end of the sec-

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Synodicon Vetus only numerals are used, if at all; in several MSS the paragraph numbers are not even given (*Synodicon Vetus*, ed. DUFFY-PARKER, p. XXII, note 22).

(36) More detailed comparison with other sources would however have to be made, to see whether ecclesiastical histories of the fifth and sixth centuries were nevertheless put under contribution by the conciliar source of the LC in narrating the events of the fourth century and earlier. It is to be noted in this connection that J. L. van Dieten, in his detailed critique of the Duffy-Parker edition of the *Synodicon Vetus* puts forth impressive stylistic arguments for the hypothesis that Chapters 1-35 "bilden eine in die *Synodicon Vetus* aufgenommene ältere Arbeit, die nur die Synoden bis zum ersten Nicaenum behandelte" (*Synodicon Vetus; Bemerkungen zu einer Neuausgabe*, *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 12 (1980), pp. 65ff.). The whole question of the immediate sources of the SV in any case deserves closer investigation; the opinion of the editors that the *Synodicon Vetus* represents a piece of original research on the part of the ninth-century compiler (*Synodicon Vetus*, ed. DUFFY-PARKER, p. XV), is not altogether cogent.

(37) The last section goes down as far as the middle of the fifth century (though we have tentatively argued above (note 31) that this is a secondary expansion of the text). But at any rate the introduction cites a saying of "the holy Gregory the Theologian (*mutakallim*)" (p. 146, line 3); this is of course Gregory of Nazianzus, who died in 389 A.D. The text further alludes to Constantine's building a church to the archangel Michael in the capital (p. 212, line 16); this edifice is however first attested by the 5th-century historian Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* II 3; see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine*, 1. partie, tome III (Paris 1969), p. 339).

(38) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 181, lines 11ff.

(39) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 186, lines 13ff.

ond century(40); the passage itself is immediately followed by the biography of Bardaiṣan(41). After a chronological entry which registers the reign of Commodus as having lasted twelve years(42), the account of Galen itself is preceded by a brief mention of Justin Martyr(43) and of the "silent philosopher" Secundus(44). Then follows a biographical entry on Galen, which, as Levi Della Vida recognized, is almost word for word identical with Bar Hebraeus' Arabic account. It first mentions Galen's literary output, amounting to more than one hundred books. It then recounts that Galen studied unter Aelianus, who cured the plague in Antioch through the employment of the theriac. Galen's place of birth was Pergamum and that of his medical activity Alexandria. Then, expressly to refute the opinion that Galen was a contemporary of Christ, the text notes a chronological statement from Galen's work on anatomy, namely that it was

(40) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, lines 3ff. This synod is no. 20 both here and in the SV (p. 16, lines 1-5) An additional indication of a Greek original can be culled from this entry; the name of Sabellius is given in the normal nominative form, but the translator, not realizing that Νόητον is the accusative form of Νόητος, transcribed it as *Nwyṭn* (line 4). The historicity of this synod, incidentally, can hardly be maintained; see HELEFE-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

(41) See above, note 38.

(42) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 7. There is a moralizing anecdote about the noble-minded slaves of a prominent victim of the tyrannical Commodus, attributed to Galen's περὶ ἠθῶν in the *Fihrist* (ed. FLÜGEL, p. 289, lines 2ff.) and in IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A (here expressly taken from 'Ubaydallah's work on Galen's chronology; ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 76, lines 14ff.), as well as in the late "Antiochene" recension of the 10th-cent. Christian chronicler Eutychius of Alexandria (see LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Two Fragments*, pp. 186ff. and S. M. STERN, *Some Fragments of Galen's On Dispositions* (περὶ ἠθῶν) *in Arabic, Classical Quarterly* n.s. 6 (1956), p. 97, n. 1; on the Muslim Arabic material see already A. MÜLLER, *Zur Geschichte des Commodus, Hermes* 18 (1883), pp. 623ff.). The Galen passage, one should note, is not found in the original "Alexandrian" recension of Eutychius; this recension does, however, note the 12-year reign of Commodus and that "during his time flourished among the Greeks, in the city of *Argamos* [sic], the wise Galen, the author of 'The Art of Medicine'" (ed. BREYDY, p. 60, lines 6-7).

(43) Called here "Jūstus [sic] the Christian philosopher from the city of Nāblus" (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 8).

(44) The corrupted form *Sqwryds* (line 8) should be emended to *Sqwnds*; Cheikho's identification of the name as that of Dioscorides Pedanius (p. 180, note 9) is incorrect.

composed at the time of the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign, when the author went to Rome for the first time. From the ascension of Christ to Galen's time one should reckon over one hundred years. Then the text quotes in extenso the laudatory testimony of Galen about the Christians, taken from "his commentary (*šarḥ*) on the book of Plato, called Phaedo"(45). Though Christians believe in mysteries (*rumūz*) and miracles (*mujizāt*), their lofty ethos rivals that of true philosophers; it is characterized by continence (*'iffa*), devotion to fasting and prayer, and by the avoidance of unrighteous deeds. Some men even among them, notes Galen, have no sexual relations with women(46). After a parenthetical comment on the supposed meaning of *rumūz*, the text notes that Galen died in Sicily at the age of eighty-eight years(47). The closing section mentions again his many compositions, in particular his commentary on the books of Hippocrates and his famous work concerned with anatomy (*tašrīḥ*)(48).

(45) Ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 18 — p. 181, line 1. The title "Phaedo" appears in the corrupt form *N'rn* or *N'd'n*; the emendation to the form *F'dn* of Bar Hebraeus (*Dyn.*, ed. ṢALḤĀNĪ, p. 123, line 4) is obvious. It is noteworthy that the additional characterization of "the book of Plato" as being concerned with morals (*fī al-aḫlāq*) in the Bar Hebraeus text (p. 123, line 3) is lacking here.

(46) Literally "do not defile themselves with women" (p. 181, line 3). KÖBERT, *Urteil*, p. 407, would see a direct echo of the language of Apocalypse 14:4; it should however be noted that the Arabic vulgate text does not use this verb (*dannasa*), but rather *najjasa*.

(47) This is the oriental tradition on Galen's life-span; Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn gives the figure of 87 years (*Ta'rīḫ*, ed. ROSENTHAL, p. 66, line 8) as does Ibn Juma'i in his *Epistle to Saladin, al-risāla al-ṣalāhiyya* (text not published; trans. M. MEYERHOF, *Sultan Saladin's Physician on the Transmission of Greek Medicine to the Arabs, Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 18 (1945), p. 173). On this latter author, a Jewish personal physician of Saladin (late 11th century) see further ULLMANN, *Medizin*, pp. 164-65. The testimony of one late Byzantine source, by contrast, accepted, perhaps too readily, by modern scholars (e.g. P. MEWALDT, art. *Galenos* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, vol. 7 (1912), col. 581), provides the round figure of 70 years (*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, vol. I, 1 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 506, lines 19-20); this looks all too much like a reflection of the 70 years of professional activity assigned to Galen in oriental sources (e.g. *Ta'rīḫ*, ed. ROSENTHAL, p. 66, line 9).

(48) Our passage here makes the quite unprecedented claim that Galen requested and received permission from Commodus to dissect corpses of

Now, apart from the introductory mention of Justin and Secundus and the closing description of Galen's books the account is indeed identical with that of Bar Hebraeus. If the passage is part of the LC, — and it is so printed in Cheikho's edition — it may even be older than Agapius (as Levi Della Vida supposed) and go back to the Greek original of the LC; alternatively it could of course be regarded as part of the amplification of the Greek original at the time of the translation into Arabic. But some scattered editorial comments of Cheikho, which were overlooked by Levi Della Vida, make it quite unnecessary to decide between these possibilities. A note by Cheikho clearly indicates that the whole paragraph about Galen in his two main manuscripts is only found in the margin; in his third manuscript, says further Cheikho, the paragraph is altogether lacking(49). In the oldest manuscript which contains the LC the passage is indeed absent(50). It is therefore highly probable that the entire passage was simply not part of the original text of the LC, and not even of the Arabic translation proper(51). It seems to have been

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those who had been killed; he then performed many dissections and the results of his researches were embodied in his magnum opus on anatomy (ed. CHEIKHO, p. 181, lines 6ff.). In fact Galen seems to have restricted himself to dissecting animals (see G. SARTON, *Galen of Pergamon* (Lawrence/Kansas, 1954), pp. 40-41). Galen mentions, to be sure, the possibility of employing for anatomical observations the bodies of those who fell in battle and of criminals condemned to death (ed. KÜHN, vol. 2, p. 385), but this seems to refer to the study of skeletons (so F. KUDLIEN, *Antike Anatomie und menschlicher Leichnam, Hermes* 97 (1969), pp. 80-81). The whole matter of Galen and cadaver dissection is still very much *sub judice* (see J. SCARBOROUGH, *Roman Medicine* (London, 1969), pp. 168ff.).

(49) "Tota haec paragraphus ad marginem in utroque Codice [i.e. in A and B] refertur" (p. 180, note 7); "In margine relata ex codicibus A et B desunt in C" (p. 423, note to the text of p. 180, lines 8ff.). Cheikho gives no indication about the evidence of the Jerusalem MS.

(50) I.e. the Oxford MS, Huntingdon 478 (see above, note 18); fol. 238v, line 7 (= LC, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 7), with the notice of the 12-year reign of Commodus, is immediately followed by the mention of Ardašir, which prefaces the biography of Bardaiṣan (fol. 238v, lines 8ff. = LC, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 181, lines 11ff.). I am grateful to the authorities of the Bodleian Library for being able to gain access to a microfilm of the MS.

(51) There is at least one parallel instance from Agapius proper where Cheikho prints in the text material which his codices A and B only provide *in margine* and which is demonstrably lacking in the other MSS. See AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 128, line 8 — p. 129, line 11; cf. AGAPIUS, ed. VASIL-

added, perhaps already in the early fourteenth century, in the form of a long marginal gloss, to the mention of Commodus in the text, a gloss based primarily on material taken from Bar Hebraeus(52), by a redactor-scribe, who was aware of the widespread tradition that Galen flourished during the reign of this emperor(53), and who wished perhaps to enlarge on the very brief mention of Galen found in the introduction to the Bardaiṣan biography(54).

Consequently, if our foregoing argument has cogency, the supposed Agapius testimony proves to be dependent on Bar Hebraeus, and we are brought back, in a somewhat circuitous fashion, to evaluating the position of Walzer on its own merits. Walzer's view that Bar Hebraeus' testimony has no independent value and simply summarizes information taken from his somewhat earlier Muslim con-

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IEV, Pt. 1, pp. [246]-[247]. (The marginal addition however is in itself interesting; it includes inter alia citations from Dioscorides, Galen and John Grammaticus' (lost) *History of the Physicians*).

(52) Justin Martyr is not registered by Bar Hebraeus in the *Chron. syr.* and in *Dyn.*, but he is noted, as originating from Neapolis, by Michael the Syrian, who calls him, as our text, "Justus" (ed. CHABOT, p. 107, center col., lines 6-7 from bottom). Secundus is mentioned in the *Chron. syr.* (p. 52, line 21) along with Ptolemy and Galen as famous individuals who flourished during the reign of Hadrian.

(53) Thus the anonymous 13th-century chronicle, falsely attributed to the Copt Abū Šakir ibn Buṭrus ibn al-Rāhib (see GCAL, II, pp. 434-35), mentions in connection with the twelve-year reign of Commodus only the rise of the Sasanian dynasty and the fact that "in his days flourished the wise Galen, an expert in the art of medicine" (L. CHEIKHO (ed.), *Petrus Ibn Rahib. Chronicon Orientale* (C.S.C.O., vol. 45 (1903, reprint 1962), p. 43, lines 10-11). The 14th-century ecclesiastical chronicle of Ṣalībā ibn Yuḥannā gives, incidentally, the — otherwise unattested — precise (though surely erroneous) piece of information, that Galen died in the fifth year of Commodus (H. GISMONDI (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria, pars altera, Amri et Slibae textus* (Rome, 1896), p. 5, lines 12-14). This mention of Galen is one of the rare additions of Ṣalībā himself to the somewhat earlier work of 'Amr ibn Mattā, which he otherwise plagiarizes in a wholesale fashion (see GCAL, II, p. 217).

(54) MSS B and C (but not A) add after the mention of the career of Ardašir the observation that in his days the medical expert Galen flourished (AGAPIUS, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 423, note to p. 180, line 12); the wording of the whole passage concerned with Ardašir and Galen is substantially identical with that of the *Chronicon Orientale* (see above note 53), which could well be the immediate source here.

temporary Ibn al-Qifṭī([55]) cannot be accepted as it stands([56]). In the first place Bar Hebraeus had access to source material which was apparently not known to Muslim writers; in particular the information about the activity of Galen's teacher Aelianus falls into this category([57]). There is additional material in Bar Hebraeus' Syriac

([55]) *Galen*, p. 93, As it is well known, LIPPERT's edition of the *Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* represents only the text of the early abridgment prepared by al-Zauzanī; the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (13th cent.) reflects the unabridged version. See ULLMANN, *Medizin*, pp. 230-31.

([56]) That Bar Hebraeus took his information about physicians and mathematicians in the *Dyn.* from Ibn al-Qifṭī was already asserted by the latter's editor, J. Lippert (*Ta'rīḫ*, p. 17), adducing the additional argument that Bar Hebraeus was bishop for twelve years in Aleppo, where Ibn al-Qifṭī was long active. There are admittedly several biographical accounts of Bar Hebraeus which show close affinity to corresponding sections of Ibn al-Qifṭī and Bar Hebraeus registers in eulogious terms Ibn al-Qifṭī and his *Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* (*Dyn.*, ed. ṢALḤĀNĪ, p. 476, lines 2ff.). But it must be investigated from case to case whether Bar Hebraeus and Ibn al-Qifṭī used common sources or whether the dependence is a direct one. For instance both Ibn al-Qifṭī and Bar Hebraeus reproduce a portion of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Maxims of the Philosophers*; but Bar Hebraeus' divergent text points rather to employment of the original than to that of Ibn al-Qifṭī's version. Cf. K. MERKLE, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen "Kitâb âdâb al-falâsifa" von Ḥonein ibn Isḥâq* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 34-35.

([57]) *'Ily'nws* (LC, ed. CHEIKHO, p. 180, line 12; BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.*, ed. ṢALḤĀNĪ, p. 122, line 12), to be pronounced "Alyānūs". In the *Chron. syr.* the name appears also as *'lynws* (ed. BEDJAN, p. 54, line 4 and Bodl. Hunt. 52, ed. BUDGE, fol. 20ʳ, line 1); Bedjan points the name to be pronounced "Elyānos". A teacher of Galen called Αἰλιανὸς Μέκκιος (= Maecius?) and his efficacious employment of the theriac are mentioned in the (pseudo-Galenic) *De theriaca ad Pamphylianum* (ed. KÜHN, vol. 14, p. 298, line 17 — p. 299, line 6) but with his arena of activity being given as Italy and not Antioch. The (same?) teacher Aelianus is further mentioned in the (genuine) Περὶ μυῶν ἀνατομῆς, along with Pelops and Lycus, specifically as the author of a survey of prior investigations of muscular anatomy (*Opera*, ed. KÜHN, vol. 18, pt. 2, p. 926, line 10 — p. 927, line 3). The first work *ad Pamphylianum* was translated into Syriac and further in the ninth century into Arabic (see ḤUNAYN, *Risāla*, ed. BERGSTRÄSSER, p. 38, lines 14ff.); the Arabic translation (*ineditum*) is extant in Istanbul Aya Sofya 3590 (see BERGSTRÄSSER, *Neue Materialien*, p. 9; the other pseudo-Galenic tractate on the theriac *ad Pisonem* has been edited from this MS (ed. RICHTER-BERNBURG, see above, *Abbreviations*). Bar Hebraeus may have taken his information about Aelianus directly from the Arabic version of the *ad Pamphylianum*; the corruption of "Italy" to "Antioch" is particularly easy to envisage in Arabic script. For other instances of the corruption of the epithet *al-Īṭālī* to *al-*

chronicle describing Galen's enthusiastic and totally unsceptical reaction to reports of the miracles and healings of Jesus and his attempt to go to Jerusalem to meet the still surviving disciples([58]). It is surely to this *Testimonium Galenianum* proper (of obviously entirely apocryphal nature!) to which Bar Hebraeus again refers in a theological work where he ranges Galen among pagan and Jewish sages who gave witness to the great deeds of Jesus; he asserts that the unspecified but laudatory statement of "Galen the physician [is written] at the end of the book of the summary of the Platonic laws"([59]). The

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-*Anṭākī* and of *Īṭāliya* to *Anṭākiya* see G. Levi Della Vida, *La traduzione araba delle storie di Orosio, Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, vol. 3 (Milan, 1951), pp. 188-89, note 4 (end). In any case the immediate source for the Aelianus material is not Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's early 10th-cent. "History of the Physicians", i.e. that work which Walzer mistakenly conjectured (before the publication of the full text) to be a link in the transmission of our Galen citation (see below, note 74). This text mentions only another otherwise unknown teacher of Galen called *'rmyns*, ("Arminus"? *Ta'rīḫ al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Rosenthal, p. 69, line 6); the name is repeated by Al-Mubaššir (*Muḫtar*, ed. Badawi, p. 289, line 7) and in the *Fihrist*, here with the additional epithet "al-Rūmī", "the Greek" (ed. Flügel, p. 289 line 1). The old Spanish version of al-Mubaššir's *Muḫtar*, made directly from the Arabic, simply calls Galen's teacher "Minus" (ed. M. Crombach, *'Bocados de Oro'* (Bonn, 1971), p. 163, line 21; this makes an implicit identification with the enigmatic Minos/Minus of the succession of great physicians who preceded Galen (*op. cit.*, p. 163, line 7; Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, *Ta'rīḫ*, ed. Rosenthal, p. 65, line 1). The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, roughly contemporary with the *Fihrist*, devotes a separate short notice to Arminus (Abū Sulaymān, *Muntaḫab*, ed. Dunlop, p. 103, lines 2214ff. (section no. 222). The emendation of the name to "Albinus", proposed by B. Dodge (*The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm*... vol. 2 (New York-London, 1970), p. 680, note 59) is attractive. It is not at all clear why F. Rosenthal insisted on reading the name as "Herminos" or alternatively as "Hermippos" (*Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1965), p. 54 and 365, n. 10).

([58]) *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 53, last line — p. 54, line 3. Galen did visit Palestine, as it is well known, at an early point in his career, either in 157 or in 161/62 A.D. (see V. Nutton, *The Chronology of Galen's Early Career, The Classical Quarterly* 23 (1973), pp. 169-70) but, by his own testimony, in order to gather various exotic *materia medica* (such as bitumen from the Dead Sea), by no means to undertake any sort of religious pilgrimage!

([59]) *Galēnos āsyā bᵉḫartā daktābā dᵉkunāšē dᵉnāmosē plaṭuniqiyē* (ed. J. Khoury, *Le Candélabre du Sanctuaire de Gregorius Abou'l Faradj dit Barhébraeus.* Quatrième Base: *De l'Incarnation*, P.O. 31, 1 (1964), p. 60, line 17). This massive compilation was composed earlier than Bar Hebraeus' two

compendium (or commentary?) of the *Nomoi* is otherwise lost, except for one citation by Maimonides(60). Should one again, following Walzer' lead, simply dismiss this precise reference as reflecting some kind of carelessness or inaccurancy on the part of Bar Hebraeus? Rather all of this material, of unequal value to be sure, reached Bar Hebraeus most probably via the old tradition of the Syriac chronographers(61), not through the later Muslim writers who

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historical works; the whole fourth *šetestā* ("base" or "foundation") was written, according to bar Hebraeus' own testimony, ca. 1274 A.D. (ed. KHOURY, p. 40, lines 1-2).

(60) M. STEINSCHNEIDER (ed.). *Die Vorrede des Maimonides zu seinem Commentar über die Aphorismen des Hippokrates*, ZDMG 48 (1894), p. 221, lines 16ff. It should be noted that Maimonides calls Galen's work *šarḥ*, i.e. commentary: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq refers to the *jumal* ("summaries", plural of *jumla*) of the twelve books of the Laws (*Risāla*, ed. *Bergsträsser*, p. 51, line 21). Al-Farabi's extant summary of Plato's *Nomoi* bears the unambiguous appellation *talḫīs*, i.e. abridgment or epitome (ed. F. GABRIELI, *Plato Arabus*, vol. 3 (London, 1952), p. 34, line 1). The Syriac designation employed by Bar Hebraeus, namely *kunāšā*, stands, inter alia, for *ijtimā'*, gathering" or *jummā'*, "total sum" in the medieval lexica (see R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1879), col. 1772); an equivalence with *jawāmi'* (see above, note 7), though surely possible, is not attested. Accordingly the title "*jawāmi'* of the book of laws", which was bestowed by Walzer on this work in his reprint of the Maimonides fragment (*Plato Arabus*, Vol. 1 (London, 1951), p. 29 (Arabic pagination)), is clearly not accurate.

(61) The mention of the Galen testimony from the *Nomoi* synopsis is part of a whole series of putative early non-Christian affirmations of the *magnalia Christi*. The catalogue includes JOSEPHUS (a short version of the *Testimonium Flavianum*), the historian Phlegon's thirteenth treatise (*memrā*), and the fifth treatise of Ursinus; then comes Galen, and finally Dionysius the Areopagite. Phlegon, Ursinus and the *Testimonium Flavianum* are noted in Michael the Syrian and Agapius. (For a recent discussion see P. PRIGENT, *Thallos, Phlegon et le Testimonium Flavianum. Témoins de Jesus?*, in *Mélanges offerts a Marcel Simon...* (Paris, 1978), pp. 329ff.). Bar Hebraeus himself cites elsewhere, in an abbreviated form, a dictum of Ursinus, who is presented as a contemporary of the emperor Domitian (*Chron. syr.*, ed. BEDJAN, p. 51, lines 11ff.; *Dyn.* ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 118, lines 12ff.); the direct source is MICHAEL the SYRIAN, ed. CHABOT, p. 103, center column, lines 18ff. Bar Hebraeus also presents affiliated apocryphal prophecies about Christ by Greek sages such as Hermes, Plato and Aristotle; he took the material in part, via a Syriac translation, from an early Greek collection of this sort (see S. BROCK, *Some Syriac Excerpts from Greek Collections of Pagan Prophecies*, *Vigiliae Christianae* 38 (1984), pp. 77ff.). The tenor of what we have called here the *Testimonium Galenianum* and the inclusion of Galen in such a listing of course implicitly dates him early, as practically being a contemporary of

were, to be sure, cognizant of similar Christian legends(62); traces of

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Jesus; Bar Hebraeus who personally espouses a later dating leaves the tension unresolved. It should be registered in this connection that a marginal note (though in the hand of the scribe himself) in the unique 14th-cent. MS of the *Chronicon ad annum 1234* states at the account of Judas' suicide that "at this time Galen the physician became known" (ed. J. B. CHABOT, *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, C.S.C.O. vol. 82 (1916, reprint 1954), p. 127, p. 3; trans. CHABOT, vol. 109 (1937), p. 100, note 4). This text was noted also by DEGEN, *Galen im Syrischen*, p. 132. It may furthermore be of interest to register here that in late (post-Byzantine) Greek and Slavic iconographical variants of the Tree of Jesse, which represents the ancestry of and the prophecies about Christ, Galen occasionally appears (see M. D. TAYLOR, *A Historiated Tree of Jesse*, DOP 34-35 (1980-81), p. 135, n. 34); a prediction of the second coming of Christ, to judge the living and the dead, is attributed to Galen in the accompanying inscriptions (ed. A. von PREMERSTEIN, *Neues zu apokryphen Heilsprophezeiungen heidnischer Philosophen und Kirchenkunst, Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 9 (1930-31 and 1931/32), p. 362, no. 9).

(62) Thus al-Mas'ūdī (10th cent.) is already a witness for the view that Galen was a zealous Christian (see below, note 78). The 12th-cent. Persian author al-Bayhaqī attests the tradition that Galen was a believer in Christ and that the apostle Paul was his nephew! (*Tatimma* (completion) of ABŪ SULAYMĀN'S *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* edited by M. KURD 'ALĪ under the title of *Ta'rīḫ Ḥukamā' al-Islām* (Damascus, 1946), p. 45, lines 3ff. and in a fragment of AL-BAYHAQĪ'S *Mašārib al-tajārib*, cited by IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 72, lines 3-6). The tradition of the early dating of Galen, which is the point of departure for such legends linking Galen and Jesus, was widespread indeed; thus even the 10th-cent. Andalusian author IBN JULJUL says that Galen lived during the reign of the sixth Roman emperor (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. SAYYID, p. 41, lines 9-10); the corrupt name of the ruler *Qyrh*, can be emended with assurance to *Nyrn*, i.e. Nero, from IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, who cites the passage (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 81, line 2). IBN JULJUL (ed. SAYYID, p. 42, lines 4ff.), followed by IBN AL-QIFṬĪ (ed. LIPPERT, p. 123, lines 15ff.) registers the story that Galen heard that Jesus healed the blind and the lepers and revived the dead in Jerusalem; the parallel extract from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a adds that all this happened at the time of the emperor Ūktanyan [*sic*] (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 82, line 81). Ibn Juljul, incidentally, claims that his source is Isidore of Seville (ed. SAYYIḌ, p. 41, line 8); the Latin original of Isodore's chronicle (7th cent.) however puts Galen's activity into Antoninus Pius' reign (ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora* saec. *IV, V. VI. VII*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1904), p. 459, lines 16-17 = PL, vol. 83, col. 1044A). That Galen was nevertheless mentioned at an earlier point in the (lost) Arabic version of the chronicle is possible; thus the Arabic translation of Orosius has a passage on Galen, who is dated to the time of Commodus (ed. BADAWI, p. 443, lines 10-12), which is entirely lacking in the Latin original (VII : 16, ed. ZANGE-

such can even be found in medieval Jewish writers(63). Secondly,

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MEISTER, p. 256, lines 14ff.). GAS, III, p. 68 even refers to the existence of an apocryphal correspondence between Galen and Jesus which is supposedly preserved in Arabic literature; unfortunately the annoyingly imprecise form of GAS reference (Sezgin directs the reader merely to GAS, V, where however nothing pertinent can be found!) precludes further comment. The Persian universal chronicle of Mirḫond (15th cent.) curiously links the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus with Galen and Jesus. Upon hearing that 'Isā raised the dead Galen wanted to travel to Palestine to meet him, but died during the sea voyage. On his death-bed however Galen commanded his disciples to go to 'Isā and acknowledge his prophetic mission; they did so of course, and subsequently brought the true faith (i.e. Islam and monotheism!) to the inhabitants of Ephesus. (*Tāriḫ-i-rauḍat al-safa*, vol. I (Teheran, 1338 H. i.e. A.D. 1959), p. 458, lines 20ff.). Interestingly, the early dating of Galen is even sometimes connected with specifically Persian chronological traditions. Thus IBN AL-QIFṬĪ reports that "others say" that Galen flourished at the time of Qabād ibn Šābūr ibn Asġān (ed. LIPPERT, p. 125, line 22 — p. 126, line 1, cf. *Fihrist*, ed. FLÜGEL, p. 289, line 7). Galen is in this fashion synchronized with the third member of the so-called Asghanian dynasty, which supposedly ruled between the time of Alexander and the Sasanians. This of course yields again an early dating; for instance, according to al-Ta'ālibi (10th cent.) Jesus and John the Baptist lived during the time of Šābūr (ed. H. ZOTENBERG, *Histoire des rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900), p. 459, line 9 — p. 460, line 1); Šābūr's successor (here called Jauḍarz) destroyed Jerusalem as vengeance for the Jews' murder of John (p. 463, lines 1ff.). But perhaps the most ambitious chronological combination is that attested by Ibn Hišām, the 9th-cent. redactor of the famous biography (*Sīra*) of Mohammed; in another work of his, "the Book of the Crowns", devoted to the tales of the Himyarite kings, he reports, on the testimony of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, that Alexander's companions, namely Galen, Aristotle and the prophet Daniel, lived to the time of Jesus (*Kitāb al-Tījān fī mulūk Himyar* (Hyderabad, 1928, reprint 1979), p. 120, lines 1-6). Of course such erroneous computations did not prevail uniformly in Muslim scholarship. Thus in a later section of Mirḫond's chronicle, which depends clearly on another source, Galen, who is characterized as the "seal" of the succession of the great physicians of antiquity, is said to have been born after the time of the Messiah and to have written four hundred books on medicine (*Tāriḫ*, vol. I, p. 695, lines 16ff.). The 11th-cent. Egyptian physician 'Alī ibn Riḍwān proposes a fully accurate dating of Galen under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and quotes, very pertinently, a passage from Galen's *De antidotis* to show that he lived into the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (*Maqāla*, ed. DIETRICH, p. 27, lines 168ff.). Yet the great scholar Ibn Ḫaldūn in the 14th century still registers (without objection!) the opinion that Galen was a contemporary (*mu'āṣīr*) of Jesus (*Muqaddima* VI. 24, ed. M. QUATREMÈRE, *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun*, vol. I, pt. 3 (Paris, 1858), p. 118, line 11).

(63) In an epilogue found in some MSS of Dunāš ibn Tāmīm's 10th-cent.

though the accounts of Galen in Bar Hebraeus and Ibn al-Qifṭī are connected, the dependence at this point is not, as Walzer assumes, necessarily a direct one. Ibn al-Qifṭī's immediate source, excerpted by him extensively for the chronologically-oriented Galen material, is the work of the Christian physician 'Ubaydallah (11th cent.), of the renowned Baḫtīšū' family(64), written to answer an inquiry about the date of Galen(65), specifically whether or not he was a contemporary

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Hebrew commentary on the Sepher Yeṣirah Galen is identified with the famous Rabbi Gamaliel of New Testament vintage. (The text is edited in D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Physiologie und Psychologie im Mittelalter aus hebräischen und arabischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 6. n. 11; for a more recent analysis see G. Vajda, *Galien-Gamaliel, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 13 (1953), pp. 641ff.). The passage could have been, however, interpolated into the text later, in the 12th or the 13th century (so Vajda, *op. cit.*, p. 651). In any case it may well represent a polemical riposte to the flowering of the *Galenus Christianus* legend in Arabic. This Galen, *alias* Gamaliel, is characterized in the text as having lived at the time of the Second Temple, i.e. he is taken by the writer to be Gamaliel I, the teacher of the Apostle Paul (see Acts 22: 3), rather than his grandson Gamaliel II, the successor of Yoḥanan ben Zakkai in the Yavneh academy. The Arabic medical work which the author saw, supposedly translated from Hebrew and bearing the title "book of Gamaliel the prince (*nāśī'*), called Galênôs (*glynws*) among the Greeks" (ed. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 6, lines 23-24) may well have been a medieval pseudograph attributed to Gamaliel II. This attribution is explicitly asserted in a late medieval MS gloss in Bodl. hebr. 2134, fol. 159v. At the request of Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem, Gamaliel and other scholars composed "the book called 'Galênôs' (*glyynws*)", alternatively called the "book of medicines of Rabban Gamaliel" (ed. A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Mansuscripts in the Bodleian Library...* (Oxford, 1886), col. 735; cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.* p. 7, note 11 and Vajda, *op. cit.*, p. 646).

(64) On this author, whose full name was Abū Sa'id 'Ubaydallah ibn Jibra'il ibn 'Ubaydallah ibn Baḫtīšū' and who died in 1058 A.D., see GCAL, II, pp. 111-112. For his place in the Baḫtīšū' family tree see Ullmann, *Medizin*, p. 111 (no. 7) and C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 596.

(65) *Apud* Ibn al-Qifṭī, ed. Lippert p. 126, lines 11ff. and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ed. Müller, I, p. 72, lines 42ff.; the work in question is called *risāla*, i.e. a letter or a treatise (Ibn al-Qifṭī, ed. Lippert, p. 126, line 13). There is no cogent reason to assume, with Levi Della Vida (*Two Fragments*, p. 185), that this *risāla* formed part of 'Ubaydallah's larger historical work, called *Manāqib al-aṭibbā'*, "the Achievements of the Physicians", lost except for some extracts in Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (see Ullmann, *Medizin*, p. 230). M. Meyerhof makes the interesting suggestion (*An*

(*mu'aṣir*) of Christ(66). Bar Hebraeus, one can argue, rather than depending on Ibn al-Qifṭī also takes over, though in an occasionally abbreviated form, several items directly from 'Ubaydallah. Into this category fall the quotation from "the first treatise (*maqāla*) of the book on anatomy (*taśrīḥ*)"(67) and the Galen text about Christian morality(68). He depends, it seems, further on 'Ubaydallah in the *Chron.syr.* in interpreting this last text as reflecting the spread of Christian monasticism some one hundred years after the Ascension of Christ(69); he also borrows from 'Ubaydallah in the *Chron.syr.* the separate item that Galen was born in the tenth year of Trajan(70). As far as the Galen citation of interest is concerned, the most obvious substantial difference (though there are others of sequence and wording) is that 'Ubaydallah, as cited by Ibn al-Qifṭī, attributes the Galen statement to the Republic summary; Bar Heb-

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Arabic Compendium of Medico-Philosophical Definitions, Isis 10 (1928), p. 343) that our *risāla* is to be identified with the letter to Ibn Qaṭrāmiz, mentioned by ABĪ UṢAYBI'A in his list of 'Ubaydallah's writings (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 148, lines 15-16).

(66) IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 72, line 13.

(67) BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.* ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 122, last lom. p. 123, line 1. The corresponding Syriac text has the beginning of the first tract (*memrā*) on anatomy (*ṣrāyā*) (*Chron. syr.* p. 52, lines 13-14); Bedjan's vocalisation of the last word as *ṣeryē*, i.e. "cracks" or "fissures", is clearly inaccurate. 'Ubaydallah, as excerpted by Ibn al-Qifṭī, has the more detailed "in the beginning (*ṣadr*) of the first treatise from the book of the practice (*'amal*) of anatomy", and continues with the citation of the incipit of the περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων, where Galen says that he first went to Rome at the time of Antoninus (ed. LIPPERT, p. 127, lines 3ff.; cf. GALEN, *Opera*, ed, KÜHN, vol. 2, p. 215, lines 3ff.). Bar Hebraeus' abbreviated quotation also notes the reign of Antoninus (*Dyn.*, p. 123, line 1; *Chron. syr.*, p. 53, line 14). 'Ubaydallah could have had access to the passage in the 9th-century Arabic translation (still extant and more complete than the surviving Greek texts; see ULLMANN, *Medizin*, p. 54 and GAS III pp. 98ff.), or in the somewhat earlier Syriac version, translated from the Greek by Job of Edessa for 'Ubaydallah's own illustrious ancestor Jibrīl ibn Baḫtišū', revised and corrected by Ḥunayn (see the latter's *Risāla*, ed. BERGSTRÄSSER, p. 21, line 7).

(68) 'Ubaydallah, *apud* IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, lines 2ff.; BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.* ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 123, lines 4ff.

(69) 'Ubaydallah, *apud* IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, lines 9ff.; *Chron. syr.* ed. BEDJAN, p. 53, lines 20ff.

(70) 'Ubaydallah, *apud* IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, p. 127, line 7; *Chron. syr.* p. 52, line

raeus, also dependent on 'Ubaydallah, claims that it comes from the Phaedo commentary. How can this discrepancy be explained? Whence 'Ubaydallah himself took the Galen quotation cannot be immediately ascertained. 'Ubaydallah in his tract mentions, to be sure, several sources of a chronographical character which he employed in developing his argument; but none of these sources, although they provided material for fixing Galen's disputed date(71), demonstrably discussed the text or the attribution of the Galen citation itself(72). Walzer's further supposition(73) that 'Ubaydallah's source for the Galen quotation was the early 10th-century "History of Physicians" of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn ist clearly not correct(74); one

(71) In particular 'Ubaydallah mentions the history of the monk (*rāhib*) Hārūn ibn 'Azzūr (IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, p. 126, lines 15ff., IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, I, p. 72, line 23). the chronography of Hārūn registered, according to 'Ubaydallah, the birth of Galen in the tenth year of Trajan's reign (IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, p. 126, line 3 from bottom) and that he flourished during the reign of Antoninus Pius (p. 127, line 1); IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A gives for his part more extensive extracts from the chronography of Hārūn, all of a rather routine nature (pp. 72-74; for the mention of Galen see p. 74, lines 2 and 5). The work of Hārūn itself is apparently extant in one 11th-cent. MS in Aleppo (see GCAL, II, p. 112), but its contents have not yet been investigated. In particular there is no additional indication available for fixing more exactly the time of composition of Hārūn's chronicle; very doubtfully a late 9th-century entry from the chronicle of one Hārūn mentioned by ELIAS of NISIBIS (ed. BROOKS, p. 188, line 24) provides a *terminus a quo*.

(72) According to IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A's testimony 'Ubaydallah employed as another source "the book of the times composed by Mar Iliyā, the metropolitan (*muṭrān*) of Nisibis" (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 72, line 20). Elias of Nisibis is of course a well-known 11th-cent. Nestorian scholar, whose bilingual Syriac-Arabic chronicle is still extant; but the published text at any rate (based on Brit. Mus. Add. 7197, ed. E. W. BROOKS and J. B. CHABOT, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, C.S.C.O. vols. 63-64 (Paris, 1909-1910)) does not mention Galen.

(73) WALZER, *Galen*, p. 94.

(74) The text has been published from one MS, after the appearance of Walzer's book (F. ROSENTHAL, *Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn's Ta'rīḫ al-aṭibbā'*, *Oriens* 7 (1954), pp. 55ff.; for other MSS see the same author's *From Arabic Books and Manuscripts. VII: Some Graeco-Arabica in Istanbul, Journal of the American Oriental Society* 8 (1961), pp. 10-11 and GAS, III, p. 268). It makes, to be sure, several chronological statements about Galen, providing the information that Galen died at a date which corresponds to 88 A.D. (ed. ROSENTHAL, p. 69, lines 11-13); it further asserts then "from Christ until Galen there was an interval of fifty-nine years" (ed. ROSENTHAL, p. 71, line 6).

could at best argue that 'Ubaydallah took the Galen citation from some 9th-10th century Arabic source. Walzer's adducing a late medieval Greek text which discusses Galen's date for arguing that the problem was already a matter of debate in the pre-Islamic period(75),

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If this last datum refers to Galen's death, Isḥāq would be a witness for the view that Galen and Jesus were contemporaries — a strange error to be perpetrated by the son and close collaborator of the great Galenic scholar and translator Ḥunayn I. Isḥāq complicated matters further by also asserting that "as for Christ — peace be upon him — he was in the period between Hippocrates and Galen" (ed. ROSENTHAL, p. 70, last line — p. 71, line 1). Cf. F. W. ZIMMERMANN, *The Chronology of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's Ta'rīḫ al-aṭibbā'*, *Arabica* 21 (1975), pp. 324ff. Though the text as published is most probably not complete (more fragments are cited in other medieval sources), in any case Isḥāq cannot be given credit for introducing the Republic commentary passage into the discussion to prove a late dating. Isḥāq's work depends on or to a large extent reproduces the *Ta'rīḫ* of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī (see ROSENTHAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57); accordingly this last work, often attributed, wrongly, to the great 6th-century Christian Neoplatonist Johannes Philoponus, also most probably did not include the Galen citation. ZIMMERMANN (*op. cit.* pp. 328-29) argues that the *Ta'rīḫ* of pseudo-Philoponus, which put forth, judging from the extant quotations, some very strange speculations, hardly attributable to the great Alexandrian scholar, is really the work of a Nestorian physician writing around 800 A.D., who wanted to uphold the primacy of Greek science. This interesting suggestion deserves closer investigation in the context of the, to a great extent still unresolved, problem of the person and work of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī.

(75) The 12th-cent. polymath Joannes Tzetzes devotes a section of his bulky didactic poem written in "political" verses to the dating of Galen; he castigates those who ἐκ γαστρὸς ληροῦντας assert Galen ἰσόχρονον εἶναι Χριστοῦ τοῖς χρόνοις (*Chiliades,* Book XII, hist. 297, lines 11-12, ed. P. A. M. LEONE, *Ioannis Tzetzae historiae* (Naples, 1968), p. 469). Walzer speculates that this view, which the poet of course rejects, reflect pre-Islamic traditions of Alexandrian Hellenism (WALZER, *Galen*, p. 95). It is however much more likely that these misguided individuals were rather contemporary Christian or Muslim medical scholars from Arab lands or their pupils. (So already P. Maas in private communication to WALZER, *Galen*, p. 95, n. 1). Tzetzes himself indicates in a letter (No. 81, not known to Walzer) devoted to the same subject, and employing the same arguments as the passage from the *Chiliades* that his correspondent, superintendent (νοσόκομος) of the Pantocrator hospital, held the view that Galen ἐν χρόνοις καθεστηκὼς ἦν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐνανθρωπήσεως (*Johannis Tzetzae epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. LEONE (Leipzig, 1972), p. 121, lines 6-7 = Th. PRESSEL (ed.), *Joannis Tzetzae epistolae* (Tübingen, 1851), p. 74, lines 21-22). In the 11th century several Arabic medical and scientific works were translated into Greek (see H. HUNGER. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2 (München, 1968),

specifically in a late Platonic and Christian Alexandrian milieu(76), is a *tour de force* which, however, regrettably lacks any persuasiveness.

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pp. 306ff.). Thus the explanation that this view, that Galen lived at the time of Jesus (very popular in the Arab East, as we have seen), was brought from there to Byzantium along with valuable medical knowledge appears to have — somewhat paradoxally — the most cogency. Tzetzes himself dates Galen's *floruit* too late, into the reign of Caracalla, i.e. 211-217 (Bk. XI, hist. 397, line 100, ed. LEONE, p. 468). Rather curiously the 11th-cent. Muslim author al-Mubaššir similarly dates Galen's birth to somewhat less than two hundred (lunar) years after the time of Jesus (ed. BADAWĪ, p. 288, line 9); Ibn al-Aṯīr (13th cent.) in a list of Roman emperors dates the death of Galen to the reign of "Anṭīnānūs", the third emperor after Septimius Severus, succeeding "Anṭīnānūs" [i.e. Caracalla] and "Marqiyānūs" [i.e. Macrinus], (ed. TORNBERG, vol. 1, p. 322, line 15); this "Anṭīnānūs" is of course Elagabalus (218-22) whose official name (as Caracalla's!) was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Ḥamza of Isfahan (10th cent.) likewise dates the death of Galen to the end of the reign of the "second Anṭūniyūs", the second successor of Severus (ed. GOTTWALDT, p. 68, lines 6-7). That Galen lived at the time of Jesus was, to return to Tzetzes, obviously a fairly widespread opinion in Byzantium by the 12th century; the chronicler Michael Glycas indignantly refutes the story, bandied about by many (φημίζεται παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς) that Mary Magdalene told Galen about Jesus' healing those blind from birth. Galen, interestingly, is made to take here the role of a sceptic, who says that Jesus must have had a good knowledge of the pertinent *materia medica* (τὰ τῆς γῆς μέταλλα) — otherwise he could not have performed such feats! (I. BEKKER (ed.), *Michaelis Glycae Annales* (Bonn, 1836), p. 430, lines 11ff.). Glycas for his part adduces as evidence for Galen's later date the mention of Marcus Aurelius in the *de theriaca ad Pisonem* and that of Commodus in the first book of the περὶ ἠθῶν (p. 431, lines 1-3). The Greek *ad Pisonem* does mention the reign of Marcus (GALEN, *Opera*, ed. KÜHN, vol. 14, p. 216, lines 14-14); the Arabic version, very interestingly, makes instead Galen say that he was a contemporary of the emperor Nero! (ed. RICHTER-BERNBURG, p. 32, line 4). As far as the second proof-text is concerned: did Glycas still have access to the Greek text of the περὶ ἠθῶν, now lost except for the Arabic summary and some fragments? On the passage which mentions Commodus see above, note 42. Where the meeting between Galen and Mary Magdalene is supposed to have taken place is not clear; Glycas himself registers (this time without objection) the report that, after the Ascension, Mary went to Rome and accused openly, in the presence of the emperor Tiberius, those who had acted unlawfully against Jesus (p. 435, line 20 — p. 436, line 4).

(76) Walzer even postulates as ultimate source a "Life of Galen" written in Alexandria in the sixth or in the early seventh century, by one of the late Alexandrian Platonists (WALZER, *Galen*, pp. 95, 98). On the related question of Johannes Grammaticus see above note 74 (end).

The attribution of the quotation to the Republic commentary can however with assurance be traced back, in the Muslim tradition, to an earlier date than 'Ubaydallah's. It is not only attested, as already possessing the status of an apologetic proof-text for Galen's benevolent attitude to Christianity, in a late tenth-century *adversus Judaeos* tract of the Christian scholar Ibn Zur'a(77) but also already in a work of the great Muslim historian al-Mas'ūdī around the middle of the tenth century(78). The earliest attestation comes from the ninth-century chronography of Abū 'Isā Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā, a member of the eminent Banu Munajjim family (henceforth referred to as Ibn al-Munajjim)(79); the fragment of interest, which cites Gal-

(77) The *maqāla* is dated in the text itself to the year 387 of the Hijra, i.e. 997/98 A.D. (ed. SBATH, p. 19, line 7); for the Republic passage see p. 35, lines 10ff. See further GCAL, II, p. 255 for a summary of the contents of the work and a list of the MSS, and WALZER, *Galen*, p. 91 for a translation of the passage of interest.

(78) "Galen spoke about devout (*mutadayyin*) Christians in his book on the summary of the book of Plato on government" (*Tanbīh,* ed. de GOEJE, p. 131, lines 9-10); Al-Mas'ūdī then adds the comment "for he was a devotee [*mutaddayyin* again!] of that faith". (line 11). For a translation see also C. de VAUX, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1896, reprint Frankfurt, 1986), p. 183. The passage was earlier registered and translated by Silvestre de Sacy in his annotated summary of the work (*ad calcem* C. BARBIER de MEYNARD, *Maçoudi, Les prairies d'or*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1877), p. 336 and p. 370 n. 37). It is surprising that this testimony was overlooked by Walzer and other scholars who more recently discussed the Galen text. Ibn al-Qifṭī summarizes that part of al-Mas'ūdī's Galen passage which notes that Galen flourished two hundred years after Christ and also registers the relative chronology of Galen and Hippocrates (ed. LIPPERT, p. 123, lines 1-4; see also IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 72, lines 10-11). But Ibn al-Qifṭī omits al-Mas'ūdī's above-cited allusion to Galen's Republic compendium. The citation from al-Mas'ūdī is found already in the same short form in the 11th-cent. Spanish author Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. BŪ-'ALWĀN, p. 84, lines 11ff. = ed. CHEIKHO, p. 28, lines 3ff.); this work seems to have been here, as elsewhere, the immediate (and unacknowledged) source of Ibn al-Qifṭī. (See R. BLACHÈRE, *Ṣâ'id al-Andalusî. Kitâb Ṭabakât al-Umam...* (Paris, 1935), p. 23). Bar Hebraeus also, independently, drew upon Ṣā'id (BLACHÈRE, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

(79) On the person of Ibn al-Munajjim and for an attempt to gather together the fragments of this historical work see S. M. STERN, *Abu 'Isā ibn al-Munajjim's Chronography* in S. M. STERN *et al.* (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition...* (Columbia/South Carolina, 1972), pp. 437ff.). More recently P. Nwiya has shown that our ninth-century historian is most

en's Republic summary, is preserved in the extant epitome (*muntaḫab*) of the late tenth-century "Cabinet of Wisdom", the famous *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī([80]). Where Ibn al--Munajjim himself in turn came upon the Galen material can at this point be only a matter of speculation([81]). The work of Ibn al-Munajjim was however with much likelihood the direct source for the most complete citation of the Galen passage, that found in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Abu'l-Fidā'([82]).

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probably also the author of an extant apologetic tract in favor of Islam directed to the Christian philosopher Qusṭā b. Lūqā (*Une correspondence islamo-chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munağğim Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq et Qustā ibn Lūqā*, PO 40, 4 (1981), pp. 541-43).

([80]) *Muntaḫab*, ed. DUNLOP, pp. 11-12, lines 207-212 = ed. STERN, *op. cit.*, p. 462, lines 3ff. It should be noted that all MSS of the text as it stands attribute the Galen quotation to the history compiled by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā "al--Nadīm" (i.e. the courtier). Stern emends the name to read *Aḥmad* b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā, to whom indeed the *Fihrist* attributes a *Ta'rīḫ sinī al-'ālam*, a "history of the years of the world" (ed. FLÜGEL, p. 144, line 14). Since Ibn al-Munajjim's father is not otherwise credited with the authorship of a chronography, the emendation is probably justified; whether Stern's identification of numerous other anonymous fragments in the *Ṣiwān* epitome, on the basis of parallels in Abu'l-Fidā', as coming from Ibn al-Munajjim's chronography is always correct needs verification.

([81]) Al-Munajjim draws elsewhere on a source which Agapius may also have used (STERN, *op. cit.*, p. 445). Stern's admittedly very tentative proposal, on the basis of one passage, to identify this source as the chronicle of Isḥāq al-Rāhib, cited in the *Fihrist* (*op. cit.*, p. 442), can hardly be accepted as it stands. In particular one would have to investigate the extant MS of the ecclesiastical history of the monk Isḥāq (GCAL, II, p. 214; the author (or the MS?) dates, doubtfully, from the 13th century. As far as sources are concerned, Ibn al-Munajjim of course may have known Ḥunayn's translation of Galen's Republic commentary; Ḥunayn's *Risāla* on Galen's works is dedicated precisely to his father, 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā, (*Risāla*, ed. BERGSTRÄSSER, p. 51, line 1).

([82]) The epitome of the *Ṣiwān* quotes the first sentence of the Galen citation only in an incomplete form (ed. DUNLOP, lines 209-11 = ed. STERN, p. 462, lines 6-8); but important is the fact that the citation is here explicitly attributed to Ibn al-Munajjim. By contrast in ABU'L-FIDĀ' (ed. FLEISCHER; p. 108 lines 16ff.) this attribution is not made. Rather in Abu'l-Fidā', after the mention of the 13-year reign of Commodus, explicitly taken from (al-Bīrūnī's) Qānūn (*Kitāb al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, vol. I (Hyderabad, 1954) p. 159, entry no. 7), the source of the further chronological comment is explicitly identified as the *Kāmil* (of Ibn al-Aṯīr): "It is said in the *Kāmil* that Galen lived during the days of Commodus... the Christian faith had already ap-

By the time of Ibn al-Qifṭī then the attribution of the Galen quotation to the Republic summary was a general and accepted tradition in Muslim scholarship. It can well be the case that Bar Hebraeus had access to and followed the original version of 'Ubaydallah's *risāla*, which associated the Galen quote with the Phaedo. Ibn al-Qifṭī, by contrast, corrected 'Ubaydallah at this one point to bring the text into harmony with the vulgate tradition, which was inter alia supported by the prestige of al-Mas'ūdī's name. All this is of course very speculative; but other considerations, based on content rather than on a necessarily incomplete *Überlieferungsgeschichte* can also be adduced. The dialogue Phaedo is concerned with the willingness of the philosopher to die(83) and the rational justification for the immortality of the soul, which underpins this resolve. The Christian quasi-philosophical contempt for death, which paradoxically is not founded on rational arguments, is a prominent feature of the Galen quotation; exactly such a remark would be in place in a Phaedo commentary! A positive mention of the moderate or even ascetic way of life of the Christians is also consonant with the argument of this dialogue; bodily desires and the lack of self-discipline(84) are responsible for the self-imprisonment and the resulting state of ignorance of the soul(85). By contrast, a discussion of the individual's philosophically-grounded ability to conquer the

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peared in his time; Galen mentioned them [sic] in his book on the summary of the book of Plato on government." (ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, lines 15-16) = IBN AL-AṮĪR, *Kāmil*, vol. 1, ed. TORNBERG, p. 327, lines 11-13). The Republic quotation proper was however *not* omitted subsequently by copyists from the text of Ibn al-Aṯīr as being uninteresting and irrelevant to Muslim readers, as Köbert would have it (KÖBERT, *Urteil*, p. 405). Rather I would surmise that it was in fact never part of Ibn al-Aṯīr's text; Abu'l-Fidā', who wished to present the Galen passage, simply took it from his other source, namely Ibn al-Munajjim! Stern's article, incidentally, instead of the indicated translation of the Abu'l-Fidā' text proper, gives here (p. 453) Walzer's reconstruction of the Galen passage in translation, which includes also material from other sources, such as Ibn al-Qifṭī (see *Galen*, p. 15). Stern's contribution was published posthumously, although his name still appears as that of one of the editors of the volume, which is a *Festschrift* to Walzer. The article was obviously not completed before his death (see e.g. p. 466, n. 48); this may explain the strange incongruity.

(83) E.g. *Phaedo*, 67 d 6-10.

(84) E.g. *Phaedo*, 64 a 3-4, 6.

(85) *Phaedo*, 82 d 8-83 c 3.

fear of death and the lower appetites would be much less appropriate in the context of the blueprint for an ideal society which is put forth in the Republic. This latter work was however much better known than the Phaedo in the Orient during the Middle Ages(86). It is surely easier to envisage a citation originally linked to the Phaedo as being subsequently attributed to a work about the Republic than conversely. It is likely that at some point, prior to the late ninth century, the quotation taken from the Phaedo commentary came to be attached, in one branch of the textual tradition, to the Republic summary. According to an early witness the Galen quotation was found at the *end* of this summary(87); the theme of the immortality of the soul and of posthumous reward and punishment in the myth of Er in the latter part of Book X of the Republic, would have provided indeed a less inappropriate context than the rest of the work(88). Though the exact wording of the Galen citation is better

(86) There is no work on the *Phaedo* which could be compared with the full-scale commentary by Ibn Rušd (Averroes) on the Republic (extant only in the Hebrew translation; ed. E. I. J. ROSENTHAL (see above, note 7)). To be sure, the closing narrative portion of the *Phaedo,* the moving account of Socrates' leave-taking and death, was popular and frequently reproduced. In particular this is the case in the biographical notice devoted to Socrates by IBN AL-QIFṬĪ (ed. LIPPERT, pp. 200-206) and IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A (ed. MÜLLER I, p. 45), admittedly without mentioning the provenience from the dialogue *Phaedo.* J. Bielawski's surmise that this material may come from Galen's summaries of the Platonic dialogues (*Phédon en version arabe et la risālat al-tuffāḥa,* in J. M. BARRAL (ed.), *Orientalia hispanica,* vol. I/1 (Leiden, 1974), p. 126) cannot be substantiated. Al-Bīrūnī (11th cent.) quotes several passages from the *Phaedo* (*India,* ed. Hyderabad, p. 43, lines 10ff.; p. 49, lines 12ff.; p. 53, last line; p. 54, line 7 (this last extract without noting the source). The passages are with some likelihood taken from an Arabic translation of a commentary of Proclus on the *Phaedo* (via the Syriac?) not from a *Phaedo* summary by Galen or someone else; the dialogue form has been changed however into the narrative. See E. C. SACHAU, *Alberuni's India,* vol. 2 (London, 1888), pp. 277-78. Thus Walzer's characterization of al-Bīrūnī's source as simply "Phaedonis Compendium" (*Plato Arabus,* vol. I, p. 3) is not entirely accurate. On the provenience of al-Bīrūnī's *Phaedo* extracts see further F. ROSENTHAL, *On the knowledge of Plato's philosophy in the Islamic world, Islamic Culture* 14 (1940), pp. 395-6.

(87) IBN ZUR'A, *Maqāla,* ed. SBATH, p. 35, line 10.

(88) According to the wording provided by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a the Christians face bravely not only death itself but also "the things which come to pass after it" (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, line 2). Could this be a redactorial addition, made to link the Galen passage more closely with the depiction of the afterworld in the myth of Er? See further below, note 100.

preserved in the Muslim sources than in his own truncated and revised version, Bar Hebraeus' ascription thereof to Galen's commentary on Phaedo is, if our argument has cogency, the original and correct attribution.

Finally some comments are in order on the questions of authenticity and literary unity which, despite the interest that the passage has aroused, have not been forthrightly dealt with. The Galen text, for which only Arabic evidence is available, has been occasionally dismissed as a fabrication by oriental Christians(89); conversely, especially since the appearance of Walzer's monograph, the passage (or rather Walzer's eclectic English translation thereof) has been accepted as genuine, with hardly any awareness of the still very moot philological problems involved in determining the original context and the precise wording of the text(90).

The earliest attestation for the passage comes, as we have seen, from the ninth century; any attempt to trace it further back has only

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(89) M. Meyerhof, commenting on Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻa's reference to the non-extant Galenic tract "on the solicitude (*ʻināya*) of the Creator" (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 102, lines 19-20) dismisses it out of hand as "eine apokryphe Schöpfung durch christliche Ärzte griechischer oder syrischer Sprache" and puts the Republic fragment of Galen into the same category of Christian fabrications ("Über echte und unechte Schriften Galens nach arabischen Quellen", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1928, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin 1928), p. 543, note 1). H. O. Schröder simply echoes Meyerhof's negative judgment (*Galeni in Platonis Timaeum commentarii fragmenta* (Corpus medicorum graecorum, Supplementum I (Leipzig, 1934), p. XVI, note 6). P. Brown, citing (via Walzer's translation) the part of the text which praises the Christians' lifelong devotion to chastity, throws out the suggestion that this remark is possibly "a later, Christian interpolation into the Arabic tradition" (*The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), p. 32, n. 1).

(90) For instance P. de LABRIOLLE, *La réaction paienne* (Paris, 1934), pp. 95ff., W. H. C. FREND, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1965), p. 238, R. L. WILKEN, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 79-80, and most recently E. PAGELS, *Adam, Eve and the Serpent* (New York, 1988), p. 58 (with a quaint rendering of Kraus and Walzer's Latin translation "a concubitu abstinuerunt" as "abstinence from the use of sexual organs"). Even A. von Harnack simply presents his German version of Fleischer's Latin translation of the Abu'l-Fidā' text as "das Zeugnis des scharfblickenden Arztes Galen" tout court (*Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1924), p. 232).

a very speculative basis. The possibility that the text *in toto* is a late Christian forgery cannot therefore be ruled out. But there are no concrete arguments for total inauthenticity. It could be objected that our text is the only passage where Galen mentions the Christians by themselves, rather than, as elsewhere, in combination with the Jews(91); but Galen, when the occasion requires, refers to the Jews alone(92). The designation of "the people (*qaum*) who are called Christians (*naṣāra*)"(93) is surely not original; the Galen text most probably referred here, as elsewhere to the "nation (or 'people') of Christ", for which in fact support can be found in an early attestation of our text(94), *not* to Χριστιανοί(95). But such pe-

(91) See below, notes 107-108.

(92) Thus Galen alludes to Moses who legislated for "the nation of the Jews (*ša'b al-yahūd*)" (*On anatomy according to Hippocrates*, quoted by Ibn al-Muṭrān *apud* IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, line 14) See further below, note 106. For Galen's references to Jews and Palestine see M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 306ff. Regrettably the passages extant only in Arabic translation are not analyzed in detail by Stern, who merely cites Walzer's English translation of them (p. 306, n. 1; p. 308).

(93) ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, line 18; IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, line 3; BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.* ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 123, line 4. Bar Hebraeus also employs the designation *naṣrāyē* in the *Chron. syr.* (ed. BEDJAN, p. 53, line 17). The name *naṣrāyē* for Christians is, to be sure, attested in pre-Islamic Syriac, but always with special, at times pejorative connotations; more usual terms were *kresṭyānē* and *mšiḥāyē* (see S. BROCK, *Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac*, in A. DIETRICH (ed.), *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet* (Göttingen, 1975), pp. 91ff.). With some likelihood then, as LEVI DELLA VIDA already supposed (*Two Fragments*, p. 184, note 14), Bar Hebraeus' source is Arabic here. As we suggested earlier, this Arabic source is the *risāla* of 'Ubaydallah; in the same paragraph Bar Hebraeus himself calls the Christians *kresṭyānē* (ed. BEDJAN, p. 53, line 11).

(94) After referring to the "People (*ahl*) of the law (*šarī'a*) of Moses and Christ (*al-masīḥ*)" Ibn Zur'a quotes from the Galen passage concerned with "the law of the nation (*qaum*) belonging to Christ (*al-masīḥ*)" (*Maqāla*, ed. SBATH, p. 35, lines 9ff.). If, as it is likely, we should debit the introduction of the term *šari'a* to the account of Ibn Zur'a himself, the Galen passage as known to him may well have had the Arabic equivalent of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, i.e. *qaum al-masīḥ* or *ahl al-masīḥ*.

(95) The designation Χριστιανοί (to whom the author reckons himself also!) is employed only once, namely in the pseudo-Galenic *de affectuum renibus*; in an aside (which looks in any case very much like an interpolation into the text!) he asserts that Christians should have recourse to (unspecified)

ripheral considerations are hardly cogent enough to make one reject the authenticity of the text as a whole. That Galen made indeed *some* statement which mentioned the Christians in an ethical context seems to be more appropriate as a working hypothesis. As we have argued at length, there are good reasons for adopting the view that the passage originally did stand in the text of Galen's Phaedo commentary, though subsequently it was incorporated into the Republic summary; the exact time and circumstances of the translation from Greek into Arabic(96) are shrouded in uncertainty.

The introductory statement, which criticizes the exclusive reliance on non-rational motivations (the word used to describe these is *rumūz,* usually tranlated as "mysteries" or "enigmas"(97)) in the ethical sphere, bears the stamp of originality. The Christians are only adduced subsequently as one example of this kind of non-reflective behavior, which can of course only be tolerated, but not wholeheartedly approved by the true philosopher, who grounds his actions rather on logical demonstration (*burhān*)(98). It is significant that Christian apologists and those Muslim witnesses which directly reflect the Christian tradition of the text did not cite this critical

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mystical means of healing which can cure not only those bodily ills in the face of which physicians are powerless but afflictions of the spirit also (ed. KÜHN, vol. 19, p. 679, lines 4ff.). I am most grateful to Prof. G. Fichtner (Institut für Geschichte der Medizin, Tübingen) for being able to gain access to a computerized concordance of the (Greek) Galen corpus, and to check the occurrences of Χριστιανός and related words.

(96) There is no reason to assume the existence of a Syriac intermediate version which would have been used for the preparation of an Arabic translation; in contrast to some other works of Galen, Ḥunayn does not refer to such a version in connection with the Republic synopsis (*Risāla,* ed. BERGSTRÄSSER, p. 51, lines 13ff.).

(97) ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, line 17; ABŪ SULAYMĀN, *Muntaḫab,* ed. DUNLOP, p. 12, line 210 = *Muntaḫab,* ed. BADAWĪ, p. 95, line 4 etc. The word is the plural of *ramz* (perhaps loaned from Syriac *remzā*?), which has the general meaning of sign or signal, and more abstractly that of riddle, allegory or symbol. Walzer renders *rumūz* all too narrowly as "parables" (WALZER, *Galen,* p. 15); this is of course the interpretation (not necessarily correct!) of Bar Hebraeus. See below, n. 100.

(98) Literally "the succession of demonstrative arguments", *siyāqāt al-aqāwil al-burhāniyya,* ABU'L-FIDĀ', *loc. cit., Muntaḫab,* ed. DUNLOP. p. 11, line 209. The expression may reflect an original ἡ συνέχεια (or τὸ σύνεχες) τῶν λόγων ἀποδεικτικῶν.

introduction(99). What *rumūz* originally meant in this context was subsequently not clear to the tradents of the passage, as the several versions of an explanatory gloss, surely introduced after the translation into Arabic, show(100). Several retroversion of *rumūz* have been proferred, in particular μῦθοι(101) and παραβολαί(102); the most recent suggestion, σημεῖα(103) is however better, since it reflects the basic meaning of *rumūz*, namely "signs", or "indications". There are of course other possibilities(104); but the general intention of Galen's comment is in any case obvious enough.

(99) In particular Bar Hebraeus and Ibn al-Qifṭī, both going back to 'Ubaydallah. The absence of the gloss on *rumūz* (see next note) in this version was compensated for by adding to *rumūz* the pendant "and miracles (*mu'jizāt*)" (BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.*, p. 123, line 5). IBN AL-QIFṬĪ (ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, line 4) has the incongruous singular form *mu'jiz;* so does also IBN ABI UṢAYBI'A (*mu'jiza*, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, line 1)).

(100) Ibn al-Munajjim (or his epitomator) says that the expression refers to the predictions [literally 'the things to come', emending *jā't* to *jā'iyāt*] of the prophets" (*apud* ABŪ SULAYMĀN, *Muntaḫab*, ed. DUNLOP, line 210). ABU'L-FIDĀ' has the smoother version that "he [i.e. Galen] by *rumūz* means the stories (*al-aḫbār*) about the rewards (*al-ṯawāb*) and the punishment (*al-'iqāb*) in the hereafter" (ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, lines 17-18); this seems to be again the addition of a commentator who sensed the incongruity of linking the Galen quote with the basic concerns of the Republic and emphasized accordingly the connection with the myth of Er (cf. above, note 88). It is probably not necessary to take these words to be a *Christian* gloss, as Kraus and Walzer think (*Plato Arabus*, vol. 1, p. 98, n. 3); the terminology employed is typically Muslim. But Bar Hebraeus makes the following comment (taken from his putative source 'Ubaydallah?): "I say that by *rumūz* he has in mind the parables (*al-amṯāl*) given about the heavenly kingdom in the pure gospel" (*Dyn.*, ed. ṢĀLḤĀNĪ, p. 123, lines 7-8). One could well argue that the (Muslim) gloss in Abu'l-Fidā' is merely an interpretative rewording of the earlier Christian version preserved in Bar Hebraeus. In the *Chron. syr.* Bar Hebraeus makes no comment on the corresponding Syriac expression, *remzē* (ed. BEDJAN, p. 53, line 17).

(101) So H. SCHÖNE, *Ein Einbruch der antiken Logik und Textkritik in die altchristliche Theologie. Eusebios' KG 5, 28, 13-19 in neuer Übertragung erläutert*, in *Pisciculi* (*Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 1 (Münster, 1939), p. 262.

(102) This is Walzer's preference (WALZER, *Galen*, pp. 15, 57; cf. *Plato Arabus*, vol. 1, p. 99).

(103) KÖBERT, *Urteil*, p. 409.

(104) With due diffidence I would propose here still another alternative, namely νεύματα. The word νεῦμα has the double meaning of "command"

As an illustration of the widespread reliance on *rumūz* the passage adduces the example of the Christians, whose behaviour manages to reach at times the ethical heights of those who practice true philosophy([105]). But there is no approval here of an exclusive reliance on ethical priciples other than those founded on rational arguments any more than in undoubtedly genuine statements of Galen. Thus Galen elsewhere notes approvingly the then seemingly current comparison of those who practice medicine without a scientific foundation to Moses who wrote "without proof (*ġayr burhān*)" and simply adduced a divine utterance or command as argument([106]); Galen refers quite precisely and ironically to the inappropriate employment of "undemonstrated laws" (νόμων ἀναποδείκτων) in the philosophical school (διατριβή) of Moses and Christ([107]). The people

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and "sign"; this, to be sure, is also the case of σημεῖον. The original meaning of νεύματα or σημεῖα as "(divine) commands" would have been then misinterpreted through the translation by *rumūz*, which has basically only the second connotation; the medieval interpreters then further deformed the meaning by taking its special connotation of allegories or riddles. The original choice of *rumūz* by the Christian translator (Ḥunayn?) may have been influenced by the fact that the cognate Syriac word *remzē* can be used for divine commands, for the divine will in general (see e.g. EUSEBIUS, *Theophania*, ed. S. LEE, *Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea on the Theophania...* (London, 1842), ch. 24, line 4 (no pagination)).

([105]) "and such deeds are sometimes made manifest [*qad* with the imperfect of *zahara*] by them as the deeds of those who truly practice philosophy" (ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, line 19). Ibn al-Qifṭī formulates the sentence somewhat differently: "the deeds of those who practice philosophy are sometimes made manifest by them" (ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, line 4); Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a has this same wording (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, line 1). Bar Hebraeus by contrast rewords the text to sound even more unambiguously favorable to the Christians: "and they are not in the least inferior to true philosophers in their deeds" (*Dyn.*, p. 123, lines 5-6); "and they are not inferior (*bširin*) to those who are truly philosophers" (*Chron. syr.* p. 53, line 18).

([106]) The passage from Galen's no longer extant work "On Anatomy according to the Opinion of Hippocrates" is quoted by IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A (ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, lines 15ff.) at second hand, from a work of Ibn al-Muṭrān (11th cent.), a personal physician to the sultan Saladdin and, at the latter's instigation, a convert to Islam. On this author see further ULLMANN, *Medizin*, pp. 165-66 and NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. III/1, pp. 160ff. The Galen passage is reprinted and translated in WALZER, *Galen*, pp. 11, 8.

([107]) *De pulsuum differentiis*, ed. KÜHN, vol. 8, p. 579, lines 15ff. See WALZER, *Galen*, pp. 14, 46.

of Moses and Christ, he says in the one extant Arabic fragment of still another work, are content to accept things simply "on trust (*amāna*)"(108). In the first part of our text also, — this bears emphasizing — there is no evidence that Galen puts the Christians and philosophers on the same level; the former only occasionally are able to reach those peaks of excellence where true philosophers habitually dwell.

Basically unproblematic also in the subsequent assertion that the praiseworthy attitude of the Christians manifests itself in their contempt of death and in their sexual restraint(109). The first was of course well known to other contemporary observers of Christians also, though they did not interpret it in such a positive fashion(110). The second point, the approval of the Christians' sexual restraint, is made in measured terms, which are not at all discordant with Galen's advocacy elsewhere of temperance in such matters(111). More difficult, to my mind, is however the attribution to Galen of the

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(108) From *On the Unmoved First Mover*, cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a again from Ibn al-Muṭrān (ed. Müller, I, p. 77, lines 18-20). See Walzer, *Galen*, p. 15 and Ullmann, *Medizin*, p. 65.

(109) "They have no fear (*jaza'*) of death, as we all from time to time see, and likewise we see their restraint (*'afāf*) from the employment (*isti'māl*) of (sexual) intercourse (*jimā'*)" (Abu'l-Fidā', ed. Fleischer, p. 108, lines 19-20). Bar Hebraeus omits the mention of the contempt of death and formulates the latter point simply as "they love restraint (*'iffa*)". (*Dyn.*, p. 123, line 6). Corresponding to the Arabic *'iffa* Bar Hebraeus' Syriac version has *nakputā*. (*Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 53, line 19), a word with the general meaning of modesty, temperance but also more specifically of chastity; it often corresponds to the Greek σωφροσύνη, which has the same range of meanings.

(110) In particular, Marcus Aurelius, Galen's own imperial patron, says that the resolve to die should arise from a specific decision (ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως), not out of sheer obstinacy as is the case with the Christians (μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί). The resolve should furthermore be carried out in a dignified manner; this, the emperor thinks, is clearly not the way of the Christians. (*Meditationes* X : 3, ed. A. S. Farquharson, *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1968), p. 216, lines 3ff.). Did Marcus and Galen have discussions on the subject of Christian martyrdom and, in best philosophical manner, agreed to disagree?

(111) See for instance *De moribus* (ed. Kraus, p. 27, lines 7ff.): sexual intercourse is unbalanced and overpowering; the rational soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqa*) should control it, determining the occasions when one should indulge in it.

description of *how* this sexual restraint is practiced, namely in the form of lifelong chastity, by both men and women(112). In Christian apologetic literature of Galen's time total sexual abstinence is, to be sure, attested(113); but that Galen himself would have approved it is highly unlikely, in the light of other statements of his, which recommend regular sexual activity as being necessary to health(114). The

(112) ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, lines 20-21; IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, lines 5-6; IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, ed. MÜLLER, I, p. 77, lines 3-4. Bar Hebraeus' Arabic account mentions only men who did not defile themselves with women (*Dyn.*, p. 123, line 7); in his Syriac work he refers more generally to those who their whole life long refrain from matrimony, *zuwāgā* (*Chron. syr.* p. 53, lines 20-21).

(113) Thus Justin Martyr proudly appeals to the example of those of both sexes who maintained their purity undefiled from childhood until advanced old age: πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἑξηκοντοῦται... καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται οἱ ἐξ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστοῦ ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι (I *Apology* 15:6, ed. E. J. GOODSPEED, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1914), p. 35, lines 18ff.). For a later statement of similar import ses ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum* VII:48 (ed. P. KOETSCHAU, *Origenes Werke*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1899), p. 199, lines 11ff.): under the influence of the teaching of Jesus many renounce impure actions and, like perfect priests, live in a state of perpetual purity: ὡς καὶ τρόπων τελείων ἱερέων, πᾶσαν συνουσίαν ἀποστραφέντων, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν παντελῶς καθαρεύειν, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ πάσης μίξεως. The surely idealized picture of Christian family life in the *Apology* of Aristides, 15:4ff. (ed. GOODSPEED, *op. cit.* pp. 20-21) is hardly an appropriate parallel (*pace* E. HENNECKE, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1924) p. 476 n. 1).

(114) Though Galen admits that sexual activity (τὰ ἀφροδίσια) can wear out various organs and parts of the body, he is of the opinion that coitus is particularly beneficial for those of a melancholic or a manic disposition. After adducing some more considerations of a general nature he concludes that the exercise of coitus should not be hindered οὐ παντάπασι κωλυτέοι μίσγεσθαι (quoted from a (lost) work of Galen by Oribasius (4th cent.) in his compendium ἐκ βιβλίων ἀδήλων, ch. 8, ed. U. C. BUSSEMACHER and Ch. DAREMBERG, *Oeuvres d'Oribase*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1858), p. 109, lines 5ff., esp. p. 110, lines 4-5). Those who refrain from satisfying their sexual needs "because of a feeling of shame (ὑπ' αἰσχύνης)" become torpid and sluggish; a certain widower, relates Galen, on account of the grief he felt for the loss of his wife interrupted his previously intense sexual activity and thereupon became afflicted with acute nausea and melancholy — these symptoms however disappeared as soon as he returned to his former habits (*De locis affectis*; VI:5, ed. KÜHN, vol. 8, p. 418, lines 4ff.). The unduly long retention of semen can lead to severe physical and mental disturbance in the opinion of Galen, who cites some other case histories; exactly *how* the elimination of

reconstruction of the text becomes furthermore less certain at this point. It is not quite clear what exactly the description of the ascetic ethos originally included; the mention of dietary asceticism(115) and of prayer(116) have the appearance of later elaborations. The concluding assertion, that such individuals are in no way inferior to genuine philosophers(117), seems to contradict the earlier, somewhat grudging admission that, on occasion, Christians can reach the pin-

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the semen from the body takes place, and whether a feeling of pleasure is associated with it are matters of relative indifference (*op. cit.*, p. 419, lines 7ff.). It is however perhaps worth noting that Galen by no means espoused a radical view on this issue, which was a matter of controversy among medical specialists; in particular he rejected both the position of Epicurus, who claimed that coitus was injurious to health and that of the physician Sabinus, who held that sexual abstinence leads to madness (*In Hipp. Epid. III comment.*, I, 4 ed. KÜHN, vol. 17A, p. 521, lines 9ff. = E. WENKEBACH (ed.), *Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarium Librum III* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1936), p. 25, lines 5ff.); see further the compendium of passages from Galen περὶ ἀφροδισίων in ORIBASIUS, *Collectionum Medicarum Reliquiae*, VI, 37, ed. I. RAEDER (Corpus medicorum graecorum VI, 1, 1, Leipzig-Berlin, 1928), p. 187, lines 27ff. = *Oeuvres d'Oribase*, vol. 1, ed. BUSSEMACHER and DAREMBERG, vol. I (Paris, 1851), p. 536, lines 1ff. On Galen's interpretation of the role played by the retention of semen in what one today would call psychosomatic ailments see R. E. SIEGEL, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine* (Basel-New-York, 1968), pp. 319ff.

(115) The mention of their restraint "in food (*maṭ'am*) and drink (*mašrab*)" (IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, p. 128, line 7; IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI'A, I, p. 77, line 4) is not found in Abu'l-Fidā', who only says that there are (some) among them who made progress in self-control (*ḍabṭ al-nafs*) and in the pursuit of uprightness (*'adl*); ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, line 21. Bar Hebraeus refers more generally to the perseverance in fasting, *al-ṣaum* (*Dyn.* p. 123, line 6; so also *Chron. syr.*, p. 53, line 19) and substitutes the reading "they desist from injuries (*maẓālim*)" for the active pursuit of *'adl* (*Dyn.*, p. 123, lines 6-7).

(116) *Al-ṣalah* (BAR HEBRAEUS, *Dyn.*, p. 123, line 6). The mention of fasting, prayer and desisting from wrong-doing, achievements through which the Christians come to surpass the philosophers, as in Bar Hebraeus' version, is interestingly also found in the variant abbreviated text of Ibn al-Qifṭī in Escurial 1778 (saec. XVI), as printed in M. CASIRI, *Bibliotheca arabica-hispana escurialensis*, vol. I (Madrid, 1760), p. 256, lines 7-8; but a direct literary connection between the two versions cannot be shown to exist. The Escorial MS further attaches a part of 'Ubaydallah's comment to the Galen text, as if it were part of the quotation proper (ed. CASIRI, p. 256, lines 8-9; cf. IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, lines 12ff.).

(117) ABU'L-FIDĀ', ed. FLEISCHER, p. 108, lines 21-22; IBN AL-QIFṬĪ, ed. LIPPERT, p. 128, line 8.

nacle of philosophical virtue. The version of the Galen statement provided by the tenth-century witness Ibn Zur'a is much more concise and makes no mention of sexual abstinence explicitly; among the people of Christ there are admirable individuals, both men and women, whose actions manifest "perfect virtues (*al-faḍā'il al-tāmma*)»(118). This may well be close to Galen's own wording here rather than being merely a summary of or an allusion to the text, as it has been assumed(119); of course certainty cannot be had on this point. In the eleventh century in any case 'Ubaydallah already had a longer text, which was then expressly identified by Christian apologists as a description of full-fledged monasticism. Though the successive stages of revision and elaboration can no longer be reconstructed in detail(120), the possibility is strong indeed that the latter part of the citation, praising the Christian practice of total chastity, is a secondary Christian expansion of Galen's positive but still generalized remark about the Christians' laudable ethical stance. When such an expansion and bringing up to date, so to speak, of Galen's remarks may first have taken place is not clear. It would of course be tempting to connect it with the followers of Theodotus "the leather worker" in Rome in the third century, who cultivated the study of Hellenic science and philosophy (Euclid, Aristotle, Theophrastus) and in particular held the work of Galen in great honor(121); but there is no evidence that the adherents of this sect,

(118) *Maqāla*, ed. SBATH, p. 35, lines 10-11. Cf. above, note 94.

(119) So WALZER, *Galen*, p. 91.

(120) Thus, according to a later epitomator, Ibn al-Munajjim in the ninth century already adduced the passage to show that Galen lived after the time of Jesus (*Muntaḫab*, ed. DUNLOP, p. 11, line 208). This presupposes *some* version of the description of Christian asceticism; but the extant summary does not cite this portion of the text.

(121) Εὐκλείδης γοῦν παρά τισιν αὐτῶν φιλοπόνως γεωμετρεῖται, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμάζονται· Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἴσως ὑπό τινων καὶ προσκυνεῖται (from a tract, directed against the heresy of Artemon, by Hippolytus of Rome or the presbyter Gaius, as quoted in EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.* V : 28, 14, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 2, 1 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 504, lines 19ff.) Walzer, by suggesting that these Christians actually adopted Galen's own syllabus of logical training, reads too much into the mention of Galen in this passage, to my mind. Galen is merely one representative, among several, of the profane science and scholarship, to which the heretics are addicted, according to the orthodox polemicist. In particular, the appearance of Theophrastus in the list is, I think, much more likelihood simply a

accused by orthodox opponents of rationalistic Scripture exegesis and Christological heresy of an adoptionist variety, were particularly enthusiastic advocates of sexual continence. A high regard for Galen among the Christians was in any case not restricted to this group([122]). Though the specific dependence of the text on Eusebius' description of the Therapeutae (as Pines cautiously suggests)([123]) is not demonstrable, a dating to the middle of the fourth century, a time of simultaneous flowering of Christian asceticism and apologetic, has, to my mind, much inherent probability.

Orientalisches Seminar
Universität Tübingen

Stephen GERO

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reference to his famous *Historia plantarum* and other strictly scientific works rather than to his (lost) books on logic, which were prized by Galen, as Walzer would have it (WALZER, *Galen*; pp. 78-79).

([122]) See above, notes 59, 61.

([123]) *Op. cit.* (see note 14), p. 80.

GEORGE T. DENNIS AND TIMOTHY S. MILLER

Constantine Akropolites: The Obligation of Monks to Care for the Sick

Constantine Akropolites, a prominent official in the administration of the emperor Andronikos II (1282-1328), wrote several short tracts on diverse subjects which are preserved, together with his letters and most of his hagiographical compositions, in *Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 sup.* One of these tracts was addressed to the superior and the monks of a certain monastery, and was presumably read to them by the author or his substitute. Akropolites reminded them of their obligation to care for the sick who were housed in a public charitable institution, a *katagoge* as he called it, which belonged to their monastery(1). Since this tract presents some details on late Byzantine monastic life and on philanthropic institutions, an edition of the text, accompanied by an English translation and commentary, may be of interest to students of medieval monasticism as well as to those concerned with social institutions.

Constantine Akropolites was born *circa* 1250. His father was George Akropolites, renowned both as a historian and as a statesman, who held the position of grand logothete. Constantine himself came to hold high office with the accession of Andronikos II in 1282, being named logothete of the *genikon* sometime before 1285 and promoted to grand logothete shortly after 1294, a title he held until at least 1321. He died soon thereafter, for a document dated to 1324 refers to him as deceased(2).

(1) For a description of this manuscript see H. DELEHAYE, *Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus, AB*, 51 (1933), 263-71.

(2) For a well annotated biographical sketch of Akropolites and a study of his family relations, see Donald NICOL, *Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), 249-54. For the docu-

Following his father's example, Constantine Akropolites did not confine himself to political activity, but pursued a literary career as well. He was particularly interested in hagiography. The *Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 sup.* contains twenty lives of saints written by him; the *Codex Hierosolymitanus graecus 40* another seven(3). All but one are about holy men and women of the distant past. These *vitae* are not original compositions. In a manner similar to that of the more famous tenth-century hagiographer, "the Metaphrast", Akropolites collected older hagiographical tales and recast them in his own Greek style. In rewriting these stories, however, he occasionally added some interesting original observations(4).

In addition to its saints' lives, the *Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 sup.* contains several short, untitled texts. One of these, found on folios 237v to 239v, is published below. This tract has no title in the body of the manuscript (although space was left for one), but the *pinax*, written in a much later hand, incorrectly describes the work as a "speech concerning visiting some sick monks"(5). While it is in the form of a speech, and may have been delivered as such, this short work is, in fact, an exhortation urging the monks to observe Christ's command to visit the sick and, at the same time, a criticism of them for apparently not having done so. Akropolites insisted that Christ's command required the monks to serve faithfully the patients in the *katagoge* (shelter) attached to the monastery. He warned both the superior and the brothers of the community to look upon serving the needs of the patients as their primary duty before God (lines 40-41). Although Akropolites refrained from issuing a command to the monks, and asserted that he was simply giving them good advice, the phrasing of his admonition clearly implies that he did have a right to give orders to the community (line 75).

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ment of 1324 see *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. H. Hunger and O. Kresten, I (Vienna, 1981); F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, I (Vienna, 1860), 102-104.

(3) See Nicol, *Constantine Akropolites*, 254-56; Delehaye, *Constantini Acropolitae... manipulus*, 264-71.

(4) Especially the *Vita sancti Sampsonis* in *cod. Ambros. H. 81 sup.*, fol. 152v-169v; see Commentary below.

(5) Delehaye, *Constantini Acropolitae... manipulus*, 264-69, merely repeats the titles as they appear in the *pinax* of the manuscript, fol. I-II.

Since he was a layman and held no ecclesiastical office, his authority must have rested upon his proprietary rights over the monastery, that is, his rights as a founder or *ktitor*(6).

The surviving sources of the fourteenth century link the Akropolites family with two monasteries, one in Constantinople and the other in Mesembria. Constantine speaks of the Constantinopolitan monastery in another of his brief essays found in the same manuscript (fols. 232v-237v)(7). In this he narrates his father's role in rebuilding the Church of the Resurrection (Anastasis), which had suffered neglect since the Latin occupation of the city. George Akropolites not only restored the church, but he also founded a monastic community to serve it. From childhood Constantine had closely associated himself with this pious institution, and he explicitly stated that, together with his father, he was the founder, or rather restorer, of this church and monastery. He continued to take a personal interest in it and provided funding for a chapel dedicated to Saint Lazarus of Mount Galesion, which was located next to the main church. Constantine also had his wife Maria buried in the monastery complex(8). Because of his close personal connection with the monastery and the responsibility he felt for it, it is likely that he addressed this tract concerning the shelter for the sick to the superior and brothers of this community. The address itself, however, does not mention the name of the monastery, nor does it provide any clues regarding its location.

Patriarchal documents of the late fourteenth century mention a monastery in Mesembria on the Black Sea coast, which was dedicated to Christ and also bore the name of Akropolites(9). Although

(6) On private ecclesiastical foundations, see John THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, 1987); neither Akropolites nor the Anastasis monastery is mentioned.

(7) This essay, a brief *typikon* in fact, is edited by DELEHAYE, *Constantini Acropolitae... manipulus*, 279-84. On the monastery see R. JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcumenique. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 20-25.

(8) DELEHAYE, *Constantini Acropolitae... manipulus*, 282.

(9) Τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου. The documents are dated to 1369 and 1379: MIKLOSICH and MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, I, 502-03; II, 37; 152-53; A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας (St. Petersburg, 1891), I, 470-71.

in disrepair in the 1360's, the monastery had once been richly endowed. Practically nothing else is known about it, and there is no indication that the Akropolites connected with it was Constantine or his father.

When did Akropolites write this tract? The text inclines one to believe that it may have been toward the end of his life, for he

TEXT

Cod. Ambrosianus H 81 sup.

f. 237v Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς τῇ φύσει καὶ ὑπεραγαθός, ὁ συμπαθὴς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι καταδεξάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ὡς ἂν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὖθις εὐεξίαν εἴτ᾿ οὖν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀνακτηθέντες ἡμεῖς ἐπανέλθοιμεν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας πεποίηται τὴν τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἐπίσκεψιν. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ τῆς τελευταίας προαναφωνῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς κρίσεως, καὶ τὴν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀναζωγραφῶν ἔτασίν τε καὶ εἴσπραξιν, ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν κατ᾿ ἀρετὴν ἐργασίων, τὴν τῶν καμνόντων τέθεικεν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ τοὺς μὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὖ διατεθέντας κἀντεῦθεν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς μερίδος ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας, πόρρω τε κατεδίκασεν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον ἀπέπεμψε πῦρ. f. 238 ἐν δεξίοις δὲ τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμ | παθεῖς τεταχὼς καὶ οἰκτίρμονας τὴν τῶν ἀκηράτων σφίσιν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπηγγείλατο. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν ποιητέον κηδεμονίαν τοὺς ἐφιεμένους τῆς μακαρίας τυχεῖν λήξεως, καὶ τῆς ἡτοιμασμένης τοῖς ἀποστάταις καὶ ἀλάστορσι δαίμοσι ῥυσθῆναι κολάσεως.

Ὤφληται γάρ, ὤφληται ἡ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐπιμέλεια, οὐχ ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς τυγχάνοντες φύσεως εὐεκτούντων ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ κάμνουσιν, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἴσως κάμνουσιν, ἵν᾿ ὅπως αἴσθησιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσθενείας λαμβάνοντες ἅμα μὲν εὐχαριστοῖμεν οἷς ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων ἀπείρατοι διαμεμενήκαμεν, ἅμα δέ καὶ τοῦ μὴ ταὐτὰ

10-17 cf. Math. 25, 36-43.

requested the monks to pray for him because he was sick both in mind and body. He also asked them to remember him after he should have departed this world (lines 62-65). These sound like the words of an elderly and sickly man, and may well have been spoken not long before his death, between 1321 and 1324.

TRANSLATION

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is good by nature, of surpassing goodness, who shares our feelings, who loves mankind, who consented to become a man on behalf of men, and who took on our weakness so that we might return to our original healthy state, as well as regaining incorruptibility, he has made visiting the sick not the least part of his teaching. In announcing, therefore, to his disciples what will transpire at the last judgment and in depicting the questioning and examination, especially regarding the practice of virtue, of those whose lives have ended, he laid stress on the care of the sick. For this reason those who were not well disposed toward them found themselves standing on his left side, and he condemned them to be taken from his presence and sent off to the eternal, never ending fire. But on his right he stationed those who were compassionate and merciful toward the sick, and he assured them that they would enjoy unmixed blessings. Those, therefore, who desire to attain the lot of the blessed and be saved from the punishment prepared for the rebellious and wretched demons must take great care of the sick.

We have an obligation, we have an obligation to be concerned about them. This is not because we find ourselves in good health while they, who share the same nature, are suffering, although it may well be that it is for our benefit that they are suffering. For inasmuch as we come to a realization of our own weakness, we might,

παθεῖν εἵνεκα καμπτοίμεθά τε καὶ συστελλοίμεθα. ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν χριστιανοὺς μὴ περὶ ἐλάττονος τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς φροντίδα τίθεσθαι χρή, τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλων οὐχ ἥκιστα μοναχούς, ὅσῳ καὶ διτταῖς εἰσι συνισχημένοι ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τὰς τοῦ Κυρίου πληροῦν ἐντολάς, ὧν μείζων ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀγάπης καθέστηκεν, εἴπερ, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰρήκει Χριστός, ἀγάπη τῶν ἁπασῶν ἐστι τὸ κεφάλαιον, καὶ νόμος ἅπας καὶ εἰσήγησις προφητῶν αὐτῆς εἴρηται, καὶ ἡμῖν σύσσημον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειώσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἀρίδηλον γνώρισμα πρὸς αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ δέδοται. μείζονος οὖν τυγχανούσης ἀγάπης τῶν ἀρετῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ κεκτῆσθαι ταύτην δεῖγμα σαφέστερον πέφηνεν ἢ τὸ | (f. 238v) φιλίως μὲν διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς νόσοις τρυχομένους καὶ καχεξίαις πιεζομένους φιλοίκτους εἶναι καὶ συμπαθεῖς.

Ταὐτά τοι συμβουλεύων ἦλθον κἀγὼ τοῖς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ταύτῃ μονῇ, ἅπασί τε ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν πᾶσι καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῷ τούτων καθηγητῇ καὶ τῶν πρακτέων ἡγήτορι, ἐπειδήπερ ὑμῖν νοσούντων ᾠκοδομήθη καταγωγή, καὶ πόροι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σφῖσιν ἐπενοήθησαν, θεραπεύειν σπεύδειν αὐτούς, καὶ θεραπεύειν μὴ ὡς ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ κατὰ πάροδον, ἀλλὰ προὔργου τὸ κατ᾿ αὐτοὺς τιθεμένους, τὴν κλῆσιν ἐπαληθεύοντας. θεραπευτὰς γὰρ ὀνομάζει τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὁ τὰ θεῖα πολὺς Διονύσιος, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ταγμάτων ποιούμενος ἀρίθμησιν καὶ τὰ τούτων διασαφῶν. προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθε τὰ κατ᾿ αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παντὸς ἄλλου προτιμᾶτε τὴν αὐτῶν θεραπείαν, εἰς μάτην ὑμῖν ἀνάλωται πάνθ᾿ ὅσα περ ἐπὶ προμηθείᾳ σφῶν κατεβάλεσθε, εἰς μάτην οἱ κόποι καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, τηνάλλως τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν χρειωδῶν αὐτοῖς διῳκονομήσατε πρόσοδον. ἴστε γάρ, ἴστε ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰς οἰκίας ἐδείμασθε, ἃς τῷ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος περιβόλῳ προσεπῳκοδομήσατε, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ χρείᾳ τούτων τὰς ἐπετείους εἰσφορὰς ἀναλίσκητε. χρὴ τοίνυν τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἰσφερόμενον τῇ μονῇ, | (f. 239) εἰ μὴ προσεπιβάλλειν ἄλλως ἐνόν, ἀλλ᾿ οὖν ἀμείωτον τοῖς ἐπιτετραμμένοις τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν δίδοσθαι. καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν δὲ εἴ τις ἐν ἐξόδῳ γενόμενος ἀπόμοιράν τινα τῶν αὐτῷ προσόντων τῇ τῶν νοσούντων καταγωγῇ καταλιπεῖν ἕλοιτο, καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἀνυστερήτως παρέχεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ

28-29 cf. Math. 22, 37-40; Marc. 12, 29-31.
42-44 Dion. Areopag. De eccl. hierarchia, 6, 3 (PG 3, 532D).

on the one hand, be grateful that we have never experienced such suffering, and at the same time we might be bent low and humbled because we have not suffered in like manner. All Christians, assuredly, are obliged not to relegate concern for them to second place, and of all people this is no less true for monks. For they are bound by twofold promises to fulfill the commandments of the Lord. The greatest of these is clearly that regarding charity. Christ himself has said that charity is the summation of all the commandments; charity is what is spoken of in the whole law and the proclamation of the prophets. Christ himself has made it the sign of our closeness to Him and the token that shows forth our name. Charity, therefore, is the greatest of the virtues. There is no clearer proof that one possesses it than to be lovingly disposed toward everyone, and particularly to be compassionate and sympathetic toward those worn out by disease and oppressed by ill health.

I too have come to offer the same counsel to the members of this holy monastery, to all of you together and, united with all and before all, to your superior, the leader in what you are obliged to do. Since you have built a shelter for the sick and have given thought to providing funding for their needs, be zealous in serving them. Do not serve them in a casual or offhand manner, but make your service of them a matter of priority. Thus you will show the truth of the name by which you are called. For Dionysius, renowned for his treatment of sacred subjects, bestows the name of servants upon monks when he enumerates the sacred orders and explains their characteristics. I should also add this: unless you make the care of the sick a matter of serious concern, unless you place the service of them above everything else, it is in vain that you pay out all that you have expended for their care; your labors and your buildings are in vain. To no purpose did you apportion the revenues for their needs. For you know, you know that it was for this purpose that you built the houses which you have constructed by the wall around the vineyard. And you know that you should spend the annual revenues for the needs of the sick. The revenues accruing to the monastery from those who live on the land, although they may otherwise be increased, must indeed, without subtracting anything, be handed

καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς προσαίταις τῶν αὐτοῦ τι δοθῆναι θελήσειε. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐναπολιμπάνεσθαι τῇ μονῇ εἴς τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων συντελέσον πάντως αὐτῇ.

Ἀλλ' εἴητε, πατέρες τίμιοι, πατέρες σεβάσμιοι, πᾶσάν τε ἄλλην ἐντολὴν τηροῦντες δεσποτικήν, ὡς ὑπέσχεσθε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενούντων οὐ ἥκιστα, κἀμοῦ τοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ μηδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῷ σώματι κάμνοντος, περιόντος τε καὶ τῶν τῇδε μεταστάντος, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ὑμῶν ἐντεύξεσι μνείαν ποιούμενοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπλημμέληκά τε καὶ πλημμελῶ, τὸν οἰκτίρμονα καὶ εὐΐλατον κριτὴν ἱλασκόμενοι.

Φιλῶν ὑμᾶς καί τι τραχύτερον φάναι προάγομαι, καὶ σύγγνωτέ μοι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ φίλτρου τραχύτητος. ὃ γὰρ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν τε συνοῖσον ὡς οἴομαι κἀμοὶ μὴ μικρὰ συντελέσον πρὸς τὸ σκοπούμενον. ὑφέξετε λόγον ὑπέρ αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτο, μὴ γένοιτο· καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς καταδικασθήσεσθε, εἰ μὴ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁ τούτων προμηθευσάμενος διατέταχεν ἐκπληροῦν f. 239v σπεύδητε. ἃ δέ φημι ὡς ἂν | τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου φαίην κατὰ καιρόν, οὐ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄντας φημὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καθεξῆς τε καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ ἐνδιατρίβοντας τῇ μονῇ συμβουλεύων, οὐκ ἐπισκήπτων. ἐπίσης γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ταὐτὰ τοῖς νῦν οὖσι περὶ αὐτοὺς ὀφείλουσιν ἐνεργεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔσονται κτημάτων διάδοχοι καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐνεχόμενοι.

Θεὸς δὲ εἴη καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν κἀκείνοις εἰσαῦθις ἐπὶ τούτῳ συλλαμβανόμενος, κἀν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως δαψιλεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μισθοὺς παρεχόμενος.

73 Ecclesiastes 3, 1.

over to those entrusted with the care of the sick. Moreover, if any one of the monks at death should choose to leave a share of his property to the shelter for the sick, it should be presented in its entirety, just as if he had determined to give some of his possessions to the beggars outside. The remainder should be left to the monastery and wholly employed to meet some of its needs.

May you, honored fathers, reverend fathers, observe all the other commandments of the Lord, as you have promised, and not least that on behalf of the sick. Also in your encounters with God may you remember me, suffering as I do in soul no less than in body, while I am alive and after I depart this world, and seek pardon from the compassionate and very merciful Judge because of the sins I have committed and still commit.

Because of my love for you I am led on to say something which is rather harsh. Pardon me for such harshness, which stems from affection. What I have to say will, I believe, be beneficial to you, and will be very helpful to me in attaining my goal. You will render an account for the sick. But, may this not happen, may it not happen that at the end in the last days, you will be condemned if you are not zealous in carrying out your duties toward the sick, as He who has been so concerned about them has ordained. What I say now, to speak at the proper time as the Lord wishes, I say not only to those now present, but also to those who will succeed them and to those who will at all times dwell in the monastery, and I do it by way of advice and not as a command. For they share the same obligation to exert themselves on behalf of the sick as do the present monks, because they will inherit their possessions and are bound by the same promises.

May God be with you now; may he sustain you and those who succeed you in this work; and in the time of retribution may He provide you with abundant rewards on behalf of the sick.

COMMENTARY

What exactly was the *katagoge* to which Constantine Akropolites referred in the above text? In Classical Greek *katagoge* meant simply a place to rest, a place that offered lodging, an inn. After the development of Christian philanthropic institutions in the fourth century A.D., however, it was sometimes used to refer to the hostels for the poor and the sick which the episcopal churches and monastic communities maintained(10). Since the word implies only a place of rest, one cannot assume that a *katagoge* offered those who stopped there anything more than temporary shelter and sustenance. Thus, it is best translated as hostel, asylum, or shelter. On occasion, however, the word was used to refer to institutions which did offer more specialized medical treatment. In his biography of the fifth-century saint, Theodosios the Cenobiarch, Theodore of Patrai used the word *katagogion* to describe *nosokomeia* (hospitals for the sick) outside Jerusalem, hospitals which Theodosios constructed and then staffed with professional medical men(11). Moreover, in his version of the *Vita sancti Sampsonis*, Akropolites himself used the word *katagoge* in describing the great Sampson *Xenon* of Constantinople which the emperor Justinian had built after the Nika fire of 532(12). From the various versions of the *Vita sancti Sampsonis* and from other sources, we know that the Sampson *Xenon* did not serve simply as a hostel, but that it functioned as a true hospital, employing a staff of physicians and surgeons. It accepted not only poor patients in need of basic nursing care, but also prosperous men who came there for specific medical treatments(13). Nonetheless, *katagoge* is a vague term. Without specific references to physicians or other medical

(10) Cf. GREGORY of Nazianzus, *Oratio IV contra Julianum*, 1 (PG, 35, 648).

(11) *Lobrede auf den heiligen Theodosios von Theodoros Bischof von Patrai, Der heilige Theodosios: Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, ed. H. USENER (Leipzig, 1890), 34-41.

(12) *Vita sancti Sampsonis, cod. Ambros. H. 81 sup.*, fol. 159: [Ἰουστινιανὸς] θαυμασίαν ἀνεγείρει καταγωγὴν ἐφ' ᾗπερ οὐχ ἧττον ἐσχήκει κλέος ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας ἐπωνύμῳ καὶ περιωνύμῳ νεῷ.

(13) See Timothy MILLER, *The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople, Byzantinische Forschungen*, 14 (1989).

personnel working at the *katagoge*, mentioned in the above text, one cannot assume that it provided the sick with professional medical treatment. Akropolites described those who worked there only as "those entrusted with the care of the sick" (lines 53-54), again too vague an expression to determine what skills they possessed.

The text does indicate that this *katagoge* was designed for sick laymen, not for monks of the monastery; an infirmary within the monastery would have been designated for their care. Akropolites mentioned that the monks had constructed the shelter "near the wall around the vineyard" (lines 49-50), i.e., not within the cloister itself. The monks whom Akropolites addressed probably built this hostel in a location similar to that of the *gerokomeion* (home for the elderly) at the twelfth-century Kosmosoteira Monastery, located not far from the coastal city of Ainos in Thrace([14]). In 1152 the sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos issued a *typikon* for Kosmosoteira in which he described this *gerokomeion* as a shelter for aged and infirm laymen. He stated that this hostel was located outside the wall of the monastery proper, but within the fence which surrounded its outbuildings([15]).

Another passage of Akropolites' address provides additional evidence that the *katagoge* at his foundation was not intended for members of the monastic community. He compared leaving a legacy to the patients of the shelter with bequeathing possessions to support the beggars "from outside" (lines 54-59), clearly a reference to laymen from beyond the monastery's confines.

Did the monks of Akropolites' monastery actually serve the sick in the *katagoge*? The evangelical theme of his discourse, Christ's command to visit the sick, implies that the monks were personally to visit the sick patients. Moreover, Akropolites urged the superior and the brothers to be "zealous in serving them". He also emphasized that monks had a special obligation to serve, and he referred to Dionysius the Areopagite, who had defined the role of the monk as that of the servant par excellence (lines 42-43). The word he

(14) See Stefan SINOS, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 15; Munich, 1985), 1-18.

(15) *Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos*, ed. Louis PETIT, *Izvestija russkago archeologičeskago instituta v Konstantinopolje*, 13 (1908), pp. 48-49; 53-54.

uses, *therapeutes*, can also convey the notion of a healing or medical attendant. It is quite possible, however, that Akropolites was simply employing rhetorical expressions in these passages. For when he described in more concrete detail how the monks were to help the sick, he mentioned only their financial obligations. The monks had constructed the buildings and had allotted revenues for the sick. Now, Akropolites admonished them to hand over those revenues in their entirety to the officials entrusted with the care of the patients, men who were probably paid employees of some kind, not members of the monastic community (lines 49-59).

Again, one can compare the situation depicted in this text with the *gerokomeion* at the Kosmosoteira Monastery. The monks of that community did not perform any tasks in the *gerokomeion.* They were, however, obliged to pay a physician and ten *hypourgoi* (medical assistants) to tend the patients(16). So, too, at the wealthy imperial monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople, founded in 1136, the monks performed no work at all in the *xenon* (hospital for the sick). Rather, they employed seventeen physicians, thirty-four *hypourgoi*, and eleven servants to minister to the patients(17). At the *gerokomeion*, also administered by the Pantokrator, a monk of the community supervised the philanthropic services, but the six servants who actually assisted the residents were hired laymen(18). The nuns of the thirteenth-century Lips Monastery also performed no service for the sick in their small, twelve-bed hospital; they too hired physicians, medical assistants, and servants for those duties(19).

Some monks, on the other hand, did personally serve the sick. Michael Psellos spoke of monks who frequented the streets and squares of eleventh-century Constantinople to minister to the sick(20). In the fourteenth century the monk George worked as a

(16) *Typicon de Kosmosoteira*, pp. 53-56.

(17) *Le typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*, ed. Paul GAUTIER, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 32 (1974), 1-145; lines 937-79 describe the medical and serving staff of the *xenon.*

(18) *Ibid.*, lines 1347-50; 1379-85.

(19) *Le typicon du monastère de Lips* in *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, ed. H. DELEHAYE (Brussels, 1921), 134.

(20) *Eloge funèbre de Nicolas de la Belle Source par Michel Psellos, moine à l'Olympe*, ed. Paul GAUTIER, *Byzantina*, 6 (1974), 9-69, lines 435-82; see

physician in the imperial *xenon*, perhaps the Mangana Hospital attached to the monastery of Saint George Tropaiophoros([21]). In the early fifteenth century the monk Nathaniel served as *nosokomos* (hospital director) of the Krales *Xenon*, originally endowed by the Serbian ruler, Uros II Milutin (1281-1321)([22]).

While the text of Akropolites does not entitle one to conclude that the monks he addressed personally ministered to the needs of the sick in their *katagoge*, it does clearly indicate that they did not live up to his expectations regarding their obligations to the sick. Perhaps he did not think they were conscientious enough in caring for them. Certainly, they were not spending all the revenues Akropolites deemed necessary to maintain the hostel. Apparently they were even failing to hand over legacies which deceased monks of the community had bequeathed by testament for the care of the sick in the shelter. To remind the monks of the spiritual value of the corporal works of mercy, Akropolites recalled Matthew's vision of the Last Judgment in which those who fail to visit the sick will be consigned to everlasting punishment (Matt. 25, 36-43)([23]).

In his address Akropolites, as a true Byzantine rhetorician, avoided revealing the details of the problems at his monastery. Why were the monks cutting back on the payments to support the shelter for the sick? Perhaps they were using those funds to meet other expenses of the community. It is also possible that the superior and the monks were not convinced that the life of an ascetic

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also the German translation with commentary by Günter WEISS, *Die Leichenrede des Michael Psellos auf den Abt Nikolaos vom Kloster von der Schönen Quelle, Byzantina*, 9 (1977), 219-322, esp. 245.

([21]) *Cod. Scorialensis gr. III-Y-14*, fol. 236: see Carlo ZURETTI, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum: Codices hispanienses* (Brussels, 1932), II. 1, p. 38. Although the Mangana is not referred to by name, it is the only one among the old imperial *xenones* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which the sources mention as having been restored after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople. See Timothy MILLER, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore-London, 1985), 194-99.

([22]) Note in *cod. Vindob. med. gr.* 1, ed. H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2: *Codices medici et juridici* (Vienna, 1969), 40. On the Krales *Xenon* see MILLER, *Birth of the Hospital*, 194-96.

([23]) For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between monasticism and the care of the sick see MILLER, *Birth of the Hospital*, 118-40.

should include active charity, *philanthropia*. According to one view, not uncommon in monastic circles, monks were to give themselves solely to prayer and contemplation, *theoria*, and to a life of solitude, *hesychia*, in order to attain the vision of God. This hesychastic concept of the monastic vocation was gaining strength among the Byzantine monks early in the fourteenth century, when Akropolites composed his tract, and in another generation it would enter the arena of imperial politics. In one of his hagiographical works Akropolites directly confronted the problem.

In his *Vita sancti Sampsonis* Akropolites closely followed the earlier versions of Sampson's biography which described the saint's parents, his education in Old Rome, his early interest in medicine, his arrival in Constantinople, and finally, the opening of his small hospital there. Akropolites, however, then added to this account a long section describing Sampson's perplexity following the death of his parents in Rome. According to him, Sampson yearned to follow the example of Elijah and Saint John the Baptist and flee society to live in the desert, but his attraction to perform active works of charity, *philanthropia*, deterred him. Two desires warred in his heart; he seemed to stand on the balance bar of a scale. Should he pursue *hesychia* and withdraw from contact with his fellow human beings, or should he continue to visit the sick and the needy? Some advised him to seek the isolation he so loved, whereas others sought to prevent his flight by reminding him of the kindness he had always shown to other people. After much soul searching, Sampson chose to follow the path of active charity and service to others. He made this decision after contemplating Christ's love for men demonstrated in the incarnation. Moreover, Sampson reasoned that a person could still practice an ascetic way of life even while he dwelled among other people, but isolating oneself in the desert made helping those in need impossible(24). It is interesting to note that the

(24) *Cod. Ambros. H. 81 sup.*, fol. 154v: ἀντιστάσης ἀρετῆς ἀρετῇ, καὶ μέγαν περὶ αὐτοῦ συστησαμέναιν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἅμιλλαν· ἡσυχίας δηλαδὴ τῆς κατὰ Θεόν, εἴτ᾽ οὖν κοσμικῶν θορύβων ἀναχωρήσεται καὶ συμπαθείας πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ χρηστότητος, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀσθενῶν καὶ ἐνδεῶν ἐπισκέψεως. ὧν ἁμιλλωμένων ὡς γενναιότατα, ἀγωνιστής τε καὶ ἀθλοθέτης – ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἦν τὸ θαυμάσιον – καί γε τοῖς ἑκατέρωθεν λογισμοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀμφιρρεπὴς ἵστατο.

themes in this section of Akropolites' Life of Sampson closely parallel those in the text under consideration.

According to Akropolites, Sampson had to choose between two different conceptions of the monastic vocation. Both took their inspiration from the founding fathers of orthodox monasticism. In his influential Life of Saint Antony, Saint Athanasius relates how Antony abandoned all social ties, even the care of his younger sister, to devote himself wholly to a life of prayer and contemplation in the desert(25). The monastic leaders of fourth-century Anatolia, however, rejected this anti-social form of asceticism. Eustathios of Sebasteia located his monastic communities near towns so that his monks could aid the poor and disabled(26). In his *Short Rules* Saint Basil stressed the obligation of monks to serve the sick and travelers, and in his *Long Rules* he directly criticized the Egyptian hermits for fleeing human society and failing to live in accord with God's command of charity(27). He recommended, instead, that cenobitic monasteries be located, not in the wilderness, but close to cities. Thus, he constructed his own ascetic community just outside his episcopal see of Caesarea, and attached a number of philanthropic institutions to it to assist the poor, the crippled, and the sick(28).

By the fifth century monks in Jerusalem were devoting themselves to serving the sick and the outcasts of society. Evagrios Scholastikos described them as not only laboring in the service of

(25) *Vita sancti Antonii*, 2-3 (PG, 26, 841-44).

(26) On the urban orientation of Anatolian monasticism in general, see SOZOMENOS, *Kirchengeschichte*, 6, 34, 8, ed. J. BIDEZ (Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, 50; Berlin, 1960), p. 291. On Eustathios' philanthropic activities see EPIPHANIOS, *Panarion* 75, 1, ed. Karl HOLL (GCS, 37; Leipzig, 1971), III, 333. On the urban centered monasticism of Asia Minor and Constantinople, see Gilbert DAGRON, *Les moines et la ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451), Travaux et Mémoires*, 4 (1970), 229-76.

(27) *Regulae brevius tractatae*, 15 (PG 31, 1184); *Regulae fusius tractatae*, 7 (PG 31, 928-33). See also Placidus de MEESTER, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Vatican, 1942), 286; Tomás ŠPIDLÍK, *The Spirituality of the Christian East* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1986), 169.

(28) On Basil's philanthropic foundation see GREGORY of NAZIANZUS, *In laudem Basilii*, c. 63: *Grégoire de Naziance: Discours funébres*, ed. Fernand BOULENGER (Paris, 1908), 188-92; Basil, *Regulae brevius tract.*, 155 (PG 31, 1183); also MILLER, *Birth of the Hospital*, 85-87.

the sick, but also frequenting taverns and even bathing in public with women as part of their ministry to the city's needy(29). Although Evagrios had only the highest praise for these monks and their control over their passions, other Christian writers did not approve of a life of active charity because it exposed the monks to such great temptations. Neilos of Ankyra (ca. 400) had warned the monks to avoid giving themselves to active charity lest they be consumed by lust. He pointed out that in the Book of Genesis the angel had told Lot to flee Sodom, not to look back in sympathy with the sufferings of others(30).

Neilos' open condemnation of monastic charity was an exception, but the temptations associated with treating the sick or working with the urban poor continued to haunt the consciences of sincere monks. When the sixth-century monastic author, Dorotheos of Gaza, was placed in charge of a hospital, he found that the task exposed him to temptation, especially to the sin of anger. He desired solitude, not the disturbance of activity. His spiritual advisor, however, warned him that God desired mercy more than any other offering. In addition, a life of pure contemplation might lead to the sin of spiritual pride(31).

The dichotomy between the life of active charity and the discipline of contemplation continued to split Byzantine monasticism through the centuries. Akropolites vividly demonstrated it with his description of the youthful Saint Sampson standing on the balance bar of the scales. The uneasiness concerning the duties and the resultant temptation of practicing *philanthropia* explains why so many monasteries did not require the monks to serve personally the patients in their hospitals, the residents in their homes for the elderly, or the guests in their hospices. Rather, the monasteries usually hired laymen to perform the actual services, while the monks practiced mercy simply by financing the charitable operations.

In his talk, Akropolites referred to monks of his monastery who could dispose of their private property by testament (lines 54-57).

(29) Evagrios Scholastikos, Historia ecclesiastica, 1, 21, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 31-33.

(30) Genesis 19, 17-29; Neilos of Ankyra, *De monachorum praestantia*, cc. 11-12 (PG 79, 1077-80).

(31) Νικοδήμου Ἁγιορείτου Βίβλος Βαρσανουφίου καὶ Ἰοάννου, ed. S. Schoinas (Volos, 1960), pp. 176-81.

Thus, some members of the community continued to exercise rights of ownership over property after they had entered the monastery. Retaining such rights clearly violated the spirit of cenobitic monasticism as well as the letter of Justinianic law. Novel 123, issued in 546, had required that, upon entering a monastery, both men and women surrender their property rights to the monastic house they had chosen to join. If they had any children, the law stipulated that they leave each child his legal share of the inheritance and then hand over the remainder to the monastery(32). By the fourteenth century, however, this was not universally observed, and in many instances had simply fallen into dessuetude. A chrysobull of the emperor Andronikos III, dated 1342, referred to a monk named Nyphon who owned extensive property in Constantinople(33). He sold his property and used the money to finance various charitable activities, much as any private individual without monastic vows might do.

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(32) Nov. 123,38 (*Corpus iuris civilis*, III, 621); see also de Meester, *De monachico statu*, 377-83.

(33) *Actes de Lavra*, III, *De 1329 à 1500*, ed. P. Lemerle *et al.* (Paris, 1979), no. 123, pp. 20-26.

MIKHAIL AGURSKY

The ordeal of a Jewish Catholic Bolshevik. Ivan Knizhnik-Vetrov (1878-1965)

Ivan Sergeevich Knizhnik-Vetrov was born to a poor Jewish family in the Kherson province in 1878.

At least in two Soviet sources his real name is indicated as Israil' Solomonovich Blank(1). Knizhnik protested in 1957 against the assignment to him of the name Blank, claiming that he had only used a passport in that name in 1904-1909. He had made the same claim in 1922(2).

Pierre Pascal, who met Knizhnik in 1917, noted in his diary(3):

> His name is Knizhnik. This is no doubt a pseudonym (*Kniga* means "book") or rather a soubriquet, but *inherited* [italics added: — M.A.]. In fact, his father was a Jew who made his living as a scribe.

But according to his private Archive Knizhnik's original name was Khaimovich(4). It was his father who adopted the name Knizhnik.

However the survey of Soviet private archives published in

(1) Ivan MASANOV, *Slovar' psevdonimov*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty, 1956, t. I, p. 238; *Lichnye arkhivnye fondy v gosudarstvennykh khranilishchakh*, Moscow, Glavnoe arkhivnoe upravlenie, 1962, t. I, p. 333.

(2) MASANOV, 1958, t. 3, p. 357; Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Vospominaniia o Bogrove, Krasnaia letopis'*, 1923, N. 5. Partly reprinted in *Ubiistvo Stolypina*, Serebrennikov N. (ed.), New York, Telex, 1986, p. 34.

(3) Pierre PASCAL, *Mon journal de Russie.* L'Age d'homme, Lausanne, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 245.

(4) Knizhnik-Vetrov's Archive. Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia Biblioteka Shchedrina, Leningrad F-352-159.

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1962[5] still lists him as originally Blank (after Knizhnik's protest)[6].

His second pen-name, Vetrov, was adopted by him in 1897 when the so-called "Vetrov demonstrations" were organized by students to commemorate the Petersburg student Maria Vetrova who burned herself to death in the Petropavlovsk prison[7].

Formative Years

From childhood Knizhnik found himself at the junction of two very different worlds. Pascal wrote in his diary about Knizhnik's father[8]:

> This modest artisan from the Kherson province read the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud like a rabbi and was regarded as such by all the neighbors. Russians of different sects, of which there are many in this region, came to visit him. They stayed in his court sometimes for days and nights, waiting for him to finish his work. Then would begin endless theological, moral and casuist discussions.

This is the milieu which Knizhnik left in his youth. He succeeded in entering Kiev University. A penniless student, he gave private lessons and found a generous Jewish patron, the prominent Kiev lawyer, Alexander Goldenweizer, who recommended Knizhnik to other rich people in need of a tutor[9]. Goldenweizer was a Tolstoyan, who delivered a lecture in Kiev after Tolstoy's "Resurrection" was published, demanding the abolition of punishment by the law and claiming in the spirit of Tolstoy that crime itself was already a punishment[10]. The young and impressionable Knizhnik could not help but succumb to such an influence. Another lasting personal influence on Knizhnik was the Russian philosopher Sergei Bulgakov, who had taught in Kiev since 1901[11].

(5) *Lichnye arkhivnye fondy.*

(6) Masanov, 1958, t. 3, p. 357.

(7) See Knizhnik's obituary, *Voprosy istorii*, 1965, N. 5.

(8) Pascal, *ibid.*

(9) Knizhnik, *Vospominaniia...*

(10) Aleksander Goldenweizer, *Prestuplenie — kak nakazanie, a nakazanie — kak prestuplenie*, Kiev, 1908.

(11) See also *Serge Boulgakov. Bibliographie*, Paris, Institut d'études slaves, 1984, pp. 43-44.

Knizhnik's first publication was a review of the famous collection *Problems of Idealism* at the end of 1902([12]), which professed philosophical idealism (Bulgakov was a contributor to the collection). However, Knizhnik was influenced not only by philosophical or religious doctrines: as a young radical, he had to choose between Marxism and populism.

Since 1901 Knizhnik had chaired a Marxist student circle frequented also by Dmitrii Bogrov, the future assassin of Petr Stolypin([13]). However, not Marx but Herzen and Lavrov took hold of Knizhnik's imagination, and it is not hard to understand why. Bulgakov had in the past been a Marxist, and had come to philosophical idealism as a result of his retreat from Marxism. Why should Knizhnik return to Marx, whom Bulgakov had left?

With regard to Herzen and Lavrov, it can be noted that the young Knizhnik as an erudite *intelligent* found himself attracted naturally enough to those representatives *par excellence* of the intellectual trend in Russian revolutionary socialism. No less attractive to him was the fact that Lavrov differed greatly from the Marxists and Bakunists by reason of his accent on ethics in socialism. He represented a moralist trend in Russian socialism: he saw struggle and violence as necessary but repellent and temporary features of the socialist revolution. Lavrov never made his political method one of moral relativism or Machiavellianism.

Like many Jewish populists of the time, Knizhnik completely identified himself with the Russian people. His first booklet was an analysis of Gorky's drama, "Lower Depths". It already carried the mark of philosophical idealism: he said, for example, that the goal of religion and philosophy was the awakening of the people to consciousness and to the rejection of the "natural course of things"([14]). He anticipated the time when people would realize that only one kind of religion would die out — ritualistic religion. Meanwhile, he claimed that the central conflict marking contemporary life was that between capital and labor, the basic, although not the only, evil of

([12]) See N. ZEGZHDA, *Spisok nauchnykh pechatnykh rabot I.S. Knizhnika-Vetrova*, Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka, 1960.

([13]) See KNIZHNIK, *Vospominaniia*.

([14]) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Smysl p'esy Gor'kogo "Na dne"*, Odessa, 1903, pp. 3-4; 12, 17-18.

life being manifested in economics and social disorder. "Our life", said Knizhnik, "depends also on transcendental and irrational elements". He claimed that this was Gorky's view too.

Religious Populist Anarchist

In 1902 Knizhnik was arrested and expelled from the university; in 1904 he left for Paris(15) where he immediately became involved in Russian emigrant revolutionary activity. He was present at the public debate between Lenin and Petr Struve. It was Struve who gave him a book by the leading Russian anarchist, Petr Kropotkin, which brought Knizhnik to the anarchists, although he did not identify with Kropotkin completely.

With Kropotkin, so for him, revolution meant the salvation of all humanity, not only of one class. He also absorbed from Kropotkin such ideas as federalism uniting different nationalities, the combination of physical and mental work, and so on.

But he differed from his fellow-anarchists on several crucial points. First, he always stressed the importance of religion as a fundamental aspect of human life. Paul Avrich explains this fact exclusively in terms of Tolstoy's influence: according to Avrich, Knizhnik had "strong Tolstoyan leanings"(16). This is true, but not the entire story. Knizhnik professed the idea of revolution, albeit a revolution without terror. This was not Tolstoyanism, which professed quietism and non-resistance, but Knizhnik's own syncretism, which only partly integrated Tolstoy's teachings.

Actually, the idea of bringing together religion and revolution did not originate with Knizhnik. It was a part of the new radical trend among the Russian intelligentsia. For the sources of this trend one should look primarily to the mystical philosophy of Vladimir Solov'ev. In 1890 Solov'ev had said that God blesses not those conservatives who profess faith, but those who profess not to believe in God but who fight for progress and social justice. This seemingly

(15) Ivan Knizhnik, *Vospominania o Kropotkine i ob odnoi anarkhistskoi emigrantskoi gruppe, Krasnaia letopis'*, 1922, N. 4.

(16) Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 107.

strange claim was in fact taken by him from world mystical tradition and especially from the mysticism of Jacob Boehme, who taught that theomachy might also be a providential way of human salvation([17]).

Certainly Russian liberals enthusiastically welcomed Solov'ev's libertarian theology. On the other side it supplied powerful justification to those mystics who wanted to cooperate with the revolutionaries in spite of their atheism. From this point of view the atheists Lavrov or Kropotkin were better partners for a revolutionary-minded mystic than any priest or bishop with a conservative outlook. The atheism of revolutionaries was regarded only as a providential way of bringing all humanity to salvation.

One of the first Russian mystics to arrive at the most radical conclusions in connection not only with the revolution but even with terror, was Dmitrii Merezhkovskii([18]). Moreover, Merezhkovskii, as Bernice Rosenthal has said, "never forswore violence, and supported the terrorist Social Revolutionaries". However, Knizhnik never approved of terror.

Another of Knizhnik's peculiarities was his Lavrovian brand of populism. Anarchism as a movement tended toward extreme internationalism: even Kropotkin regarded himself as an internationalist *par excellence.* However, young Knizhnik saw himself first of all as a part of the Russian people, as did many other revolutionary Jews. The majority of his friends in Kiev and Geneva were anarchists which was very fashionable at that time among revolutionaries, and Knizhnik decided: "Anarchism is a Russian sickness. So we will all have to go through it"([19]). (He did not notice, however, that the majority of his anarchist friends were Jews). Paul Avrich has demonstrated how anarchism became a most popular movement among Jewish radicals in the revolution of 1905. It was the most millenarian of the movements, since it promised the perfect society almost immediately.

([17]) Cf. Nikolai BERDIAEV, *Smysl tvorchestva*, Paris, YMCA-Press, 1985, p. 183.

([18]) Bernice GLATZER ROSENTHAL, *Dmitry Sergeevich Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age. The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality.* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 163, 172.

([19]) PASCAL, p. 246.

From Lavrov, as already noted above, Knizhnik also adopted his emphasis on ethics as well as his staunch defense of the active intellectual minority, the intelligentsia, which had been vilified so much by Bakunin and his followers([20]). These attitudes explain the very negative attitude to Bakunin which Knizhnik maintained all his life. Bakunin professed violence, he was anti-intellectual, he was a militant atheist.

But on the whole his was a variation of religious anarchism. In 1905 he began contributing to the anarchist press and in October 1906 he participated in a conference of anarchist-communists in London.

The conference appointed Knizhnik to the editorial board of *Listki khleba i voli.* It was then that Knizhnik met Kropotkin in person([21]).

Kropotkin repeated his fundamental repudiation of religion while Knizhnik argued that religion and revolution were compatible. As examples he suggested the English revolution and medieval millenarian movements such as the Anabaptists and the Taborites, stressing the importance of Thomas Münzer.

Knizhnik's first anarchist booklet was published in St Petersburg in 1906 by a Tolstoyan publishing house. In the booklet he came out against Bakunin's revolutionary tradition of immorality (although he did not mention Bakunin by name, he openly attacked Nechaev).

The issue of religion permeates his anarchist writing; he did his best to justify religion in revolution. He still treated religion in the fremework of philosophical idealism, in a manner very close to Bulgakov's above-mentioned article. Religion, he said, is a belief in some superior force, in a supra-mind which guarantees our final victory in spite of the visible triumph of evil in contemporary reality([22]). According to him, the problem of religion "cannot be solved by a party. This is a problem of pure philosophy". He believed

([20]) Philip POMPER, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement.* The University of Chicago Press, 1972, pp. 92-93, 101.

([21]) KNIZHNIK, *Vospominaniia o Kropotkine*; see also Martin MILLER, *Kropotkin*, The University of Chicago Press, 1976, p. 212.

([22]) Ivan VETROV, *Anarkhizm, ego teoria i praktika*, St. Petersburg, Obnovlenie, 1906, pp. 4, 7.

that leading anarchists were actually attacking not religion as such but only established religions as well as an erroneous type of philosophical idealism. He said: "To oppose religion and philosophy on the premise that many religious reformers and outstanding philosophers advocated state oppression and the institution of private ownership of land and of the means of production, is as absurd as to oppose mathematics and economics because some mathematicians and economists were reactionaries".

Knizhnik persistently condemned terror. According to him, the "transition to the [new order] should be made through revolution, but it should not be identified with assassinations and robbery"(23).

In another booklet published in 1907 he again made religion a central issue:

> In a new society, science, art and religion will remain as they are now... Religion is a mystical belief which will always be present in humanity, in spite of what materialists might say (without, however, that external hierarchical apparatus which now serves in every religion to extinguish the mind and conscience). There is no harm whatsoever in pure religion: on the contrary, it includes strong personal consolation. However, all those superstitious constructions disguised as religion to be found in contemporary established religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and so on — these constructions should be uprooted from human belief"(24).

At the same time he enjoyed close relationships with various religious radicals and revolutionary mystics(25). It was he who arranged the meeting between Kropotkin and Merezhkovskii's circle at his apartment. He also introduced Merezhkovskii to his close friend, the Kiev anarchist Abram Grossman, who was killed soon after in Kiev. Through Savinkov, who was a close friend of Merezhkovskii, Knizhnik was introduced to the famous Populist revolutionary, German Lopatin, a friend and disciple of Lavrov.

(23) Ivan VETROV, *Iz pisem k drugu, Burevestnik*, Paris, 1906, N. 3, pp. 5, 6.

(24) Ivan VETROV, *Obshchedostupnoe uchenie o prave*, St Petersburg, 1907, p. 15.

(25) Zinaida GIPPIUS, *Dimitrii Merezhkovskii*, Paris, YMCA Press, 1951, p. 180; Andrei BELYI, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 170; KNIZHNIK, *Vospominaniia o Kropotkine*, pp. 42, 44; Ivan VETROV, *A. Grossman. Pamiati druga, Burevestnik*, Paris, 1908, N. 10-11, p. 2.

Interestingly, it was at that time that Merezhkovskii also began to profess Christian anarchy(26), in all probability due to some influence on Knizhnik's part. Moreover, Merezhkovskii reconsidered his attitude to Tolstoy.

Merezhkovskii never acknowledged any influence on himself and he would certainly not have acknowledged that of a man such as Knizhnik; but it is evident here. (Bernice Rosenthal has referred to various complaints that Merezhkovskii was very eager to communicate with young authors in order to plagiarize their ideas(27).

It should be stressed that at this time, in 1906, another trend of religious anarchism emerged — the so-called mystical anarchism of Viacheslav Ivanov and Georgii Chulkov, the main feature of which was its elevation of art and love. It was more a mystical than a social doctrine(28).

Eventually Knizhnik came out against those types of religious anarchism, which, like that of Ivanov and Chulkov and, indeed, of Merezhkovskii, were Christian in form. Knizhnik condemned historical Christianity, which he claimed was not suited to humanity. "It is not religion that is needed for the implementation of the revolutionary aspirations of our time, but rather these aspirations should be realized first in order to make religion accessible to the people"(29).

Knizhnik passionately contested the view held by some anarchists that the intelligentsia should be the main target of the social revolution(30).

Like Kropotkin, Knizhnik rejected the very concept of class revolution. He felt that the class interest was an idealistic and altruistic concept which had nothing to do with purely egoistic, pecuniary interests.

(26) ROSENTHAL, pp. 171, 172.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 132.

(28) Bernice GLATZER ROSENTHAL, *The Transmutation of the Symbolist Ethics: Mystical Anarchism and the Revolution of 1905, Slavic Review*, 1977, Vol. 36, N. 4.

(29) I. VETROV, *Pis'mo iz Parizha* (po povodu referata D. Merezhkovskogo), *Listki khleba i voli*, London, 1907, N. 11, pp. 7-8.

(30) Ivan VETROV, *Intelligentsiia i sotsial'naia revoliutsiia, Listki khleba i voli*, London, 1907, N. 15, p. 6.

"The rich, the bourgeois are also human, and therefore they cannot be happy while even one man suffers".

Knizhnik anticipated that on the day after the revolution a counter-revolution would break out among the proletarians similar to that in Vendée during the French Revolution, or to the pogroms carried out by the Russian Black Hundreds, who were proletarians or peasants. It would be the former capitalists, he prophesied, who would be sincerely devoted to the revolution. According to him, even the Black Hundreds or the police belong to the working class and join the forces which protect the capitalists only since they cannot otherwise make a living.

"The forthcoming revolution", Knizhnik claimed, "will be the salvation of all humanity, not only of the working class"(31).

Established Religion

At that time Knizhnik was going through a serious personal crisis. It seems that some tragedy overtook his family life. Later he said that he had then "lost any interest in emigrant activity and decided to return to Russia illegally". He also decided to abandon anarchism as a political movement(32). However, his articles continued to appear in the anarchist press until the autumn of 1908. Martin Miller, a biographer of Kropotkin, claims that Knizhnik abandoned anarchism for social democracy(33). But it was not social democracy that attracted Knizhnik, nor was it simply philosophical idealism or Tolstoyanism, but the established religion which he had fought before.

His religious frame of mind was strengthened as a result of his internal crisis. If before he had thought that the new religious consciousness would be an outcome of the social-economic revolution, he now decided that the "external political and economic revolution would result only from the spiritual regeneration of society". He

(31) Ivan Vetrov, *Klassovye interesy i interesy obshchechelovecheskie, Burevestnik*, Paris, 1908, N. 13, pp. 10-11.

(32) Knizhnik, *Vospominaniia o Kropotkine*, p. 44.

(33) Miller, p. 235.

grew interested in radical religious ideas such as anthroposophy, Russian sectarianism, and theomachy(34), becoming a passionate revolutionary mystic who strongly believed that God constantly intervened in his life and others'(35). A long-time admirer of Gorky, Knizhnik quickly reacted to his new God-building book, *Confession*, which produced much controversy. He published an article in September 1908 in a Moscow weekly edited by Evgenii Trubetskoi. The very fact of its publication by a prominent member of the Russian religious-philosophical community demonstrates Knizhnik's high intellectual standing.

His criticism was twofold. On the one hand he welcomed the "deep God-searching of Gorky". On the other, he did not accept the writer's deification of the people, in spite of his populism. Gorky's nature, Knizhnik claimed, "cannot be satisfied by cheap materialism, and if he now propounds some ordinary, superficial solutions to spiritual problems, they are not characteristic of him". He claimed that on one side Gorky was strongly dependent on Feuerbach who, according to Knizhnik, was the spiritual father of Russian social-democracy. On the other side, Gorky as an artist said something completely different from that which Gorky the Feuerbachian would like to think.

Knizhnik was actually wrong in seeing Gorky only as a Feuerbachian; he was unaware that Gorky was under the very strong influence of theosophy. However, Knizhnik was accurate in saying that Gorky by his very nature could not live without God.

Knizhnik the populist contested the deification of the people: the Union of the Russian People was also a part of the people. "An authentic set of contradictions in the Russian people leads not to a deified people but to a helpless nothing". But this deification was only a transient event in Gorky's creative life, claimed Knizhnik: "In Gorky's heart there was, there is and there will never disappear the sensation of the real God, the ideal of Truth, Good and Beauty, whose breath brings to life all the best part of our souls"(36).

(34) KNIZHNIK, *Vospominaniia o Kropotkine*, p. 44.

(35) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia v dome pisatelei, Krasnaia letopis'*, 1923, N. 6, p. 189.

(36) I.K., *Bogostroitel'stvo Gor'kogo, Moskovskii ezhenedel'nik*, 1908, N. 35,

In 1909 Knizhnik illegally returned to Russia. Arrested three weeks after his arrival(37), he was exiled to Siberia, where he spent three years, during which time his intensive religious search precluded other activities.

According to his memoirs he already regarded himself as a Christian since 1909 being in prison but did not want to convert since such a conversion was for him a treason of Jews in face of anti-Semitism. After long hesitations being persuaded by Bulgakov, Berdiaev and others he was baptised in July 5, 1915 as a Catholic of the new Eastern (Russian) rite by the Father Gleb Verkhovskii at the apartment of the Father John Deubner(38). It seems that his conversion was informal; his papers still showed him as a Jew and his legal rights were not augmented. In 1917 he told Pascal that he "had grown fond very early of the Church of the Fathers, and especially of John Chrysostom because of his sermons on the rich and the poor, because of his condemnation of property, because of his prayers for communal life. He influenced him to convert. By doing so [he] contravened the Jewish law and particularly the commandment to honor one's parents: had his father known, he would have cursed [him]". However, Knizhnik added, sometimes it was necessary to disobey accepted morality in order to obey God. He was baptized in the name of his favorite saint, John Chrysostom(39).

In 1911, still in exile, Knizhnik suddenly emerged as a leading and well informed reviewer of new books, mostly religious and philosophical(40). He was *persona grata* as a contributor to the best Russian liberal and radical magazines.

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pp. 4, 6, 13, 15. About Gorky's religious outlook see Mikhail AGURSKY, *Maksim Gorky and the Decline of Bolshevik Theomachy*, in Nikolai PETRO (ed.), *Christianity and Russian Culture in Soviet Society: Sources of Stability and Change*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview, 1990.

(37) Boris STRUMILLO, *Materialy o Bogrove, Krasnaia letopis'*, 1924, N. 9, pp. 326-327.

(38) Knizhnik's dicry. See his archive F.352-181.

Jean Deubner, a Catholic priest in Petrograd. In 1913-1918 published a Catholic magazine in Russian, *Slovo istiny*. Was arrested in 1923. See James ZATKO, *Descent into Darkness. The Destruction of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, 1917-1923*. The University of Notre Dame Press, 1925, pp. 180-181.

(39) PASCAL, p. 246.

(40) See a very abridged list of his publications in Zegzhda.

By 1916 he had managed to publish several hundred review articles. He signed them not only "Knizhnik", but also "Andrei Kratov" and several abbreviations. The scope of his erudition was extremely wide, but he preferred anonymity and did not look for prominence.

Knizhnik tended to be sympathetic towards Christian radicalism in whatever form it took. For example, he wrote very positively on anthroposophy, saying that "Steiner is probably the person destined to encourage most powerfully the emergence of Christianity as the foundation of all existing confessions and intellectual search"(41). However, his attitude to non-Christian theosophy (Besant or Blavatskii) was very negative. He claimed that their "astral" dimension explained nothing: "Theosophy tries to interpret religion in the spirit of the new positivism, artificially. It is humiliating for religion, it is forbidden for philosophy". One positive aspect of theosophy was that it contests primitive materialism. However, anything of value that can be found in non-Christian theosophy can be found in the treasury of pure religion and especially in Christianity. Knizhnik said that theosophy was popular among the intelligentsia, which is ignorant of the genuine teachings of Christianity(42).

In his philosophical articles, like Lavrov, Knizhnik clearly preferred Kantianism(43) but it is also clear that his favorite philosophers were now Henri Bergson and Vladimir Solov'ev. He considered Bergson the most outstanding philosopher of the day(44), stressing Bergson's idea of God as a free creator, having created both matter and life and continuing his creative efforts through the evolution of the species and the shaping of human personalities.

With regard to Solov'ev, Knizhnik said that the very essence of his philosophy was the concept of divino-humanity as a concept of human creativity and the beginning and end of the world historical

(41) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *R. Steiner. Misterii drevnosti, Russkaia mysl'*, 1912, N. 9, pp. 326-327.

(42) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *A. Besant. Teosofiia i novaia psikhologiia, Rech'*, October 19, 1915.

(43) Cf. Andrei KRATOV, *K priezdu Kogena, Zavety*, 1914, N. 5, pp. 41-46.

(44) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Religioznaia pozitsiia Bergsona, Rech'*, October 29, 1915.

process. Solov'ev's philosophy, he said, destroyed neither belief in progress nor the energy of human activity[45].

Incidentally, in his wide range of review articles on Russian religious philosophy, Knizhnik very much appreciated Vasilii Rozanov[46].

One of Knizhnik's main foci of interest was the Jewish problem. Interestingly, in spite of his Russian populism and conversion to Christianity, he tried to stress the relevance for him of the Jewish problem, although he did not stress his Jewish origin. The defense of Jews became a very important issue for him.

Knizhnik persistently defended Judaism against varius allegations. For example, he wrote a very positive review of Rabbi Abraham Hein's booklet, "Judaism and Blood", published in refutation of the blood libel in the Beilis trial[47].

Knizhnik attacked Russian antisemitism[48].

At the same time he was very critical of those who tried to ignore the fact that some Jews might convert to Christianity from sincere religious motivations. He referred very negatively to the chief rabbi of Moscow, Yakov Mazeh, who claimed that all conversions had a pragmatic background[49].

LIBERTARIAN CHRISTIANITY

During the war he was enlisted in the army and served as a clerk in a reserve infantry regiment in the Novgorod province near Staraia Russa. From his own report it is clear that Knizhnik was

(45) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *E. Trubetskoi. Morosozertsanie Solov'eva, Rech'*, September 16, 1913.

(46) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *V. Rozanov. Temnyi lik, Russkaia mysl'*, 1912, N. 12, pp. 431-432.

(47) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *A. Khein. Iudaizm i krov', Russkaia mysl'*, 1914, N. 1, p. 13.

(48) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Y. Gessen. Istoriia evreev v Rossii, Rech'*, October 28, 1913.

(49) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *V. Zombart. Kreshchenie evreev, Russkaia mysl'*, 1912, N. 12, p. 436.

kept in the army reserve. Later he complained that all Jewish soldiers were suspected of treason. No Jew could be promoted to officer; students of Jewish origin were kept in the rear, not sent to the front. "Jewish students were little use as soldiers to the army. They themselves felt burdened because of their ambivalent situation but could not change it"(50).

The February revolution was a brilliant hour for Knizhnik. During the first two days he composed several ebullient Christian libertarian pamphlets. The first was called, *The Renovation of Russia and the New Duties of its Citizens*; the second, *The War Goals and Russian Objectives at the Forthcoming Peace Congress*; the third, *On the Necessity of the Social Transformation of Russia.* They were dedicated to Herzen, Lavrov and Solov'ev.

In addition to his previous syncretism, Knizhnik now tried to combine not simply revolution and religion, but passionate Russian populism with Christian radicalism. He wrote:

> Herzen and Lavrov taught belief in the greatness of spirit of the Russian people in spite of its ignorance and visible lack of culture. They also taught that socialism should be regarded as the ideal of any morally developed personality. Solov'ev taught the understanding of Christianity as the greatest ideal of freedom ans social justice and, what is the principal thing, to unite with the "unfaithful" in order to fight "pseudo-Christians".

Knizhnik was in a prophetic mood. "Cross yourselves, Russians! All the people of Russia should thank God, each according to his belief: Christians, Moslems, Jews! A great event has happened!"(51)

One can note that Kropotkin's name was conspicuously absent from the list of dedicatees. Moreover, Knizhnik did not call for the rejection of the state. Nevertheless his pamphlet was heavily dependent on many of Kropotkin's ideas. Like Kropotkin, he was a defensist. He appealed for the defense of the Russian land "from the invasion of the proud, well organized enemy". He rejected the idea of a separate peace with Germany(52).

(50) Andrei KRATOV, *Rechi k grazhdanam obnovlennoi Rossii o tekushchem momente*, Petrograd, Narod i bog, 1917, p. 30.

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

(52) *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 28.

Moreover, the war goals were Kropotkin's: the liberation of small nations and the appeal to expel Turkey from Europe. The Russian empire should become a federation and a similar federative state should exist in the Balkans([53]). This too was Kropotkin's idea. As for his social program, Knizhnik called for the immediate implementation of socialism, likewise an anarchist slogan.

After completing his pamphlets Knizhnik gave them to the newly elected commander of his company, who approved them and gave Knizhnik leave to go to Petrograd to publish them.

It is not clear who financed Knizhnik, but his pamphlet was quickly published by his own publishing house "God and the People" under the name "Andrei Kratov" (a pen name which he had also used before the revolution).

Knizhnik's leave from his company apparently became more or less permanent, since he lived in Petrograd during the year 1917. Meanwhile, he was elected a member of the Petrograd Soviet as a representative of the soldiers([54]).

In April 1917 he wrote another popular pamphlet passionately defending Jewry. "Glory and honor belong to the Jewish people", he wrote. "Without believing in the Christ they bore, they went through all Christian history persecuted outcasts like Christ Himself"([55]). The booklet was dedicated to the Russian Orthodox priest Sergei Solov'ev, Vladimir Solov'ev's nephew, well known as a close friend of both Blok and Bely([56]).

Sergei Solov'ev himself was very radical, and also preached the reunification of the churches. On the eve of the February revolution he had delivered an address on this subject at a meeting of the Petrograd Religious-Philosophical Society, extensively quoted by Knizhnik. In his pamphlet, Knizhnik suggested that Sergei Solov'ev should deliver a report on the subject to the Petrograd Soviet([57]). In 1920 Solov'ev embraced Catholicism himself([58]).

([53]) *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

([54]) PASCAL, p. 247.

([55]) Andrei KRATOV, *Novaia Rossia i evrei*, Petrograd, Narod i bog, 1917, p. 28.

([56]) Nikolai ZERNOV, *The Russian Religious Renaissance of the XX Century*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963.

([57]) KRATOV, p. 29.

([58]) ZERNOV.

Knizhnik also violently attacked the official Russian Orthodox Church for its reactionary stand. Meanwhile, he stressed the importance of Russian religious philosophers like Solov'ev, Bulgakov, Berdiaev, Merezhkovskii, Viacheslav Ivanov(59). His radicalism cost him his relationship with Bulgakov, who was already preparing to become a priest. Their correspondence came to an end(60).

A Christian Bolshevik

However, the internal dynamic of the time was bringing Knizhnik closer and closer to Bolshevism.

When Kropotkin returned to Russia in June 1917, Knizhnik met him. In their conversation Kropotkin sharply condemned the Bolsheviks: for him, the ideal of revolution was the Paris Commune. But Knizhnik already sympathized with the Bolsheviks(61).

On November 7, 1917, on the day of the October revolution, Knizhnik sent a letter to the new government which he signed "The Intellectual of the People". (He seems to have maintained his anonymity as much as he could, and used this new pseudonym at least during that year). An abridged version of the letter was published after some delay in *Pravda* on November 28, 1917:

> I am not a Bolshevik and I am not going to join the Bolshevik party. I am a Russian intellectual who suffers great pain for the working people, for the peasantry, for laborers and for all deprived people... I am a wellwisher of the working people as were the repentant nobility, Herzen, Lavrov, Kropotkin, Plekhanov, etc. [...] though I come from a poor working family...

He appealed to the workers and peasants not to be confused at the newspaper war launched against them. He also demanded the liberation of all prisoners, including the ministers of the old regime(62). But this part of his letter was censored by *Pravda*, which supplied his anonymous letter with a footnote: "*Pravda* invites all

(59) Kratov, p. 31.
(60) Knizhnik, *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia...* p. 198.
(61) Knizhnik, *Vospominaniia o Kropotkine*, p. 46. Also Miller, p. 235.
(62) Pascal, p. 246.

those intellectuals who have emerged from the people, like the journalists of *Novaia zhizn'* [Gorky's newspaper:-M.A.] to pay most serious attention to this deeply interesting letter from a non-party intellectual of the people".

Later Knizhnik wrote:

> The fact that the Bolsheviks were atheists did not confuse me. Like Vladimir Solov'ev, I was deeply persuaded that Divine Providence might envisage that believers and even high ecclesiastical authorities could fulfill the cause of Satan, while pagans and non-believers might fulfill the cause of God. However, in contradiction to Solov'ev I thought that all the Christian world was set on the wrong path and that the genuine way for public life was pointed out only by socialists, though they were godless... I believed that the Russian people were charged with the duty to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth by reuniting the Christian faith with genuine Christian politics. I dreamed of the time when priests with banners would lead the workers' revolutionary demonstrations. I dreamed of the time when all Christian churches would reunite and the representative of God on earth — the Pope — would become the leader of the Workers' International (63).

Knizhnik evidently regarded his former anarchism as compatible with Bolschevism. He was not alone in this opinion. Many former anarchists joined the Bolsheviks.

None of them, however, tried to rationalize the decision as Knizhnik did.

On December 9, John Deubner introduced Knizhnik and his new wife to Pierre Pascal, who was a French liaison officer sent during the First World War to Russia to serve in the French military mission. A committed Catholic, Lieutenant Pascal also adopted a very radical millenarian standpoint deeply rooted in Christian Socialism, which has its origin in the teachings of Lamennais. It is no surprise, therefore, that Pascal fell in love not so much with the February, as with the Bolshevik, revolution. For him the Bolshevik revolution had a very deep, mystical Christian meaning, in spite of its overt anti-Christianity, atheism and violence. Pascal deeply believed that it was the religious duty of genuine Christians to partici-

(63) KNIZHNIK, *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia...*, p. 190.

pate actively in this revolution, to be both its salt and its yeast(64).

Pascal recorded his meeting with Knizhnik in his diary:

> He doesn't belong to any party; however, he praises the Bolsheviks for having toppled the idols of freedom and parliamentarianism. Freedom is usually exercised against the weak and the very freedom of the press is usually utilized by the bourgeoisie. Parliamentarianism is their deception.
>
> Only local soviets are the expression of the masses. However, the main vice of Bolshevism and Socialism is their materialism. It is a vice which should be fought. Fortunately there are signs of alliance between Socialism and Christianity. Knizhnik passionately believes in such an alliance. *Novaia zhizn'* wrote that the Pope approved of Socialism (according to *Osservatore Romano*). Trotsky would like to associate the Pope with the campaign for peace (according to *Delo naroda*). The split between the Church and the bourgeois world was manifested by the secret treaty between Italy and the Entente in order not to admit the Pope into negotiations... He is full of belief in the revolution which should happen simultaneously both in Christianity and in Socialism. All capitalist countries are against them but they will not win. Bolshevism responds exactly to the necessity of the present time: Christian socialists are now only a handful; tomorrow they will be legion.
>
> He is preparing another letter in which he demands that Sunday be observed. If the newspaper refuses it, he will publish it elsewhere. According to him he has 60,000 followers. He would also like to arrange conferences alone or under the auspices of "The Society for the Distribution of Russian Literature" in order to express his disagreement with Lunacharsky. The Russian people are religious and they will not permit atheism...
>
> I admire his devotion, his convictions, his life given entirely to his idea, his attachement to people(65).

Pravda did not publish his new letter but instead printed a long column which he wrote under the previous pseudonym (Intellectual of the People)(66). Knizhnik criticized Korolenko's article in a Socialist-Revolutionary newspaper in which he had condemned the Bolshevik suppression of civil rights. Knizhnik justified such acts,

(64) See PASCAL.

(65) *Ibid.*, pp. 245-247.

Novaia zhizn': the newspaper edited by Gorky in 1917-1918.

Delo naroda — a Socialist-Revolutionary newspaper edited in 1917-1918.

(66) *Sovetskoe pravitel'stvo i Korolenko, Pravda*, January 4, 5, 1918.

but also remarked that he did not approve the closure of any newspaper. (*Pravda* once again supplied Knizhnik's article with a footnote which noted that the author was not a Bolshevik).

Two weeks later Knizhnik published his second article in *Pravda* which was again signed with his pseudonym. The article was directed against Maxim Gorky, who was then very critical of the Bolsheviks(67). What is extremely interesting about this article is that it presented the Bolshevik revolution as a Russian popular, even national, revolution. Knizhnik dismissed Gorky's charges of Bolshevik brutality and rejected his claims that the Bolsheviks exploited the most primitive part of the peasantry, which might well, according to Gorky, end up destroying culture and civilization in Russia.

(It is most intriguing that Lenin looked through this rather unorthodox article of Knizhnik's edited and approved it(68).

Gorky immediately reacted to Knizhnik's article(69):

Knizhnik replied to Gorky with another populist article, once again approved by Lenin before publication, though this time with some slight reservations(70). In his reply he maintained that "the difference between the peasants and the workers is not so fundamental as to make their interests in the Socialist Revolution incompatible". However, he confessed that "the mob from the mean streets has stained the sacred cause of our Revolution with its lynching".

He stressed that there was now a "national socialist" revolution in Russia in the sense that it was a revolution of all the Russian people. This national revolution would develop in the future into an international revolution.

Knizhnik's next two long columns were devoted to criticism of the leader of the right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, Victor Chernov, who condemned the dissolution by force of the Constituent Assembly, which he had chaired for several hours(71).

(67) *Sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i Gor'ky, Pravda*, January 7, 1918.

(68) *Lenin V.I. Biograficheskaia khronika*, Moscow, t. 5, p. 157. The same is confirmed by Knizhnik himself. See Viktor PANKOV, *Gor'ky i sovetskaia deistvitel'nost'*, Moscow, 1968, p. 34.

(69) Maxim GORKY, *Untimely Thoughts*, New York, Paul Eriksson, 1968, pp. 127-128.

(70) *Otvet Gor'komu, Pravda*, January 13, 1918. See also *Lenin*, p. 197; PANKOV, p. 34.

(71) *Bor'ba za respubliku sovetov i V. M. Chernov, Pravda*, January 31, February 1, 1918.

"When Chernov fought the autocracy", Knizhnik asked, "was he confused by the fact that his party was a minority?"

Knizhnik expressed his totally millenarian belief in the humanist character of the new Bolshevik system. His view was anarchistic; he believed that the republic of Soviets excluded any possibility of tyranny, capital punishment, and long-term imprisonment. Revenging crime by the law would be replaced by moral reproach. The permanent army would be abolished. Knizhnik expected a new and rapid up-swing of the economy.

On February 10, 1918, Knizhnik, who had in the meantime become one of *Pravda's* main columnists, published there a very important populist crypto-religious article, "The October Revolution as a New Cultural Age" under his previous pseudonym, "Intellectual of the People"(72). "There is no reason to treat the October Revolution", said Knizhnik, "as something that contradicts culture". He was referring to prominent legal authorities who claimed that the law was the demarcation of interests. The struggle for the material interests of the workers (an alias for the class struggle, which as we know Knizhnik did not recognize) is a profound cultural phenomenon.

Knizhnik claimed that culture can only gain in quality. But then in the same article he resorted to a religious sermon — in *Pravda*! He said:

> In the great words of the prophet Ezekiel: "Thus says the Lord God, Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, and I will put an end to their feeding the sheep; nor shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be food for them. For thus says the Lord God: Behold, I will both search my sheep, and seek them out... And they shall no more be a prey to the nations, nor shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell in safety, and none shall make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a plantation for renown, and they shall be no more consumed with hunger in the land, nor suffer any more the insult of the nations" (Eze. 34,9-10, 28-30).
>
> All cultural workers — scientists, lawyers, moralists, professors, *priests*, poets, writers, artists, actors, and so on — they are all shepherds of the people and if these shepherds are now against the people, they should be put down by the people as bad shepherds, whatever merits they have. [Italics added]

(72) *Oktiabr'skaiia revoliutsiia i novaia kul'turnaia era, Pravda*, February 10, 1918.

Knizhnik referred very positively to Blok's article, "Revolution and the Intelligentsia", where the same view on culture was expressed.

Most extraordinarily, on February 17, 1918, Knizhnik was appointed head of that section in *Pravda* which was termed "The October Revolution and Culture"(73). At this time he was a practicing Catholic and not a party member.

His editorial work, however, lasted for only five weeks: *Pravda* moved to Moscow during the German thrust towards Petrograd, while Knizhnik remained behind.

After the cessation of his work as an editor of *Pravda*, Knizhnik continued contributing columns to the paper under his familiar pseudonym. During the sharp debate over the Brest-Litovsk treaty Knizhnik once again published two very long and highly nationalist columns in the paper, declaring, for example (74):

> My pain is the pain of Russia whose body and soul are tormented... The Brest-Litovsk treaty is concluded but there is no peace for you, my mother Russia... Your grief is enormous, Russia, your false friends turned out to be worse that enemies.
>
> ... You, People-Martyr, are robbed by Germany. Now all the Allies are going to rob you...
>
> However, your external enemy will not triumph for long. It will soon perish...
>
> Tremble, Germany, who has become a gendarme of revolutionary Russia!... Imperial Germany dealt you, my People-Martyr, a most cruel blow. Rebellious and liberated Germany will deliver to you, my People-Martyr, the greatest joy.

Three weeks after this, Knizhnik printed in *Pravda* another column, again under the same pseudonym (75). This time he argued with various anti-Bolsheviks, once more dismissing accusations against the Russian people of brutality and cruelty:

> Our less cultured people have manifested a more correct intuition towards the war than other more cultured nations. Healthy instincts are developed more strongly among those nations which have not been suppressed by culture.
>
> All facts of brutality and cruelty presented by the enemies of the

(73) ZEGZHDA, p. 23. Also his obituary, *Voprosy istorii*, 1965, N. 6.
(74) *Rossiia budbodroi, Pravda*, March 31, April 2, 1918.
(75) *Spasenie Rossii, Pravda*, April 21, 23, 24, 1918.

> Soviet regime as a decisive argument against it are simply trifles in comparison with all the terrible crimes from which the Soviet regime saves the majority of people...
>
> The salvation of Russia is now only in the patient awaiting of the total end of war.

At the end of his very long article Knizhnik resurrected, surprisingly, Herzen's Slavophile dream — a stance rather conspicuous on the pages of *Pravda.* "Soviet Russia", he wrote, "is now the leader in moral and legal progress. Now Soviet Russia revives Herzen's accusation that all Europe is in chains". He was explicitly referring to Herzen's famous letter to Michelet (1851) and stressing the Bolshevik heritage from Herzen, Bakunin, Lavrov, and Chernyshevsky.

All this, we emphasize, was printed in *Pravda* with Lenin's specific approval.

The relationship between Pascal and Knizhnik was not limited to their meeting in December. Later, Knizhnik emphasized the fact of his friendship with Pascal([76]). However, we have only one piece of documentary evidence of this relationship — Knizhnik's letter to Pascal dated May 7, 1918, which is evidence that Knizhnik was still a practicing Catholic. In his letter, written on Easter, he says([77]):

> Christ is risen! Yesterday after mass I stayed for some time with my wife and son at Father John's, and he gave me your letter. I am happy to get news from you. My wife and I greatly appreciate the expression of your regard, since we are friends and companions in the expectation of celestial Jerusalem.
>
> However, I believe that no matter how tragic the situation in Russia now, no matter what cruel calamities strike her, the revolt against imperialism and the brigand capitalist system will not be made in vain. The sources of this revolt, unwittingly for the Bolsheviks, lie in Christianity, and although they are anti-Christian they work for the triumph of Christianity.
>
> In this sense I already see the Bolsheviks as a torch for the contemporary world, and I am trying to help them.
>
> I would like very much to ask you to give them to S. N. Bulgakov, who is very close to me as a Christian, but who is very far from me as a social conservative or a reformist of a meager caliber. What I write is penetrated by Christian ideas. However, I do not dare to

([76]) KNIZHNIK, *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia...*, p. 191.

([77]) PASCAL, pp. 346-347. There is also Pascal's letter to Knizhnik on May 30, 1918, Knizhnik's archive F-352-1780.

appeal openly for the necessary alliance between the Christians and the Bolsheviks, since I don't think the time for it has come yet.

Alexander Blok has long fascinated me, and I wrote about it in my article, "The October Revolution as a New Cultural Age". I cannot avoid the impression, on reading Lenin's speech(78), that he is retreating by inviting specialists and offering them high salaries, in spite of the fact that in doing so he has contemptuously thrown them a bone for the sake of Russia. His situation is indeed tragic. I often pray that God will come to aid him. It is true that even if he were to disappear his work and his thought would bring abundant fruits for the future struggle against our pseudo-Christian pseudo-civilization.

Many people have believed, both then and now, that the Bolsheviks attacked religion as such from the very beginning of their rule. It was not so. The Church, but not religion, was attacked in the first years of the new system, so the tolerance of Knizhnik's radical Christianity was not due to some oversight. Sergei Solov'ev, to whom Knizhnik had dedicated one of his pamphlets printed after the February revolution, wrote in May, 1918(79): "The Bolshevik press tries to attack only the Church. Our terrorists present themselves as admirers of Christ, who, they allege, has been distorted in the consciousness of the Church". This was not anti-Christianity, Solov'ev argued, but pseudo-Christianity.

A Focus of Religious Controversy

From Knizhnik's letter, the only one we have, we have seen that Knizhnik asked Pascal to pass on his *Pravda* articles to Bulgakov. Bulgakov had stopped writing to Knizhnik in July 1917. He had probably not read Knizhnik's articles, and even had he done so, he would have been unaware that they had been written by Knizhnik.

However, when Pascal passed on Knizhnik's articles to Bulgakov, April-May 1918, Bulgakov was busy writing his famous article "At the Feast of the Gods" for the collection *De Profundis (Iz glubiny)*, which was published only fifty years later, although his article was speedily printed separately.

(78) V. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow, Progress, 1965, V. 27, pp. 279-313.

(79) Sergei Solov'ev, *Gonenie na tserkov', Nakanune*, Moscow, N. 6, May, 1918.

Reading the article attentively, one can see that Knizhnik's articles were indeed read by Bulgakov and, what is more, Knizhnik himself appears as "Refugee", though in disguised form. First, the word "refugee" meant almost unambiguously "Jew" at the time. The Tsarist military authorities had expelled hundreds of thousands of Polish and Lithuanian Jews in the years 1914-1915 from the western areas to prevent alleged "Jewish espionage" for the Germans. During World War I, "refugee" was thus almost synonymous with "Jew".

Bulgakov's "Refugee" says:

> The time, in the early stages of the war, when we were compelled to emigrate from Poland, somehow comes back to my mind(80).

The "Refugee" is also the only one of the participants in the discussion who raises the Jewish question exactly in Knizhnik's sense. The "Refugee" says, for example:

> There is some mysterious and absolutely surprising gravitation of Jewry to the Russian soul. It was felt in their own way by Solov'ev, even by Dostoevsky and now by Rozanov. This *Wahlverwandschaft* is a very intimate but also a very important phenomenon(81).

One should stress again that the "Refugee" is not exactly Knizhnik, but it is he who verbalizes some of Knizhnik's ideas. First of all, the "Refugee" is a populist. When the "Diplomat" says: "Truth will out: it is after all mankind who is rebelling, under a Bolshevik's bestial semblance, against the universal cult of militarism", the "Refugee" supports his view(82).

The "Refugee" sees "the seal of greatness of our people and of their spiritual superiority at least in their role; it is the only people in the world which has a universal consciousness alien to nationalism"(83).

(80) Sergei BULGAKOV, *At the Feast of the Gods, The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1922-23, Vol. 1, N. 3, p. 620.

(81) Sergei BULGAKOV, *Na piru bogov, Iz glubiny*, Paris, YMCA Press, 1967, p. 135. This text is the original; the above-cited English translation is an abridged version, and therefore both texts are used here.

(82) BULGAKOV, *At the Feast of the Gods*, N. 1, p. 182.

(83) BULGAKOV, *Na piru bogov*, p. 136.

The "Refugee", like Knizhnik, also defends the Russian intelligentsia.

> The intelligentsia longs for something that the Transfiguration alone can give, although they, in their blindness, seek it in the revolution. This longing is a national one. The intelligentsia are babes in swaddling clothes; they are still in a state of childish rebellion, and they do not know themselves. But without them Russia — I even say the Russian Church — will not be able to fulfill her mission(84).

The "Refugee" levels sharp criticism against the historical Russian Orthodox church, exactly as Knizhnik had done in the summer of 1917.

Speaking of Rasputin, the "Refugee" says that:

> Rasputin was a point of concentration, a medium of activity of some mystical force... The Tsar strove, as according to Solov'ev's plan he had to, towards a prophet of theocratic inspiration. Was it his fault that in response to his deeply-felt demand he met only a false prophet? Are not all people to blame here, and the entire historical Church with its high priests at its head?(85)

According to the "Refugee", contemporary Orthodoxy has the character of the Old Belief:

> In spite of what you say, I hold that present day Orthodoxy flavours of the Old Beliefs and is deaf to many questions raised by life. I do not condemn Old Believers; on the contrary, I think that in certain points the Church ought to be more like them, bound by her tradition that holds everything equally important — in principle the Old Believers are right there. But Orthodoxy is a militant, historical and lasting creed, and the Old Belief would be but a compulsory halt in it(86).

With Knizhnik, the "Refugee" appeals for the reunification of the Churches:

> That is why we have now again before us, with the charm of a new freshness, the old question of the reunion of the Churches: we are attracted and impelled to it by the ominous times that loom before the whole Christian world(87).

(84) BULGAKOV, *At the Feast of the Gods*, N. 3, p. 620.
(85) BULGAKOV, *Na piru bogov*, p. 127.
(86) BULGAKOV, *At the Feast of the Gods*, N. 3, p. 611.
(87) *Ibid.*, p. 616.

He ignores the dogmatic controversy between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. There is a new sense of an Ecumenical Church coming to life. The "Refugee" is asked point-blank (with an intimate hint at Knizhnik):

> Then, what is it you are seeking? Religious indifference, or the Unia, the "Catholicism of Eastern Rite" which is now so fashionable?

The answer is given not by Knizhnik but by Bulgakov himself.

> The "Refugee":
> Neither the one nor the other. I consider that at the present moment it is particularly important to hold to the Church, for nothing is now so heavily punished as religious instability. And for practical purposes I am, if you like, a churchman clinging to every syllable of Orthodox teaching, for it is only from the depths of the life of the Church that the spirit of prophecy, the fulness of completion, can come; but not from sects or drawing-room meetings. We must hold fast to the Church, both in external discipline — experiments, such as V. Solov'ev's, of an individual reunion of the churches by secretly embracing Catholicism, while remaining Orthodox, are inadmissible — and also in the sense of personal fidelity and active intense and searching love...
>
> Even since the fatal Xth century, something of priceless value has been lost to West and East, something that can and must be found again(88).

Of all the participants in the discussion, the "Refugee" is also the most tolerant towards the Bolshevisk. He claims that Lenin is a representative of revolutionary Slavophilism(89). Again, like Knizhnik, the "Refugee" describes Blok's "Twelve" as the most remarkable revolutionary poem. He actually accepts that the Bolsheviks are led by Christ as in the poem:

> The high artistic quality of the poem quarantees its insight to some extent. Probably the Bolsheviks do have a depth and mystery which we have not yet been able to grasp(90).

It is very curious that the "Refugee", in spite of his controversiality, has become the central positive character in the discussion,

(88) *Ibid.*, pp. 617-618.
(89) *Ibid.*, N. 2, p. 398.
(90) BULGAKOV, *Na piru bogov*, p. 141.

the one who knows what to do. His concluding words also betray the identity of his prototype (with whom Bulgakov also polemicized). One of the articles sent to Bulgakov by Knizhnik via Pascal was "The Salvation of Russia" ("Spasenie Rossii"), which had been published in *Pravda*. And the "Refugee"'s concluding words to the discussion clearly reflect Bulgakov's familiarity with that article:

> Just before the October *coup d'état* an intimate friend confided an experience of his to me. With deep emotion he told me that while he was in fervent prayer before a holy ikon of the Virgin, the words "Russia is saved" [*Rossiia spasena*] sounded quite clearly in his heart. How, Why, wherefore, he could not say. But to forget the moment, to be disloyal to it, would have been for him the same as to reject something most sacred and real. And so, if my friend's experience is true, we must conclude that there is nothing to fear for Russia in the last sense of all, the sense that alone will count: for Russia is saved by the power of the Mother of God. And, believe me, Orthodox Russia knows this full well.
> All (with the exception of the "Diplomat"):
> Amen.
> The "Diplomat":
> ? ! ?
> The "Public Man":
> Christ is risen!
> All (with the exception of the "Diplomat"):
> He is risen indeed!(91)

It is Bulgakov's answer to Knizhnik's question of how Russia is to be saved.

One can see that in general Bulgakov made Knizhnik's ideas more traditional and less heretical, but still it was these very ideas that fascinated Bulgakov. In fact, it is very interesting how the anonymous Knizhnik became a religious focus for the Boslhevik revolution. He received encouragement from Lenin; he fascinated Bulgakov; he attracted the attention of Trotsky. Much later, in the 1930s, Trotsky quoted Knizhnik with respect (without mentioning him by name). In his history of the October Revolution, Trotsky said:

> Agrarian disturbances in Russia had their great tradition, their simple but clear program, their local martyrs and heroes. The colossal experience of 1905 had not passed without leaving its trace in the villages. And to this we must add the work of the sectarian ideas which had

(91) BULGAKOV, *At the Feast of the Gods*, N. 3, pp. 621-622.

> taken hold of millions of peasants. "I knew many peasants", writes a well-informed author, "who accepted... the October revolution as the direct realization of their religious hopes"(92).

This is a direct quotation from Knizhnik's article of 1923:

> I am confident that there were and still are millions of peasants who accepted the political sermon of Bolshevism and then the October Revolution as the direct realization of their religious hopes(93).

APOSTASY

During 1918-19 Knizhnik worked in the soviet of one of the Petrograd regions. Then his pilgrim's progress brought him to Proletcult. This was then an extremist Bolshevik cultural organization which claimed that the only legitimate culture was that of the proletariat. Its strong strand of anti-intellectualism made it much disliked by Lenin himself. In 1919 Knizhnik joined the editorial board of Proletcult's main organ, *Griadushchee.* However, a closer look at the role he played there will show that he tried to enact his old part of the intellectual of the people, trying to convert the proletariat into an intelligentsia. While there, he published informative articles and book reviews on Lenin, Engels, Steklov, and others. He was also the head of the bibliographic department of the Petrograd Soviet organ, *Krasnaia gazeta*(94). In 1921 he was appointed director of the State Institute for the Study of Books(95).

We do not know how his religious process developed; but his formal break with Christianity and religion as a whole took place in 1923.

In May 1921 there was a secret session of the Central Party committee. One of the items on the agenda was the compatibility of religious faith with party membership. A sharp internal controversy is evident. On the one side, Anatoly Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education, who never repented of his past God-

(92) Lev TROTSKY, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, New York, 1977, p. 883.

(93) KNIZHNIK, *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia...*, p. 191.

(94) ZEGZHDA, p. 23.

(95) See his obituary, *Voprosy istorii.*

building heresy, tried to arrange a meeting between Lenin and the heretical archbishop of Pensa, Vladimir (Putiata), who was then preaching Christian Communism (Lenin, for his part, chose not to meet the archbishop(96).

On the other side, on May 15, a few days before the session, *Pravda* published an article by a former Orthodox priest, Mikhail Galkin (Gorev), now a party member, making severe attacks on those party members who maintain their religious faith or participate in religious ceremonies. Galkin said: "In some places on the regional level one can see that even very responsible party members participate in religious ceremonies and rites"(97). He categorically demanded the expulsion of all such people from the party.

Lenin now personally intervened in favor of compatibility. He demanded of Yaroslavskii (then a party secretary) and Bukharin that they drop the clause in the party program draft which declared incompatibility. He demanded that "with some strict reservations, the believers who are absolutely honest and committed Communists should be allowed to remain in the party"(98).

The Central Committee finally adopted a resolution which permitted some proven party members with religious beliefs to remain in the party, but recommended the exertion of systematic pressure in order to "help" them get rid of their superstitions as quickly as possible(99).

It seems evident that such pressure would have been heavily exerted on Knizhnik too. The first signs of his retreat can be observed from the end of 1921. The initial step was his declaration of full acceptance of Marxist ideology and renouncement of what he now called "learned mysticism".

A parallel process happened to Pierre Pascal. He joined the

(96) *Lenin V. I. Biograficheskaia khronika*, t. 10., p. 395; Vladimir (Putiata), archbishop of Pensa and Saransk (1869-1941?). See Mtr. Manuil (Lemeševskij), *Die Russischen Orthodoxen Bishöfe*, t. II, Erlangen, 1981, ss. 234-243.

(97) Mikhail Galkin (Gorev), *Kommunisty i religioznye obriady, Pravda*, May 25, 1921.

(98) V. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Moscow, t. 54, 1970, p. 440.

(99) *O narusheniakh programmy partii v religioznoi oblasti, Vestnik agitatsii i propagandy*, N. 19, September 15, 1921, p. 29.

French Communist party, remained in Soviet Russia and worked in the Comintern. In the beginning he remained a Catholic and a Christian Socialist, but soon he gave up any religious activity. In 1920 he published a pamphlet in French in which he described his meetings with Russian Christian radicals, including Berdiaev(100). He no longer mentioned Knizhnik in his diary after 1918 and there is no evidence that they were in contact thereafter.

However, when Pascal's pamphlet was published, Knizhnik commented on it. He remarked that he did not know what had been happening to Pascal and had only learned of developments from the pamphlet. He praised Pascal for joining the French Communist party and the way in which Knizhnik did so clearly reflected his own similar, traumatic experience:

> An intellectual like Pascal, in order to accept Marxism... should overcome internally long ingrained habits of thought and feelings. He should literally "burn what he adored and adore what he burned". But only a few people are able to accomplish such a spiritual transformation, especially at an age of maturity.
>
> However, the grandiose swing of our revolution, which shattered not only the economics but also the spiritual foundations of the old world, helped Pascal to do what only a few intellectuals were able to archieve: to shake off even learned mysticism and to accept the proletarian revolution as a whole(101).

The climax of Knizhnik's apostasy was approaching. In 1923 he published a bibliographical directory on social science, the first after the revolution. In the introduction, dated December 31, 1922, Knizhnik was still evasive on the religious issue, though adamant in his revolutionary populism:

> The self-sufficient value of culture is rejected in principle. It is regarded as a product of the creativity of the popular masses... Therefore *traditional* [italics added] religious doctrine and the philosophical systems linked to it, moral and legal doctrines and all those trends in literature, politics, economics, and all the social sciences which regarded their subject as something self-contained, unconnected with the interests of the spiritual and economic emancipation of the oppressed classes, are rejected as worthless litter(102).

(100) Pierre PASCAL, *En Russie Rouge*, Paris, 1920.

(101) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Frantsuzskii intelligent o Sovetskoi Rossii, Kniga i revoliutsiia*, 1921, NN. 10-11, p. 14.

(102) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Sistematicheskii ukazatel' literatury po obshchestvennym naukam*, Leningrad, Priboi, 1923, p. 8.

Clearly, this is not yet a final break with religion. The rejection of *traditional* religious doctrines does not mean the rejection of *radical* religious doctrines or all the religious creativity of the popular masses, for example the sectarian movements.

Knizhnik's remaining religious ambivalence is stressed by his enthusiastic evaluation of the book by the Bishop and Communist, William Montgomery Brown, "Communism and Christianism". Brown had been the Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in Arkansas since 1900. In 1912 he retired due to a long illness, during which he read Marx and Darwin. As a result his belief in divine selection appeared to him childish. He claimed that he had found the true Christ through reading Marx. He rejected "supranaturalism" and claimed that religion did not yet dare to face the realities of life.

The book was translated into Russian and published in 1923 in Soviet Russia. Brown had not yet been defrocked. His trial for heresy took place only in 1925. Eight times after the trial and until his death in 1937 he attempted to be reinstated as a Bishop, but in vain([103]).

Knizhnik's enthusiastic opinion of this Christian radical is very significant. It suggests that he still regarded himself as a Christian, although radical. In his bibliographical directory he also recommended a relatively old booklet, which had been translated into Russia in 1917, written by the Protestant German priest Paul Göhre, in which the author argued that Christianity and Social Democracy were compatible([104]).

Knizhnik was undergoing an attack of strong nostalgia for his previous revolutionary mysticism, and this can be seen from his excellent memoirs on Kropotkin and the October Revolution published in 1922-1923 in *Krasnaia letopis'*, the Petrograd party history journal. Knizhnik not only did not conceal the mysticism and Catholicism which had marked his thought in the earlier period; he even stressed it. He speaks of his religious fervor as of something that

([103]) William MONTGOMERY BROWN, *Kommunizm i khristianstvo*, Moscow, 1923. For his obituary, see *New York Times*, November 1, 1937.

([104]) Paul GÖHRE, *Wie ein Pfarrer Sozialdemokrat wurde*, Berlin, Vorwärts, 1902. In Russian: Paul Gere, *Kak sviashchennik stal sotsial-demokratom*, St Petersburg 1906.

has already passed but by not a word does he present himself as an atheist.

The years 1922-1923 saw the starting point of the violent attack against religion which reached its climax in the spring of 1923(105). It put an end to any permissible ambivalence regarding religion in the Soviet press, let alone among party members and officials. Knizhnik, who had not concealed his religious views in the past and had even professed them publicly, must also have been put under heavy pressure. And he eventually submitted.

In an article on Lavrov printed in 1923 he remarked that "Lavrov can be used... as an atheist who argues that religion is a pathological phenomenon"(106).

Fully-fledged apostasy, however, can be found in the introduction and comments to the second edition of his bibliography on social science, which was published in 1924. He wrote point blank:

> In Soviet Russia, where the proletariat took power, the state removes all obstacles to the emancipation of humanity from the power of religious feelings and ideas...
>
> The examination of relics by the Soviet authorities has exposed an age-long deception of the people by the clergy. Communist atheist propaganda has exposed all the absurdity of religious ideals and feelings, all the harm done to the people by clergy who blessed capital punishment and wars. For its part, the clergy made quite an adroit step to strengthen *religion by declaring it quite compatible with Communism* [italics added] and by starting a new era of reformation in the form of the "Living Church".

Knizhnik even used such an anti-religious cliché as "religious opium"(107).

Still, some persistent ambivalences can be noticed. In his bibliographical directory Knizhnik included not only atheistic books

(105) Cf. Mikhail AGURSKY, *Der misslungene Versuch zur Vernichtung der Russisch-Orthodoxen Kirche in den Jahren 1922-1923 und die Niederlage des linken Kommunismus, Ostkirchliche Studien*, 1973, Hf. 2/3.

(106) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *P. Lavrov v literature 1917-1923, Kniga i revoliutsiia*, 1923, N. 3, p. 12.

(107) Ivan KNIZHNIK, *Chto chitat' po obshchestvennym naukam. Sisematicheskii ukazatel' kommunisticheskoi i marksistkoi literary*, Leningrad, Priboi, 1924, pp. 384-385.

but also religious and religio-philosophical books which were published in Russia after the October revolution. He supplied some of them with denigrating comments like "harmful", "good-for-nothing", etc. However, books by Bulgakov, Berdiaev, Bergson. were not supplied with any notes at all, certainly not denigrating ones.

Was Knizhnik's apostasy bona fide, or was it the result of intolerable pressure?

One can suggest that it was a combination of both, though in his memoirs written in the fifties which he was going to publish he clamed that his apostasy was sincere([108]). On the one hand, Knizhnik might have persuaded himself, like the hero of Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, that his apostasy was vital for the revolution *now* — which did not necessarily contradict his vision of the *future* alliance of Christianity and Socialism. Such a deeply religious and sincere man as Knizhnik could have resorted to mystical apostasy, which is a well known pattern in various messianic movements. (A particularly well known example is that of Shabetai Tzvi, who converted to Islam under pain of death, and rationalized it as a mystical apostasy needed in the messianic process)([109]).

Russian radical theology could also have supplied Knizhnik with even more radical justification of his apostasy. Berdiaev, for example, claimed that theomachy was a necessary step both for one's personal faith and for the process of divino-humanity.

But a fully-fledged exposition of mystical apostasy can be found in various writings of Gorky, and especially in his *Life of Klim Samgin*, where he describes the deacon Egor Ipatievskii, whose passionate theomachy does not exclude a deep love of Christ([110]). The deacon says:

> "Christ! Be thou not angry at us poor folk, Ne'er are we forgetful of thy sweet self, Jesus,
> Even when we hate thee, still we do but love thee;
> Even in our hatred we are but thy servants".
> The deacon heaved a noisy sigh and said:
> "That's the end".

([108]) Knizhnik's archive, F-352-173.

([109]) Gershom SCHOLEM, *The Messianic Ideas in Judaism*, New York, Schocken, 1974, pp. 78-141.

([110]) Maxim GORKY, *Bystander*, New York, The Literary Guild, 1930, p. 568. Also AGURSKY, *Maksim Gorky.*

"No one can understand this!" Liutov shouted. "No one! All these cold-blooded European outlanders will never understand the Russian deacon Egor Ipatievskii, who has been on trial for scoffing and blasphemy because of his love for God! They could never understand!"

"That's true. I loved God very much", the deacon said simply and assuredly. "Only my demands towards him are strict. He's not man; there's nothing to pity him for".

"Hold on! But what if he — does not exist?"

"They that do affirm this err".

The collapse of the traditional life, the violent assault of the Bolsheviks on religion, gave rise to various mystical interpretations, not only among Christians. Knizhnik certainly did not know the learned Cabbalist from Bobruisk, Shmuel Aleksandrov, who wrote many letters to rabbis suggesting mystical explanations of current events(111). Aleksandrov said that general apostasy was a necessary God-given stage before the advent of the Messiah. Relying on Vladimir Solov'ev, somewhat surprisingly, Aleksandrov claimed that God was now going to bring humanity closer to nature and when this was accomplished, Man would remember everything that he had forgotten. The world given to Man is neither the first nor the last.

Referring to Nietzsche and Solov'ev, Aleksandrov persuaded one rabbi that Man was God's collaborator in creation. A new "superman" can create an entirely new world which will be closer to perfection than the existing one. Therefore, one should not despair at the general apostasy, which is only a part of Divine providence. What is happening now is only the destruction of the old building.

In spite of all the Christian pilgrim's progress, Knizhnik's mind was rooted in the Jewish mystical tradition acquired from his father, so his reaction to events was much like Aleksandrov's.

In the history of the twentieth century one can find many cases of mystical apostasy.

(111) Shmuel ALEKSANDROV, *Mikhtavei mekhkar u-vikoret*, Jerusalem, 1932 (Hebrew), pp. 5, 6, 8. On Aleksandrov see also Mikhail AGURSKY, *Universalist Trends in Jewish Religious Thought, Immanuel*, Jerusalem. 1984, N. 18.

The End of the Pilgrimage

Whatever the nature of the apostasy which Knizhnik underwent, from 1924 there are no anti-religious statements of his to be found, and he evidently tried to avoid them. From 1925 Knizhnik became a highly respected historian focusing on the early period of the Russian revolutionary movement and its connection with the International and also the Paris Commune. He consistently stressed the Bolshevik heritage from the Russian Populist movement and especially from Lavrov. This choice of interests clearly betrays a growing nostalgia for his former anarchism and tacit criticism of the existing Soviet system which could not but disappoint any honest revolutionary.

In 1926 he published Lavrov's biography in which he claimed that Lavrov was not simply a Populist, but the person who linked the International with the Russian revolutionary movement and also the first in Russia to suggest a union of workers and peasants.

From the early 1930s, Knizhnik began work on an edition of Lavrov's collected works, but this undertaking was interrupted in 1935 when Lavrov was declared a harmful bourgeois ideologist alien to true socialism. Almost all the former anarchists who stayed in the USSR perished in the Great Purge. Knizhnik was one of the few ex-anarchists to survive though he was also arrested in 1938 but in 1939 released.

He continued his historical research in spite of his advanced age. He contributed to an academic publication of the protocols of the Paris Commune and a year before his death he succeeded in publishing a book on Russian women revolutionaries who were active in the First International and in the Paris Commune. Actually, this book is a history of the Russian revolutionary movement during the 1860s and 1870s. And once again Knizhnik repeated his old thesis arguing for the necessity of a union of peasants and workers (as first suggested by Lavrov)(112).

A careful look at Knizhnik's book suggests his ambivalence to religious belief. For example, he was very hostile to Bakunin, as

(112) Ivan Knizhnik-Vetrov, *Russkie deiatel'nitsy pervogo internatsionala i parizhskoi kommuny*, Moscow-Leningrad, Nauka, 1964, pp. 92-93.

was expected from a Soviet historian of Marxism, but one of the very negative aspects of Bakunin's thought, which was stressed by Knizhnik, who quoted Marx on this occasion, was Bakunin's demand that all members of the International profess "atheism" as a dogma. The few atheistic statements to be found in his book were set in a negative context; placed in parentheses and stated in the third person, (clearly not intended to express Knizhnik's own view)([113]).

One should take into consideration that the book was published in 1964 at the height of a new Soviet atheist campaign, which greatly limited Knizhnik's ability to express his real attitude to religion.

His last book was a two-volume selection of Lavrov's works([114]), which was published after Knizhnik's death. Unfortunately it is quite difficult to judge what was his own contribution to the work, because he was supervised. The introductory article on Lavrov was jointly signed by Knizhnik and Aleksander Okulov (then a main Soviet watchdog over atheism). Lavrov's views on religion were discussed in the introduction, not without some ambivalence. Speaking of Auguste Comte, the introductory article says([115]): "Comte unsuccessfully tried to define the general historical development of the human mind as the way to negate religion by mind and science by faith". The article quotes Lavrov's militant positivism with critical notes([116]).

More outspoken are Knizhnik's own comments on Lavrov's text. Despite strict censorship he managed, for example, to make a rather positive comment on Vladimir Solov'ev. Commenting on a vague and negative remark of Lavrov on mystical trends in Russian society in the 1880s and 1890s, Knizhnik supplied the following footnote([117]):

> He is referring to the *theosophic* [italics added] philosophical system of Vladimir Solov'ev, which was immersed in mysticism and ecclestiastical ideals. Numerous audiences assembled in the university and at

([113]) *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 164.

([114]) Peter Lavrov, *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, Moscow, Mysl', 1965, tt. 1-2.

([115]) Ivan Knizhnik-Vetrov, Aleksander Okulov, *Veteran revoliutsionnoi teorii*, in Lavrov, t. 1, p. 22.

([116]) *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

([117]) Lavrov, t. 2, pp. 682-683.

women's higher education courses in St Petersburg in 1880 and 1881 at his lectures which had the appearance of an "enthusiastic sermon".

In his lectures on March 13 and 28, 1881, while advocating Christian autocracy, Solov'ev at the same time appealed against capital punishment for the members of *Narodnaia Volia* who had assassinated Alexander II. For this he was forbidden to lecture and was dismissed from the Council of the Ministry of People's Education.

Those who know the condition of ideological control in the 1960s will appreciate the significance of Knizhnik's choice of words. The same ambivalence was characteristic of all his comments concerning religious matters(118). Since Knizhnik alone was responsible for the selection of Lavrov's works, it is also interesting to examine his choice. From the enormous number of works available, he selected among others Lavrov's work on ethics and a long article on Tolstoy(119).

As a matter of fact, Lavrov's article on Tolstoy contains an unusually extended exposition of Tolstoy's *Confession* with very many quotations from the book. It should be noted that *Confession* was almost impossible for an ordinary reader to obtain in the mid-1960s. It was typical at that time in the USSR to disseminate forbidden ideas and views by reproducing them in a critical work.

Another of Lavrov's articles, which stressed ethics in socialism, also contained a very important dissident message for the Soviet reader. It was part of the persistent and daring tug-of-war waged at the time by Soviet dissident freethinkers which eventually brought the system to the era of *glasnost'*. Knizhnik had a part in this process.

He ended his pilgrimage in 1965.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Mikhail AGURSKY

(118) *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 722 (note 4), p. 726 (note 10); t. 2, p. 682 (note 7), p. 683 (note 15).

(119) See *Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia i zadachi nravstvennosti, Starye voprosy*, LAVROV, t. 2.

SAMIR KHALIL SAMIR, S.J.

La littérature melkite sous les premiers abbassides

Vers la fin de 1988 ou le début de 1989 paraissait un nouveau volume de l'«Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite» de Mgr Nasrallah(1), cette fois avec la collaboration de Rachid Haddad, connu pour sa belle thèse sur la Trinité dans la tradition arabe chrétienne ancienne(2).

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Importance de l'ouvrage

1. C'est toujours avec grand intérêt que nous rendons compte de cette grande œuvre de Mgr Nasrallah, qui marquera certainement pour longtemps les recherches dans le domaine melkite. Nous avons dit et répété(3) l'importance capitale de cet ouvrage pour la connaissance de la littérature arabe des chrétiens(4), ainsi que le progrès considérable accompli par rapport à l'ouvrage classique de Georg Graf, la GCAL. Nos critiques ne doivent nullement faire perdre de vue ce jugement global fondamental. Vu l'importance de l'ouvrage, la forme d'un article nous a semblé lui être plus adaptée que celle du compte rendu.

(1) Joseph Nasrallah avec la collaboration de Rachid Haddad, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la litérature arabe chrétienne*, vol. II, tome 2: 750-Xe s. (Louvain: Peeters, sans date), 31 + 217 pages.

(2) Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes 750-1050*, coll. «Beauchesne Religions» 15 (Paris, Beauchesne, 1985). En voir le compte rendu de Vincenzo Poggi dans OCP 53 (1987) 206-208.

(3) Voir nos comptes rendus des trois volumes précédents: IV 1 = OCP 46 (1980) 493-496; III 2 = OCP 48 (1982) 490-491; III 1 = OCP 51 (1985) 460-468.

(4) Et non pas seulement de la «litérature arabe chétienne», comme l'indique le sous-titre. En effet, l'auteur ne traite pas seulement de la littérature chrétienne, mais encore de l'ensemble de la production profane des chrétiens: poésie, mathématiques, sciences, médecine, etc. Et ce, à la différence de la GCAL de Graf, qui entendait se limiter à la littérature proprement chrétienne.

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2. Ce volume voudrait être, je crois, une illustration de l'affirmation d'André Miquel (avec qui j'eus le plaisir de préparer ma thèse sur Ibn Sabbā' à Aix-en-Provence): «Les Chrétiens, après avoir été les derniers représentants officiels de la langue et de la culture grecques au Šām [= Syrie de l'époque] sous les Umayyades [660-750], sont ensuite devenus les plus purs représentants de l'Arabicité». Voilà pourquoi la phrase est placée en exergue (p. V).

B. Public visé

A fréquenter ces volumes de l'«Histoire» de Mgr Nasrallah, on peut se faire une idée du public visé.

1. A la différence de la «Geschichte» de Mgr Graf (1944-1951), cet ouvrage s'adresse, semble-t-il, à la fois au spécialiste et au lecteur cultivé. C'est ce qui fait la caractéristique de cette œuvre, lisible en bonne part par l'homme de culture non spécialisé, mais également instructive pour le spécialiste. C'est aussi sans doute ce qui fait sa faiblesse et son ambiguïté.

2. Le lecteur cultivé lira avec intérêt les préliminaires de l'ouvrage et les introductions à chaque discipline, qu'il s'agisse de littérature profane (poésie, prose, histoire, géographie, mathématiques, médecine, philosophie, etc.) ou de littérature religieuse (théologie, controverses, hagiographie, homilétique, liturgie, exégèse ou droit canon). Ils lui apporteront une vue d'ensemble fort éclairante sur le contexte socio-culturel des chrétiens d'Orient et plus particulièrement des melkites.

Quant au spécialiste, il découvrira, dans ce volume comme dans les précédents, bien des renseignements nouveaux.

Il ne peut être question de passer en revue page par page l'ouvrage, pour y faire les additions et corrections. Je me suis donc contenté de quelques sondages. Dans ce but, j'ai volontairement choisi des thèmes et des auteurs variés, pour donner au lecteur une idée de la richesse de cette «Histoire» et être plus équitable dans mon jugement. J'ai multiplié aussi les subdivisions (jusqu'à l'excès, je le reconnais), pour que le chercheur puisse trouver rapidement le renseignement utile.

II. Un poète et un philosophe

A. Pour le poète Abū Tammām (AD 804/5-845/6) qui «embrassa l'islam probablement durant son séjour en Egypte» (p. 45), l'auteur se base (p. 43-45) sur l'étude de Helmut Ritter parue dans l'EI en 1954. Précisons qu'il s'agit du volume I de la 2e édition (on rencontre ça et là d'autres oublis de ce genre)(5). Cependant, on trouvera beaucoup d'autres données et une très abondante bibliographie dans Fuat Sezgin, GAS I (1975) p. 551-558.

(5) Ainsi, aux pages 48 note 31, 49 note 36, 87 note 219, etc., le volume de l'*Encyclopédie* n'est-il pas indiqué.

B. La petite section sur la chancellerie (p. 48-49), intéressante, ne permet pas de distinguer les melkites des autres chrétiens.

C. Les auteurs consacrent quelques lignes à Yūḥannā Ibn Ǧīlān, le maître d'al-Fārābī (p. 87). D'ordinaire, on l'appelle Yūḥannā Ibn Ḥaylān et il y a tout lieu de croire qu'il ait été nestorien. Je laisse la question à plus compétent que moi. On sait qu'al-Fārābī eut deux autres maîtres chrétiens tous deux nestoriens: Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī (de Merv) et Abū Bišr Mattā Ibn Yūnus, mort en 940, qu'on aurait pu mentionner ici en passant.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette question, l'article du P. Joseph Habbi (et non pas Hubby) cité en note 219 n'a pas été exploité. J'en indique ici le titre original arabe, cité (on ne sait pourquoi) en français, alors qu'il est écrit en arabe et doublé par la revue en anglais: *Yūḥannā Ibn Ḥaylān mu'allim al-Fārābī fī l-manṭiq.*

Précisons aussi que le texte de Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (cité en note 219, non d'après l'original mais d'après Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah), se trouve, dans l'édition de Ṣā'id al-Andalusī par le P. Louis Cheikho (1912), aux pages 53-54.

III. MAḤBŪB IBN QUSTANTĪN ET QUELQUES HISTORIENS MINEURS

Dans la section intitulée «Agapios de Mambig» on trouvera, outre une notice sur cet auteur (p. 50-52), un pot-pourri sur six autres chroniques (p. 52-55), sans aucun sous-titre. Au sujet de celles-ci, disons que les précisions de nos deux auteurs sur la fausse «Histoire des Rūm» d'Athénée l'Egyptien, sur la *Notitia* d'Anastase d'Antioche, sur la «chronique de Cambridge» et sur quelques anonymes, sont bienvenues.

Je concentre mon examen sur Maḥbūb Ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Rūmī, pour y faire quelques additions ou corrections.

A. Précisions sur l'«Histoire» de Maḥbūb

1. Je ne crois pas que Maḥbūb Ibn Qusṭanṭīn (alias Agapios de Manbiǧ) ait intitulé sa chronique «*Kitāb al-'Unwān*» (p. 50, 51 et 52). Dans le plus ancien manuscrit, le *Sinaï arabe 580* daté du 3 ou 4 octobre 989 A.D., l'ouvrage s'intitule: *Kitāb al-Tāriḫ* (voir par exemple au folio 206 recto). Il en est de même dans le *Sinaï arabe 456* (13e siècle). Voir l'édition Vasiliev, p. [9].

2. Je précise aussi (cf. ici p. 51, lignes 2-4) que le destinataire de l'ouvrage, s'appelle Abū Mūsā 'Īsā Ibn al-Ḥusayn (la *kunyah* n'est pas indiquée par Graf, Cheikho, Nasrallah, etc.). De plus, il y a tout lieu de penser qu'il était chrétien, comme le montre la citation de l'épître de Jacques (1, 17) qui ouvre la préface.

3. Pour ce qui est de la date de composition, l'équivalence entre A.D. 941 et l'année 1273 d'Alexandre (p. 50) est à corriger: il y a vingt ans d'écart entre les deux datations. En fait, il s'agit de l'année 942 = 330 de l'hégire; notre ouvrage est postérieur à cette date.

B. Le «Testimonium Flavianum»(6)

On sait que notre «Histoire» mentionne le *Testimonium Flavianum* aux pages 239-240 de l'édition Cheikho = PO VII, p. 470-472 de l'édition Vasiliev.

En 1971, le professeur Shlomo Pinès de Jérusalem publia un petit ouvrage(7) qui fit quelque bruit à l'époque(8). Il est basé précisément sur la chronique de Maḥbūb. Il y étudie d'autres passages, tel celui sur Galien (éd. Cheikho, p. 180-181).

Parmi les nombreux comptes rendus de l'ouvrage (qui fut recensé aussi dans notre revue)(9), celui d'Erika Degen mérite d'être signalé(10).

C'est ce livret qui suscita la longue étude du Père A. M. Dubarle, *Le témoignage de Josèphe sur Jésus d'après la tradition indirecte*, dans la *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973) p. 481-513. Il met en parallèle le texte de Maḥbūb avec celui de Georges Kédrinos, historien byzantin grec de la fin du XIe et du début du XIIe siècle.

C. Autres additions bibliographiques

1. Il n'est pas inutile de mentionner aussi les paragraphes concernant notre auteur dans Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leyde: Brill, 1952), p. 96 et 119(11).

2. De même, ce que dit Maḥbūb des opinions de Mani(12) est étudié dans l'article de Georges Vajda, *Le témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des manichéens, des daysanites et des marcionites*, in *Arabica* 13 (1966) 1-38, ici p. 1-3 et surtout 9.

3. De plus, à nouveau, le renvoi à Sezgin, GAS (1967), p. 338 et 933 fait défaut. Or cet ouvrage devient le manuel par excellence des arabisants, destiné à remplacer progressivement la GAL de Brockelmann.

4. Enfin, le Dr ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī a publié au Liban, en 1986, une nouvelle édition largement annotée de la partie musulmane de la chronique, avec de nombreuses corrections. L'ouvrage est intitulé: «*Al-mun-*

(6) Notre ouvrage y fait allusion à la p. 52, lignes 7-10.

(7) Shlomo Pines, *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications* (Jérusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1971), 87 + IV pages en hébreu).

(8) Voir par exemple l'hebdomadaire américan *Time*, du 28 févirer 1972, p. 44.

(9) Cf. le compte rendu du P. Peter O'Connell, dans OCP 38 (1972) 304.

(10) Cf. ZDMG 125 (1975) 376-378.

(11) Voir aussi la traduction arabe de l'ouvrage par Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *ʿIlm at-tārīḫ ʿinda l-muslimīn* (Bagdad: Maktabat al-Muṯannā, 1963), révision par Muḥammad Tawfīq Ḥusayn, p. 151-152 et 189-190.

(12) Voir l'édition Vasiliev, in PO VII, p. 532-534.

taḫab min tārīḫ al-Manbiğī, ta'līf Ağābiyūs Ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbiğī min al-qarn 4 H./10 M., intaḫabahu wa-ḥaqqaqahu...» (Dār al-Manṣūr, Beyrouth 173 pages).

D. Remarque méthodologique

Une fois encore, on ne sait si les auteurs entendent compléter Graf ou le substituer: il faudrait opter une fois pour toutes. En effet, bien des renseignements bibliographiques et d'indications se trouvent évidemment déjà dans Graf. Cependant, par deux fois à la p. 52, on trouve un renvoi pour complément à Graf: «Graf mentionne les divers extraits publiés du *Kitāb al-'Unwān*» et «On trouve dans Graf la liste de ces contributions». Ce défaut méthodologique est constant.

IV. Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā

Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī est assurément une des grandes figures de son temps, très représentative de cette époque 'abbasside si curieuse de toutes sortes de sciences des «Anciens» (à savoir des Grecs). Il est unanimement apprécié des historiens des sciences, qui ne tarissent pas d'éloges sur ses connaissances comme sur la pureté de sa langue arabe.

A. Le classement et ses rubriques

Quiconque s'intéresse à notre auteur devra le rechercher sous deux rubriques: mathématiques (p. 57-64) et médecine (p. 66-70).

Curieusement, il ne le trouvera pas sous la rubrique «philosophie» (p. 71-74), alors que Qusṭā est réputé pour sa contribution philosophique qui fut même traduite en latin au Moyen-Age. Il n'est pas davantage mentionné sous celle de «traduction» (sic) pourtant bien fournie (p. 74-91), alors que Qusṭā est, au dire de tous les historiens de la culture, un des meilleurs traducteurs de l'époque 'abbasside.

Ces œuvres (de philosophie et de traduction) ne sont pourtant pas absentes du volume, mais il faut les chercher sous la rubrique «mathématiques»! Cependant, qui s'intéresse aux œuvres mathématiques de Qusṭā n'oubliera pas d'ajouter à celles indiquées à la dite section les trois titres signalés à la page 70 (qui traite, par contre, de la médecine): ils concernent en fait les mathématiques! Serait-ce que les fiches se sont brouillées à l'imprimerie?

B. La réfutation de la prophétie de Muḥammad

1. On regrettera surtout que la grande réfutation de la prophétie de Muḥammad, que nous avions éditée en 1981 dans la «Patrologie Orienta-

le»[13], n'ait pas été jugée digne de plus qu'une allusion (p. 61-62). C'est pourtant une œuvre unique en son genre, et il faudra attendre al-Ṣafī Ibn al-'Assāl, vers 1240, pour trouver une autre réfutation de l'*i'ǧāz* du Coran, de bien moindre envergure[14].

2. Dans sa réfutation, qui n'est en fait qu'une réponse à l'épître de son collègue musulman Ibn al-Munaǧǧim, Qusṭā compare Muḥammad non pas au Christ mais à saint Pierre, et fait appel à sa connaissance des diverses sciences de l'antiquité pour montrer que le Coran n'est pas plus miraculeux (*mu'ǧiz*) que les épopées d'Homère par exemple ou les réalisations techniques des Anciens. Une analyse détaillée de cette œuvre particulièrement originale aurait été bienvenue, et d'autant plus simple à faire que cela était déjà indiqué dans notre ouvrage.

3. Quant aux détails renvoyant aux pages des manuscrits (p. 61 § 2), ils deviennent de peu d'intérêt, dès lors que le texte a été édité précisément sur ce manuscrit de Beyrouth auquel Nasrallah renvoie. Le renvoi à l'édition aurait été plus utile pour le lecteur.

4. Par ailleurs, une fois encore, cette allusion se trouve dans la section mathématique, alors que la section «théologie — controverses» est la plus importante de l'ouvrage (p. 95-153)!

C. Remarque d'onomastique arabe

1. On ne sait pourquoi l'ouvrage recensé appelle souvent notre auteur «Ibn Lūqā»[15], contrairement à toutes les sources. C'est là, hélas, une des manies rencontrées dans la grande œuvre en question, et une déformation fréquente chez certains auteurs syro-libanais. L'onomastique arabe a ses règles, bien précises, qui ont été clairement exposées, par exemple, au début du siècle, par G. Gabrieli[16]. Qu'il nous soit permis de les rappeler.

2. L'ordre normal d'un nom arabe complet comprend: la *šuhrah* (nom honorifique, usage plus tardif), la *kunyah* (Abū...), l'*ism* (le nom personnel),

(13) On en trouvera la référence à la p. 61 note 97; mais l'année y fait défaut.

(14) Cf. Khalil Samir, *Hal tuqbal šahādat al-qur'ān 'alā taḥrīf al-inǧīl wa-t-tawrāt? li-ṣ-Ṣafī Ibn al-'Assāl*, dans *al-Manārah* 25 (1984), 497-508 et 588-586 (résumé français). Ce texte correspond à la seconde des quatre parties de «l'Apologie de l'évangile» d'aṣ-Ṣafī.

(15) Ainsi, les deux fois où Qusṭā est mentionné à la p. 57, en dehors du titre, il est appelé: «Ibn Lūqā».

(16) Voir la merveilleuse introduction de Giuseppe Gabrieli (le père de Francesco) au grand ouvrage hélas inachevé de Leone Caetani et Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum ossia repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e di luogo contenuti nelle principali opere storiche, biografiche e geografiche, stampate e manoscritte, relative all'Islâm*, 2 volumes grand in-4° (Rome, 1915), tome I, p. [49]-[314]. Cette étude s'intitule: «Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano».

le *nasab* (Ibn...), la *nisbah* (l'attribution à un lieu) et éventuellement le *laqab* (surnom). Tout le monde, Dieu merci!, n'utilise pas toutes ces possibilités. D'ordinaire c'est l'*ism* qui compte (ici Qusṭā), parfois la *kunyah* (par exemple Abū Qurrah)([17]) ou la *nisbah* (par exemple al-Ghazālī), rarement le *nasab* (par exemple pour Ibn Sīnā), qui devient alors son *laqab* ou sa *šuhrah*.

3. Ces règles (en particulier celle du classement par l'*ism*) sont celles qui sont suivies encore aujourd'hui par les grosses encyclopédies et manuels bio-bibliographiques arabes de plusieurs milliers de pages (les *Kutub al-a'lām*). Citons par exemple le *Al-A'lām* de Ḫayraddīn az-Ziriklī, le *Mu'ǧam al-Mu'allifīn* de 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, le *Mu'ǧam al-Mu'allifīn al-'Irāqiyyīn* de Gūrgīs 'Awwād, pour ne citer que quelques contemporains. Peu importe s'il y a des milliers de Muḥammad: ils seront tous classés sous cet *ism*. Ainsi trouvons-nous 2468 colonnes de Muḥammad dans l'ouvrage de 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah([18]).

C'est la même méthode qui est suivie par les grands manuels occidentaux: la fameuse «Geschichte der arabischen Literatur» de Carl Brockelmann, la «Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur» de Georg Graf, ou la «Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums» de Fuat Sezgin en cours de publication, il me semble juste de respecter ces règles, indépendamment de nos goûts personnels.

Nous avons insisté sur ce point, non seulement pour une question de méthode et de principe, mais encore à cause de son importance pratique. L'onomastique arabe pose suffisamment de problèmes, pour qu'on ne vienne pas en rajouter... en croyant la simplifier. Tout cela est dit en vue du volume d'index qui devrait paraître bientôt.

D. Autres remarques sur la biographie

L'indication selon laquelle Qusṭā «mourut en 912 en Arménie» est à rectifier: on sait seulement qu'en 912 il était encore vivant.

La bibliographie générale (p. 57 note 76) est un peu vieillie et bien sûr très incomplète. Car nous ne savons toujours pas quelle est la politique des auteurs: prétendent-ils être exhaustifs ou sélectifs?

E. L'œuvre scientifique de Qustā

Quant aux références à l'œuvre scientifique de Qustā, les auteurs en auraient trouvé dans presque tous les volumes de Sezgin.

([17]) On notera cependant que les anciens appellent habituellement Ibn Sīnā par sa *kunyah:* Abū 'Alī.

([18]) Cf. 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'ǧam al-mu'allifīn* (Beyrouth: Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāṯ al-'arabī, sans date [vers 1957], tome VIII, p. 189b à tome XII, p. 143b.

1. Ainsi, pour les mathématiques, on pourrait compléter ou rectifier chacune des lignes des pages 58-59, d'après la GAS de Sezgin([19]); et bien des traités indiqués comme perdus sont en fait conservés en manuscrits, tel le *Madhal ilā 'ilm al-handasah* (p. 59, après le paragraphe g) conservé à la Bibliothèque Royale de Rabat, sous le N° 5829.

2. Pour ce qui est de la médecine (p. 67-70), au lieu de se baser sur un manuscrit alépin perdu, autrefois décrit par le P. Sbath, les auteurs auraient eu avantage à reprendre la liste de Sezgin([20]). Elle est autrement plus complète et signale tous les manuscrits (y compris celui d'Alep), ainsi que les éditions et les traductions connues.

Signalons au passage que l'ouvrage intitulé *Die Medizin im Islam* (Leyde 1970), cité ici ou là([21]), n'est pas de B[erthold] Spuler, mais bien de Manfred Ullmann, et qu'il appartient à la collection «Handbuch der Orientalistik» (l'indication de la collection est presque toujours absente de l'ouvrage!).

V. THÉODORE ABŪ QURRAH

L'ouvrage nous donne (aux pages 104-134) un bon aperçu sur Théodore Abū Qurrah. A la bibliographie générale signalée aux pages 104-105 (en note 60), on peut ajouter:

- Ernst HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Einige philosophisch-theologische Grundbegriffe bei Leontios von Byzanz, Johannes von Damaskus Theodor Abû Qurra*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 4 (1955) 147-154, ici 153-154.
- Q.T.([22]), in Fu'ād Afrām al-BUSTANI, *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* 5 (1964), 66a-67c.

On trouvera, dans notre article synthétique paru à Bagdad([23]) une bibliographie précise et presque exhaustive, comprenant 66 titres.

A. SA BIOGRAPHIE

1. Nos auteurs font naître Abū Qurrah en 724/725 et le font mourir après 829, ce qui ne manque pas de surprendre, d'autant plus que nous ne possédons aucune date le concernant antérieure à Théodore d'Antioche, qui fut patriarche entre 780 et 787, c'est-à-dire une soixantaine d'années après la date présumée de sa naissance. Du fait qu'Abū Qurrah dit s'être rendu une

([19]) Cf. GAS IV 344-345, V 285-286 (et VII 405), VI 180-182, VII 378 (sur III 241).

([20]) Cf. GAS III 270-274 (et VII 382) + 16, 67, 79 et 130.

([21]) Par exemple, p. 65 note 119, 66 n. 123, 67 n. 126, 70 n. 141.

([22]) Ces initiales ne sont pas explicitées au début du volume. Elles ne correspondent à aucun des noms de collaborateurs mentionnés aux pages 7-8.

([23]) Voir la note suivante.

fois, dans sa jeunesse, à Madā'in, nos auteurs en déduisent que cela a dû avoir lieu avant 762, date présumée (mais contestée) de la destruction de la ville par al-Manṣūr.

Les premières dates sûres sont celles de 811 et 813, tout ce qui précède n'étant que conjecture. Par la suite, nous retrouvons Abū Qurrah en 817 et 824.

Pour notre part, nous avions publié en 1983 une étude sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Abū Qurrah([24]) plus précise sur certains points, mais qui le faisait naître au moins 25 ans plus tard. En effet, on imagine mal un vieillard de 100 ans bien sonnés discuter avec al-Ma'mūn (p. 115). Le seul but de cette extraordinaire longévité est d'en faire un disciple direct de saint Jean Damascène: Abū Qurrah «pouvait être âgé de 104 ans, même âge que celui de son maître le Damascène». C'est touchant!

2. Nous nous permettons de reproduire ici le résumé de sa vie que nous avons rédigé pour le tome I de l'*Encyclopédie Maronite*, actuellement sous presse:

«Né à Édesse vers 755, Abū Qurrah étudia probablement la médecine, la logique et la philosophie, comme c'était alors l'usage, ainsi que les langues arabe, syriaque et grecque qu'il maîtrisa parfaitement. Devenu moine au couvent de Saint-Sabas au sud de Jérusalem, il se familiarisa avec la pensée de Jean Damascène. Vers 795, le patriarche de Jérusalem le nomma évêque de Ḥarrān. Il semble s'être démis de sa fonction quelques années plus tard, pour se consacrer à écrire des livres. Vers 812, le patriarche de Jérusalem Thomas (811-820) lui demanda d'adresser une lettre au roi d'Arménie, l'invitant à adopter la foi de Chalcédoine, que Michel le Protosyncelle traduisit de l'arabe en grec.

«Entre 812 et 815, il entreprend de gagner Arméniens, Coptes et Jacobites à la foi chalcédonienne. Il partit en 813 pour l'Égypte, sans grand succès. Il se dirigea alors (en 815) vers l'Arménie, où il s'attira vite la sympathie du patrice Abū l-'Abbās Ašot fils de Sembat, qui fit cependant appel au philosophe jacobite Abū Rā'iṭah Ḥabīb at-Takrītī. Selon le patriarche jacobite Michel le Grand (1126-1199), l'affaire tourna mal pour Abū Qurrah, car il ne connaissait pas bien les Écritures. La controverse entre les deux théologiens est attestée en arabe. Il demeura encore auprès du patrice arménien, et composa en arabe un commentaire christologique de l'évangile de Jean, conservé aujourd'hui en traduction arménienne.

«Après quoi, il se serait rendu à Bagdad, où il aurait eu des controverses avec les grands penseurs mu'tazilites: Abū Huḏayl al-'Allāf (752-840) et an-Nazzām (mort en 840), comme aussi avec Abū Rā'iṭah at-Takrītī.

«En 829, selon ce que nous apprend l'historien anonyme d'Édesse, Abū Qurrah eut un débat théologique sur la foi chrétienne, à Édesse, en présence du calife al-Ma'mūn. Le texte arabe nous en a été consigné dans divers manuscrits.

([24]) Samir Khalil, *Ṯāwudūrus Abū Qurrah*, in *Journal of the Iraq Academy. Syriac Corporation* 7 (Bagdad 1983), 138-160 (en arabe).

«Ses nombreux écrits, en syriaque, grec et arabe, ont connu beaucoup de succès dans les milieux melkites. Sa pensée est forte et s'inspire souvent de Jean Damascène. Il combat les musulmans, mais plus encore les confessions chrétiennes non melkites».

B. Son œuvre grecque et syriaque

Quant à son œuvre, elle est divisée en trois parties, selon la langue utilisée par Abū Qurrah: en arabe (p. 117-125), en grec et en syriaque.

1. Nous ne dirons rien des œuvres en grec (ici p. 125-129), sinon que Migne a publié de lui, dans la *Patrologia Graeca* (PG 97, col. 1461-1610), 43 traités plus ou moins longs. Les auteurs en donnent une brève analyse d'une ou deux lignes, sur la base de l'ouvrage de A. Th. Khoury([25]).

A la bibliographie, on pourra ajouter:

- Julius Assfalg, *Theodor Abū Qurra*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2e éd., vol. 10 (1965) p. 38.
- Michel Aubineau, in *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera*, dans le «Corpus Christianorum», series graeca 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), p. 109-116, notamment 113-115. L'auteur étudie l'attribution de la «Disputatio cum Manichaeo» à Abū Qurrah, pour l'exclure.
- John W. Voorhis, *The discussion of a christian and a saracen by John of Damascus*, in *The Moslem World* 25 (1935) 266-273. Traduction anglaise de PG 94, 1885-1898, œuvre attribuée généralement à Jean Damascène et à Abū Qurrah.

2. Un mot pour l'œuvre syriaque (p. 129), traitée en deux lignes sans références. Nous avons montré, dans notre étude parue dans le *Journal of the Iraq Academy* (p. 142) et déjà citée précédemment, que le mot *maymar* est utilisé par Abū Qurrah, comme par d'autres auteurs arabes chétiens de cette époque, dans le sens de «chapitre» ou «section», et non pas dans le sens d'homélie ou de traité, comme cela sera le cas plus tard. Or, dans son traité «Sur la mort du Christ»([26]), Abū Qurrah dit avoir composé un ouvrage en syriaque contre les Jacobites. Cet ouvrage (*qawl kabīr*) était composé de trente chapitres (*mayāmir*). Il n'a donc pas composé trente ouvrages en syriaque, comme cela est généralement affirmé et suggéré ici.

C. Son œuvre arabe

L'œuvre arabe d'Abū Qurrah est de loin plus importante que celle en grec ou celle (perdue) en syriaque.

([25]) Cf. Adel-Théodore Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* (Louvain 1969).

([26]) Cf. Qusṭanṭīn al-Bāšā, *Mayāmir Ṯāwudūrus Abī Qurrah usquf Ḥarran* (Beyrouth, 1904), 200 pages; ici p. 60 (troisième traité), lignes 17-20.

1. *Introduction*

L'œuvre arabe d'Abū Qurrah est presque toujours de facture apologétique. Il y répond soit aux tenants des autres religions (musulmans, juifs, manichéens, mazdéens), soit aux chrétiens non melkites.

Nous avons inventorié à ce jour 28 traités, ouvrages ou homélies rédigés en arabe, et les avons brièvement analysés dans l'article paru à Bagdad (p. 142-148). La présentation (logique et typographique) qui en est faite ici ne permet pas de s'y retrouver aussi facilement. Ainsi, le N° 2 comprend 10 œuvres; le N° 5 se divise en A, B, C et D, qui se subdivisent parfois de manière pas toujours bien claire. Comme partout ailleurs, cette notice apporte du nouveau, mais manque un peu de clarté: on y procède par association d'idées.

Par ailleurs, cette présentation est généralement assez sommaire. Celle qu'en avait donné le P. Ignace Dick dans son introduction à l'édition du «Traité de l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion»(27) me semble meilleure; elle aurait pu être utilisée plus que cela n'a été fait.

Quant au détail, je ne m'arrêterai qu'à quelques œuvres.

2. *Le «Traité des icônes»* (p. 117-118, N° 1)

Ce traité s'intitule en réalité, contrairement à ce qui a été écrit jusqu'ici (y compris dans la nouvelle édition du P. Ignace Dick): *Mayāmir as-suǧūd li-ṣ-ṣuwar* = «chapitres (*sic*) sur la prosternation devant les icônes». Tel est le titre le plus anciennement attesté, chez le patriarche melkite Sa'īd Ibn al-Baṭrīq, mort en 940. En effet, les manuscrits ne portent pas de titre, mais seulement une suscription.

Les auteurs ont bien saisi le but visé par Abū Qurrah dans ce traité: une réfutation des juifs, et indirectement des musulmans. C'est ce que souligne aussi Jad Ḥatem, dans son compte rendu de l'édition Dick(28).

Au plan bibliographique, on ajoutera:

- Iġnāṭiyūs Dīk, *Ṯawuḏūrūs Abū Qurrah usquf Ḥarrān, Šafā'at al-qiddīsīn wa-wisāṭatuhum*, in *Našrat Abaršiyyat Ḥalab li-r-Rūm al-Kāṯūlīk* 1984, N° 1-2, p. 54-56 [= ch. 14 du «Traité des icônes»].
- Zaky M. Hassan, *The Attitude of Islam Towards Painting*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* 7 (Cairo 1944) 1-15, ici 9-10.
- K. A. C. Creswell, *Note on the Attitude of Islam Towards Painting, ibidem* 16-17.

(27) Cf. Ignace Dick, *Traité de l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion*, coll. «Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien» vol. 3 (Jounieh/Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1982), p. 63-76.

(28) Cf. Jad Ḥatem, in *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986) [en réalité 1987] 387-388.

- Sydney GRIFFITH, *The controversial theology of Theodore Abū Qurrah (c. 750-c. 820 A.D.). A methodological coomparative study in Christian Arabic Literature* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1985), p. 248-270.

3. *Traité sur l'autorité de la loi mosaïque et de l'évangile et sur la foi orthodoxe* (p. 120, § 2 i)

Le long titre arabe n'a pas été traduit. Aucune référence bibliographique n'est donnée, si ce n'est celles aux éditions de Bacha et à la traduction allemande de Graf. On ajoutera donc:

- GRAF, GCAL II, 11-12 (N° 1). On y trouvera une référence à Clément Joseph David (1908) sur les maronites et une autre à C. A. Kneller (1910) sur le pape et les conciles.

- Sur les maronites, on ajoutera encore deux références: E. AJAM, *Le monothélisme des maronites d'après les auteurs melchites*, in *Échos d'Orient* 9 (1906) 91-95, ici 91-93; et Siméon VAILHÉ, *L'Église maronite du Ve au IXe siècle, ibidem* 257-268 et 344-351, ici 349-351. Voir aussi notre article sur *Abū Qurrah et les maronites* dans l'*Encyclopédie Maronite*, tome 1 (1991).

- Sur le rôle des conciles, voir: Hermann Josef SIEBEN, *Die Konzilsidee der alten Kirche* (Paderborn etc: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1979), p. 148, 171-191 (= ch. 5: «Theodor Abū Qurra (+ 820/5) über "unfehlbare" Konzilien») et p. 406-407 (la longue note 99)(29).

4. *Petits traités ou homélies*

- Signalons que le petit traité sur la mort volontaire du Christ(30) a été critiquement édité par nous-même dans la revue *al-Masarrah* en 1984, et comparé avec deux autres traités semblables(31).

- Pour ce qui est des homélies (p. 123-124, § 6 B et C), nous en avions donné la liste dans notre article de Bagdad de 1983, en classant les six homélies arabes connues, et en en indiquant les manuscrits et l'incipit. On voudra bien s'y référer(32).

- Il en va de même pour la «péroraison laudative en faveur du calife al-Ma'mūn» (p. 123 § 6 B), où nous indiquions cependant que l'attribution à Abū Qurrah ne nous semblait pas sûre(33).

(29) J'avais signalé cette étude dans le *Bulletin d'Arabe Chrétien* 3 (1979), p. 39.

(30) Cité ici p. 122, N° 5; cf. aussi p. 141 note 220.

(31) Cf. SAMĪR Ḫalīl, *Kitāb «Ǧāmi' wuǧūh al-īmān» wa-muǧādalat Abī Qurrah 'an ṣalb al-Masīḥ*, in *Al-Masarrah* 70 (1984) 411-427.

(32) Cf. l'article de la note 24, p. 147-148 (N° 23).

(33) *Ibidem*, p. 148 (N° 24).

5. *La controverse en présence d'al-Ma'mūn* (p. 124-125, N° 6 D)

Les auteurs se prononcent ici pour l'attribution de cette *Muǧādalah* à Abū Qurrah, mais avec nuance: «Nous sommes partisan d'une présentation de la religion chrétienne faite sous forme de questions et de réponses devant al-Ma'mūn. Elle a eu lieu à Ḥarrān. Elle a dû être perdue comme nombre d'œuvres d'Abū Qurra. Un arrangement en a été fait quatre ou cinq siècles plus tard, en tout cas avant 1363 (*sic*!), et nous est parvenu en deux recensions, l'une melchite, l'autre jacobite. L'auteur de l'arrangement a changé le lieu de la discussion et lui a donné la forme courante de *maǧles*» (p. 125 § 2).

Le lecteur se sera demandé d'où vient ce *terminus ad quem* de 1363, alors qu'aucun manuscrit n'est daté de cette année et que le plus ancien qu'ils signalent est daté de 1408. Je crois que Mgr Nasrallah a voulu se référer à Abū l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar qui mentionne la *Muǧādalah*, et qu'il pense que cette encyclopédiste copte est mort en 1363 (vieille erreur qui traîne ici ou là dans les livres). En réalité, Abū l-Barakāt est mort le jeudi 10 mai 1324, comme je l'ai indiqué dans l'introduction de mon édition de la «Lampe des ténèbres» (citée précisément ici p. 124, note 139).

Nos auteurs s'inscrivent donc en faux contre l'opinion de Graf qui rejetait l'attribution de la *Muǧādalah* à Abū Qurrah. Dans la foulée, ils me classent aussi avec Graf. Qu'il me soit permis de rectifier ce qui m'est attribué (p. 124, note 138): l'article incriminé n'est pas de moi. Bien plus dans mon article paru à Bagdad (p. 141-142), que les auteurs n'ont pas eu la possibilité de lire, j'ai précisément soutenu l'authenticité probable de la rencontre avec le calife al-Ma'mūn et précisé même que cela eut lieu entre le 11 mars et le 30 septembre 829.

Ici encore, ils ignorent aussi ce qu'ont écrit S. Griffith([34]) et surtout A. Guillaume([35]), qui, lui, défend l'authenticité de la «controverse». Une édition critique de cette importante œuvre, dans sa double recension, s'impose. Tant qu'elle ne sera pas faite, on ne pourra se prononcer définitivement sur son attribution.

VI. IBRĀHĪM AṬ-ṬABARĀNĪ

A. L'étude sur Abū Qurrah est suivie de deux pages sur la controverse d'Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarānī (p. 134-136). A leur lecture, on a l'impression que les auteurs n'ont pas tenu compte du travail considérable (642 pages) de notre étudiant Giacinto-Bulus Marcuzzo dont l'ouvrage (paru en 1986) est cité *in extremis* en note 189.

([34]) Sydney GRIFFITH, *The controversial theology of Theodore Abū Qurrah (c. 750-c. 820 A.D.). A methodological comparative study in Christian Arabic Literature* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1985), p. 20-23.

([35]) Cf. Alfred GUILLAUME, *Theodore Abū Qurra as Apologist*, in *The Moslem World* 15 (1925), p. 42-51.

B. Pourquoi affirmer que Graf signalait 22 manuscrits, puis en mentionner six, et enfin dire: «Aux mss signalés par l'auteur de la GCAL, nous ajoutons...» (p. 136). De deux choses l'une: ou bien, on ne mentionne aucun manuscrit, et on ajoute: «Aux 22 manuscrits...»; ou bien, on les mentionne tous. De plus, que signifie «nous ajoutons», quand tous ces manuscrits sont déjà mentionnés et rassemblés ailleurs? Les auteurs auraient trouvé la description et la classification de ces manuscrits et de quelques autres aux pages 169-208 du livre de Marcuzzo([36]).

C. Les auteurs ne font pas mention de la polémique contre les Juifs attribuée à Abraham de Tibériade, sans doute parce qu'il y ont reconnu la fausseté de l'attribution, ce qui est exact. Une mention aurait été cependant utile, ne fut-ce que pour écarter cette attribution. Outre le manuscrit de Dublin, signalé en 1968 par Georges Vajda, on peut ajouter le *Venise Marciana Orientale 6* (non catalogué) que nous avons repéré en avril 1985, et le *Birmingham Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 205.*

VII. LA «SOMME DES ASPECTS DE LA FOI»

La «Somme des aspects de la foi» est étudiée aux pages 138-142. Par rapport à Graf, un grand progrès est fait. Il est vrai que depuis lors cinq articles sont parus, dont trois de nous, faisant avancer la recherche. Ici encore, les auteurs n'ont pas assimilé toute la matière de ces publications, et les données sont parfois un peu vieilles([37]). On relèvera cependant avec intérêt les renseignements fournis sur les textes que l'auteur de la «Somme» aurait traduit directement du grec (p. 142 § 2).

A. Additions bibliographiques

- La référence exacte de mon article de 1984 (cf. p. 138, note 202) est: *Kitāb «Ǧāmi' wuǧūh al-īmān» wa-muǧādalat Abī Qurrah 'an ṣalb al-Masīḥ*, in *Al-Masarrah* 70 (1984) 411-427.

- Je signale aussi un autre article de moi, non vu par les auteurs: *La «Somme des aspects de la foi» œuvre d'Abū Qurrah?*, dans Khalil Samir (Ed.), *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Oosterhesselen, septembre 1984)*, coll. OCA 226 (Rome 1986), p. 93-121.

- Il faut ajouter la référence suivante, largement utilisée (et même parfois littéralement reproduite) dans l'ouvrage mais sans mention: Rachid Haddad,

([36]) Etant donné le manque d'information concernant la littérature arabe chrétienne, il peut être utile de signaler que le livre peut être obtenu au Pontificio Istituto Orientale de Rome.

([37]) Ainsi en est-il de la lettre de Julius Assfalg datant de 1960 et annonçant la mise au point de l'édition préparée par Graf, alors qu'en fait l'édition sera achevée par Sidney Griffith.

La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050), coll. «Beauchesne Religions» 15 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985), p. 59-62.

– Enfin, l'étude de Sidney GRIFFITH, *Islam and the Summa Theologiae Arabicae Rabī' I, 264 A.H.*, à paraître à Jérusalem dans les Actes du colloque «From Jahiliyya to Islam».

B. LES MANUSCRITS

Pour ce qui est des manuscrits (p. 141 § 1), on pourra se référer aux pages 353-363 de notre article de 1985 (cité dans l'ouvrage p. 138, note 202). Nous signalons ici trois corrections à apporter à l'ouvrage recensé:

- le *Sinaï arabe 483* est daté du 7 juin 1178, et non pas de 1177;
- les folios du *Sinaï arabe 448* sont 127r-132r, et non pas 97r-167r;
- pour le [*Beyrouth, Bibliothèque*] *Orientale 552*, lire «pages» au lieu de «ff».

C. DATATION DE LA «SOMME»

1. La datation du texte pose un problème qui n'est pas encore totalement résolu. La solution proposée par nos auteurs à la p. 142 § 4, à savoir que le texte aurait été composé vers 870, ne tient pas compte de notre étude de 1985, notamment des pages 364-381, où nous montrions que la date de composition était l'année 825 après l'abolition du judaïsme par le christianisme.

2. Comment interpréter cette date, de manière absolue? Deux hypothèses sont envisageables:

Si cette date se réfère à l'incarnation, et si (ce qui est assez probable) la manière de calculer l'ère de l'incarnation correspond à ce que nous en savons à partir du début du onzième siècle(38), alors notre texte daterait des années 816-817.

Mais si cette date se référait à la crucifixion, alors notre texte daterait peut-être des années 849-850, en supposant que la mort du Christ eut lieu 33 ans après sa naissance.

VIII. Le «KITĀB AL-BURHĀN» (p. 143-145)

A. QUI EST L'AUTEUR DU «BURHĀN»?

1. Cet ouvrage, édité au Caire en 1928 et réédité plus critiquement en 1960 dans le CSCO, nous est habituellement transmis dans les manuscrits de

(38) Cf. Khalil SAMIR, *L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11e au 14e siècle*, in OCP 53 (1987) 193-201.

manière anonyme. Cependant, certains documents l'attribuent à Athanase d'Alexandrie, d'autres à Pierre de Sébaste, d'autres encore à Eutychius (alias Sa'īd Ibn al-Baṭrīq) patriarche melkite d'Alexandrie mort en 940.

Nos auteurs ont adopté une solution de prudence, ne se prononçant sur aucune de ces attributions. Ils concluent néanmoins l'étude par une note judicieuse: «Le chapitre sur les Lieux Saints nous fait pencher à y voir un palesti[ni]en anonyme du IXe siècle» (p. 145).

2. Nous pensons pouvoir identifier l'auteur, grâce aux notes de deux manuscrits sinaïtiques.

En effet, le *Sinaï arabe 75* (transcrit vers la fin du 9e siècle) porte en marge du folio 1 recto la note suivante: *waḍa'ahu Buṭrus aš-šammās Ibn Nasṭās al-Bayt Ra'sī* = «L'a composé Butrus le diacre Ibn Nasṭās de Bayt Ra's».

D'autre part, le *Sinaï arabe 441* (manuscrit datant ici du milieu du XIIIe siècle) porte deux notes. La première se lit en marge du folio 121 recto: *wa-huwa min qawl al-ab al-fāḍil Anbā Buṭrus usquf madīnat Bayt Ra's* = «Ceci est un dit du père vertueux Anba Buṭrus évêque de la ville de Bayt Ra's». La seconde est un colophon qui porte (folio 233 recto): *tamma bi-'awn Allāh al-kitāb allaḏī waḍa'ahu Qaṭarī Ibn 'Uṯmān aš-šammās, ṣāḥib Bayt Ra's* = «Est achevé, avec l'aide de Dieu, le livre qu'a composé Buṭrus(39) Ibn Nasṭās(40) le diacre, le titulaire de Bayt Ra's».

3. L'auteur est donc Buṭrus fils du diacre Nasṭās. Il était évêque de Bayt Ra's en Transjordanie, qui est l'évêché melkite nommé Capitolias. L'ouvrage a probablement été composé dans la seconde moitié du IXe siècle.

B. Manuscrits et études

1. Aux manuscrits signalés par Graf et par l'ouvrage recensé, ajouter le *Sinaï arabe 441*, fol. 121r-233r, que nous venons de mentionner. Il remonte ici aux années 1240 (et non pas 1196, qui est la date de transcription de la première partie du codex actuel, laquelle n'appartient pas en fait à notre manuscrit).

2. Parmi les études modernes, il faut mentionner celle de Michel Breydy(41) parue en 1983. Il y a établi que le texte du *Kitāb al-Burhān* cité dans

(39) Graphiquement parlant, le passage de Buṭrus (prononcé peut-être Feṭrus) à Qaṭarī est très simple, si l'on se souvient que les points n'étaient généralement pas écrits à cette époque. Par ailleurs, la note marginale du folio 121 recto du même manuscrit vient corroborer notre interprétation.

(40) Notre interprétation pourra sembler arbitraire. Cependant elle s'explique graphiquement, du fait que le *'ayn* coufique ressemble à deux «dents» en forme de V, tandis que le *mīm* est comme deux «dents» qui se touchent par le haut. Ainsi les deux mots sont composés de 5 «dents» (surmontés de trois points), un *alif* suivi de la boucle du *nūn* ou du *sīn*. C'est évidemment la note du *Sinaï arabe 75* qui nous a inspiré cette interprétation.

(41) Cf. Michel Breydy, *Etudes sur Sa'īd Ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources*, coll. CSCO 450 (Louvain, 1983).

les «Annales» d'Eutychius n'appartient pas à l'ouvrage original mais aux interpolations qui y ont été faites entre le XIe et le XIVe siècles(42). En conséquence, l'attribution du *Burhān* à Eutychius, qui remonte à l'étude de Graf de 1911(43), devient caduque. On signalera aussi les pages de Rachid Haddad sur notre œuvre(44).

IX. BIŠR IBN AS-SIRRĪ

Nous achèverons ce survol par deux remarques sur un exégète et théologien melkite du Xe siècle encore trop peu connu: Bišr Ibn as-Sirrī.

1. Au sujet de l'homélie sur l'épiphanie de Bišr Ibn as-Sirrī (p. 187), on ajoutera à la référence qui est faite à notre article de 1986 (cf. note 428) cette autre: Khalil SAMIR, *Michel évêque melkite de Damas au 9e siècle. A propos de Bišr Ibn al-Sirrī*, dans OCP 53 (1987) 439-441.

2. Par ailleurs, il faut (à notre avis) supprimer la phrase qui affirme (p. 187): «On se gardera bien de confondre notre auteur avec Sabrisu' Bišr Ibn as-Sirrī, exégète nestorien du XIe s.». Il s'agit précisément du même auteur melkite, et il faut corriger ici Graf(45). Il faudrait écrire plutôt: «On se gardera bien de *distinguer*...». C'est pourquoi nous annoncions en 1987(46) un article à paraître sur Bišr Ibn al-Sirrī.

X. CONCLUSION

1. En terminant cet examen de l'ouvrage de Mgr Joseph Nasrallah, nous voudrions redire combien nous l'apprécions. Il ne fait pas de doute que l'auteur rassemble ici les recherches personnelles qu'il a entreprises dans tous les domaines de l'histoire melkite depuis plusieurs décennies. L'ouvrage est désormais un «manuel classique» indispensable. Il ne remplace cependant pas celui de Graf, même pas pour la tranche concernant les melkites, puisqu'il le suppose souvent.

2. Les critiques que nous avons exprimées, et qui concernent souvent des défauts de méthode, n'entament pas notre admiration pour ce travail gigantesque. Quant aux lacunes, elles sont inévitables, et ce n'est pas moi qui lui en ferait grief.

3. La collaboration de Rachid Haddad est heureuse, et l'on devine sa contribution en plusieurs lieux. Nous ne pouvons que souhaiter le maintien de cette collaboration et l'heureux achèvement de cette «Histoire», qui renouvelle profondément nos connaissances.

(42) *Ibidem*, p. 73-87.

(43) Cf. Georg GRAF, *Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk des Patriarchen Eutychius von Alexandrien*, in *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 1 (1911) 227-244.

(44) Cf. Rachid HADDAD (*supra*, note 2), p. 63-65.

(45) Cf. GCAL II 158-159, et l'allusion de II 108.

(46) Cf. p. 439, note 2 de notre article de 1987.

4. C'est aussi avec impatience que l'on attend la parution du volume d'index global, puisqu'aucun des volumes parus ne contient d'index. Ce volume permettra aux chercheurs d'exploiter vraiment cette mine de renseignements. C'est aussi dans ce but que nous avons formulé plus haut quelques remarques sur l'onomastique arabe.

Nous nous permettons d'exprimer ici quelques souhaits concernant ce volume d'index:

(a) Qu'il n'y ait, autant que possible, qu'un seul index global, comprenant noms propres et noms communs (les titres arabes pouvant être mis à part), comme l'avait fait autrefois G. Graf.

(b) Qu'il y ait de nombreux renvois internes, pour résoudre précisément les problèmes attachés à l'onomastique arabe ou au choix des mots-clé.

(c) Qu'on y ajoute un index de tous les manuscrits cités.

5. Nous terminons en souhaitons longue vie et santé à l'Auteur. Dieu l'aide à mener à bien la grande œuvre entreprise!

Université Saint Joseph
Beyrouth

SAMIR Khalil SAMIR, S.J.

GIORGIO ZIFFER

Sui fogli di Kiev

Nato come risposta critica alla tesi propugnata da Josip Hamm, secondo il quale i *Fogli di Kiev* sarebbero stati composti verso la metà del secolo scorso da Václav Hanka — una tesi che ha contribuito soprattutto a riaccendere l'interesse intorno a questo manoscritto — il lavoro di Jos SCHAEKEN, *Die Kiever Blätter* (Amsterdam: Rodopi 1987, pp. IX + 272) offre un'analisi chiara e dettagliata di questo importantissimo monumento liturgico slavo. Sulla base di diversi indizi paleografici e linguistici i *Fogli di Kiev* vengono infatti generalmente considerati il più antico manoscritto glagolitico a noi pervenuto, anche se le varie datazioni proposte oscillano in realtà tra la fine del IX e l'inizio dell'XI sec. (1) Essi conservano la traduzione di un sacramentario romano comprendente 38 preghiere tratte da una serie di messe ordinarie e per particolare festività, fra le quali spicca quella in onore di S. Clemente.

Dopo aver trattato gli aspetti codicologici paleografici ed ortografici del manoscritto, l'autore presenta un'analisi meticolosa dei segni sopralineari che nei *Fogli di Kiev* si contraddistinguono per la loro particolare complessità. L'esame delle peculiarità linguistiche che, come è noto, riflettono anche alcuni elementi tipicamente slavo occidentali quali gli esiti *c<*tj* (invece di *št*) e *z<*dj* (invece di *žd*) oltre alla desinenza dello strumentale *ѣmь* (invece di *omь*), introduce alla *vexata quaestio* della lingua dei *Fogli di Kiev*. Schaeken si schiera decisamente con quanti, da Miklosič in poi, hanno ipotizzato che i *Fogli di Kiev* conservino la testimonianza di una lingua realmente parlata, e cioè un dialetto intermedio fra l'area slavo meridionale e quella slavo occidentale. Come già il suo maestro Kortlandt, Schaeken identifica questa lingua con un dialetto di transizione slovacco-croato che sarebbe stato parlato nella Pannonia inferiore, cioè nelle vicinanze del lago Balaton (vd. infra).

Alcuni studiosi hanno invece collegato i *Fogli di Kiev* con il soggiorno romano di Costantino e Metodio a Roma. Ai nomi ricordati da Schaeken (vd. pp. 115-117) andrà aggiunto anche quello di Heinz Friedrich, secondo il quale i *Fogli di Kiev* vennero composti espressamente per il viaggio che alla

(1) Ciò vale per i *Fogli di Kiev* propriamente detti che coprono i ff. 1v-7v. Il f. 1r, che contiene una lezione tratta dalla *Lettera ai Romani* (13,11-14 e 14,1-4) e una preghiera mariana, risale invece alla fine dell'XI o all'inizio del XII sec.

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fine dell'867 i due fratelli intrapresero alla volta di Roma (Friedrich 1971)(2).

I due capitoli successivi offrono un'attenta analisi del lessico, che comprende numerosi elementi di origine antico alto tedesca e latina(3), e della sintassi. Quest'ultima, spesso trascurata nello studio dei Fogli di Kiev, così come in genere nello studio dello slavo ecclesiastico, conferma l'arcaicità della lingua di questo monumento e testimonia al contempo il forte influsso esercitato su di esso dal latino. Dopo aver esaminato le componenti formali come ad esempio l'allitterazione, e in particolare la struttura metrica che secondo alcuni studiosi caratterizza i *Fogli di Kiev*, ed aver motivato il suo scetticismo riguardo a quest'ultima, l'autore si sofferma sul f. 1r. In accordo con la Velčeva egli ritiene che il testo in esso contenuto sia di origine bulgara e con croata. Un capitolo è infine dedicato al riassunto di tutti gli argomenti che permettono di confutare la surricordata ipotesi di Hamm, la quale tra l'altro aveva ricevuto anche una vigorosa smentita dall'analisi chimica condotta sul manoscritto nel 1983.

Uno degli argomenti linguistici invocati da Hamm a favore della sua tesi riguardava la forma, attestata due volte, del gen.pl. di **сила** (**сіlахъ** 7r 7-8 e **сілахъ** 7v 8). Schaeken contesta giustamente l'interpretazione fornita da Hamm e analizza la presenza della forma sincretistica del gen.-loc.pl. in diversi testi slavo ecclesiastici (vd. pp. 188-189). Questo fenomeno, che in seguito diventerà una caratteristica del medio bulgaro, e attraverso la cosiddetta seconda influenza slavo meridionale anche dello slavo ecclesiastico di redazione russa (ad esempio in Maksim Grek), sembra aver avuto una certa diffusione in area slavo meridionale fin dai tempi più antichi (Keipert 1968: 100-129, in particolare 102 e 116-119). A differenza di Schaeken che lascia aperta la questione se nel caso della doppia occorrenza di tale forma nei *Fogli di Kiev* si tratti di un'innovazione linguistica oppure di un errore del copista, mi sembra pertanto assai più verosimile la prima ipotesi, tanto più che ai due copisti sono imputabili solo sviste di lieve entità.

Il lavoro è infine completato da un excursus sul sistema di accenti del primo *Monumento di Frisinga* che viene confrontato con quello dei *Fogli di Kiev*(4) e, soprattutto da una nuova edizione in traslitterazione cirillica dell'intero manoscritto (compreso quindi il f. 1r che viene pubblicato, insieme

(2) Il saggio è segnalato anche nella più recente bibliografia cirillo-metodiana, però non sotto la voce riguardante i *Fogli di Kiev*, bensì sotto quella relativa ai rapporti con il papato e alla morte di Costantino (Dujčev, Kirmagova, Paunova 1983: 401). Come in numerosi altri casi sarebbe stato utile moltiplicare i rimandi dei singoli studi citati in relazione ai temi in essi discussi. Nell'articolo di Friedrich, ad esempio, le pp. 141-160 e 202-208 si occupano quasi esclusivamente dei *Fogli di Kiev*.

(3) Per uno dei più caratteristici di questi termini, **въсждъ**, si veda ora Schaeken 1988.

(4) Una versione leggermente più breve di questo excursus si legge in Schaeken 1987.

al suo glossario, a parte). A fronte dei *Fogli di Kiev* Schaeken presenta il testo del ms. *Paduanus* D 47, il codice latino che pur non offrendo il modello diretto del testo slavo più gli si avvicina. È da notare che la nuova edizione si differenzia in una serie di punti dall'edizione approntata da Jagić nel lontano 1890 (l'elenco delle divergenze si legge alle pp. 238-240). Un'accurata bibliografia, che comprende ben più di 450 titoli, chiude infine il volume.

La proposta avanzata dall'autore di identificare la lingua dei *Fogli di Kiev* con un antico dialetto slovacco-croato si scontra, a mio avviso, con difficoltà pressoché insormontabili. Innanzitutto l'esistenza di questo dialetto viene postulata solo (ed esclusivamente) in base agli stessi *Fogli di Kiev*, ciò che rende l'ipotesi difficilmente verificabile. In secondo luogo, Schaeken non ha forse tenuto nel dovuto conto la possibilità che le anomalie dei *Fogli di Kiev* rispetto alla norma dell'antico slavo ecclesiastico non vadano interpretate tanto in termini puramente linguistici quanto forse collegate ad una particolare tradizione ortografica (vd. a questo proposito Lunt 1988: 596-597 e 602-603).

Nonostante queste riserve occorre sottolineare che Jos Schaeken, grazie ad un esame attento delle diverse questioni che hanno accompagnato lo studio dei *Fogli di Kiev* fin dalla loro scoperta — prima fra tutte quella relativa alla loro lingua — e ad una nuova edizione dell'intero manoscritto, ha il merito di aver fornito una valida monografia che sicuramente servirà da stimolo per ulteriori ricerche su questo monumento antico slavo.

Giorgio Ziffer

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VINCENZO RUGGIERI S.J.

A Note on Some Epigraphical Evidence in Belceğiz Körfezi, South-West Turkey

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To the south of the protective gulf of Fethiye (Glaucus sinus), there is another, rather open, gulf which is called today Belceğiz Körfezi. Two small islands are situated to the north of the latter gulf, very close to the mountainous mainshore. The bigger island is called today Gemile Adası (1), and is mostly covered by Byzantine ruins.

It is not the aim of the present note to introduce this site, but simply to pinpoint, albeit shortly, the continuity of Byzantine occupation of this island; this fact, in turn, shows a high level of workmanship in the architectural designs and decorative features.

1 – To the westerly end of Gemile Adası, in the southern nave of a late V-early VI century Byzantine church (fig. 1, photo 1). Brocken piece of white stone, later reused in the church: height (not original) 0.47 m.; length 0.84 m.; maximum thickness 0.25 m.; height of letters 0.035.

Letters: ◇, θ, ω.

Date: III-IV cent. A.D.

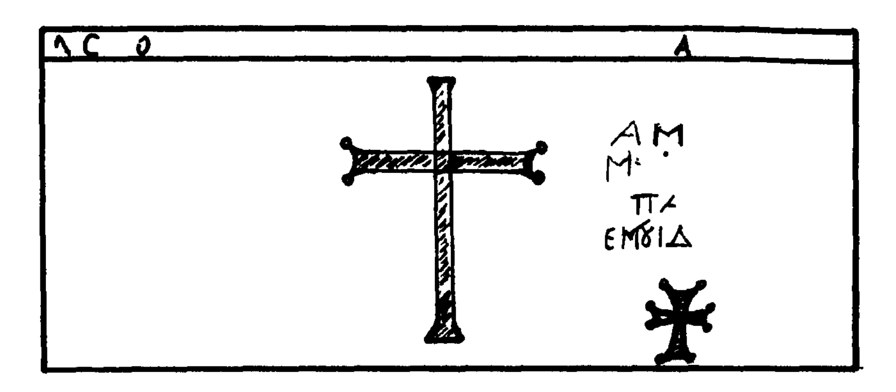
ΘΕΑΓΕΝΗΙΔΕ. θεαγένη
ΑΑ. ΩΙΔΕ..
ΤΩ.ΑΜΕΙΩΔΙ τῶ ‹τ› αμεζω ?
ΟΔΕ.ΑΕΝΖ

(1) For the sake of convenience, one may call this island by its Medieval name of St. Nicholas de Levixio. We have visited the place in 1982 and 1986, and is my hope to present a whole survey of the site later in this journal. C. Foss has published a brief survey of this island in his "The Coasts of Caria and Lycia in the Middle Ages", in *Rapports des Missions effectuées en 1983 [Fondation Europ. de la Science]* (Paris, 1983) 1, 220ff.

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2 – On the wall of the long and remarkable, barrel-vaulted passageway, which links the church on the hilltop with another one situated to the south-east of the island (fig. 2, photo 2). The wall is plastered and the inscriptions cover different levels of the plastered area: a cross stands at the centre. Length of the painted area 1.20 m.; height 0.50 m.; height of letters 0.035-0.045.

Date: second half of the XII-early XIII century[2].



Badly preserved and destined to disappear, the inscriptions are hardly legible, apart from what we reproduce. The section of wall containing the inscriptions is, as it were, framed by red and ochre bands. The crosses were painted in red, while the letters were rendered with ochre. The inscriptions covered the entire plastered section: one inscription runs along the upper band in separeted capital letters; the second, which contained at least seven lines, was read in between the crosses, showing also some ligatures. The crossing arms form a regular squared space (photo 3) which does not seem to have received any trace of paint; as it looks, one may presume that something there has been scored off.

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(2) Rearrangement of buildings as well as frescoes, existing on this island, confirm a Byzantine occupation of the island at this time.



Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

RECENSIONES

Aethiopica

Osvaldo Raineri, *Atti di Habta Māryām († 1497) e di Iyāsu († 1508), santi monaci etiopici*, (= OCA 235) Pontificium Institutum Orientale, Roma 1990, pp. XVIII + 265.

La conoscenza dell'agiografia etiopica (formata essenzialmente di *gadl*, ossia «Vite», «combattimenti spirituali» di santi monaci) è certo cresciuta durante il secolo XX; anzi, si è quasi tentati di dire che tale conoscenza è in sostanza dovuta alla vasta estensione assunta da questo campo di studi proprio durante il secolo corrente. Ciò è chiaramente attestato anche dal fatto che molti di questi documenti agiografici sono stati pubblicati nel nostro secolo, nella collezione *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (i cui volumi vengono inoltre regolarmente ristampati). Gli agiografi di queste Vite etiopiche sono in maggioranza sconosciuti perché raramente sono nominati nei testi (e quando lo sono, non si tratta di personaggi altrimenti conosciuti). Del resto, scrivendo questi documenti, l'agiografo – che in genere è un confratello del santo protagonista – non era animato da scopi storiografici mirando solo ad esaltare il «santo» ed il suo convento. Si capisce quindi la ragione per cui tali documenti ci appaiono oggi pieni di figure retoriche e di «mirabilia», tanto più che essi vennero per lo più redatti qualche tempo dopo la morte del protagonista (e, in qualche caso, due o tre secoli dopo tale morte). Ma anche così questi testi sono interessanti (e, in alcuni casi, preziosi) perché ci hanno conservato le tradizioni correnti nelle zone di singoli monasteri e in particolari ambiti geografici (distretti e regioni) dell'Etiopia; hanno cioè tramandato, entro un pulviscolo di fatti prodigiosi, frammenti di avvenimenti reali che ci aiutano a studiare e comprendere il passato. Perciò Ignazio Guidi riteneva che questi testi costituiscono una importante «classe di fonti della storia d'Etiopia», mentre Carlo Conti Rossini, a sua volta, precisava: «Si può dire che il loro pregio, come contributo per la ricostruzione della storia politica ed ecclesiastica, è in ragione inversa della lontananza del tempo della loro redazione dal tempo del personaggio che intendono celebrare». Più recentemente Taddesse Tamrat ha sottolineato il fatto che la maggioranza dei manoscritti etiopici accumulati nelle biblioteche d'Europa durante i secoli scorsi è già stata messa a profitto, ma che rimangono ancora da utilizzare le immense risorse custodite nelle chiese e nei monasteri d'Etiopia.

È quello che ha fatto l'Autore del libro in esame pubblicando due testi etiopici contenenti le Vite di due santi monaci etiopici (poco noti) del secolo XV, Habta Māryām ed Iyāsu, ambedue appartenenti al grande «ordine» o raggruppamento monastico composto dai conventi aderenti alla regola di Takla Hāymānot, fondatore del notissimo convento di Dabra Libanos nello

Scioa. E dal secondo di questi testi si deduce chiaramente che Iyāsu fu discepolo di Habta Māryām e suo compagno durante i suoi ultimi anni di vita.

Habta Māryām nasce nel Bulgā (distretto orientale dello Scioa) da un agiato possidente e viene educato da un saggio monaco di nome Samuele presso il quale rimane circa 12 anni; ricevuto l'abito monastico dalle mani di Melchisedec, abate del monastero di Ella Adbār, si dà ad una vita di penitenza e di privazioni. Dopo la venuta dell'*abuna* Yesḥaq (che sappiamo essere giunto in Etiopia sul finire del 1481, al termine di un lungo periodo che durò 23 anni e durante il quale la chiesa etiopica era rimasta priva del suo primate), Habta Māryām può finalmente ricevere il diaconato dalle mani di questo metropolita. Poi gli appaiono in una visione i primi nove santi abati di Dabra Libānos, dal santo Takla Hāymānot († 1314) sino a Marḥa Krestos (9º abate, che ebbe un lungo priorato e che morì nel 1497); questa visione è solo un modo di esaltare la decisione presa da Habta Māryām di aderire a quell'ordine monastico. Ordinato sacerdote dal predetto metropolita, esercita il suo ministero nel Bagēmder, in una zona ripetutamente colpita da varie calamità, i cui abitanti sono da ultimo colpiti dalla peste. Quando Cristo costituisce re Nā'od (salito al trono nel 1494) «affinché sconfigga i Giudei», affida anche a Habta Māryām l'incarico di prendere contatto con quel sovrano per spronarlo ed istruirlo. Habta Māryām invia allora al re un suo messo (dalla vita di Iyāsu apprenderemo che il messo era lo stesso Iyāsu) incaricandolo di consegnare al sovrano un libro in cui egli ha trascritto «i misteri rivelatigli dal Signore» (apparentemente si tratta di un messaggio rivolto a Nā'od da Habta Māryām). Il re riceve lo scritto e lo contraccambia consegnando al messo una croce destinata al monaco mittente. Ma la dipartita di questi si approssima: per invito di Cristo, Habta Māryām si ritira a Dabra Libānos dove viene sorpreso dalla peste e dove muore il 26 ḫedār dell'anno 6990 dell'era della Creazione del Mondo (corrispondente al 1490 dell'era etiopica tuttora in uso) ossia il 22 novembre 1497 della nostra era.

Quanto al santo monaco Iyāsu, questi nasce verso il 1468 da famiglia oriunda di un paese «sito ad occidente dell'Amḥarā». Viene ordinato sacerdote dopo l'arrivo in Etiopia del metropolita Yesḥaq (1481). Per intercessione di un religioso di nome Marqorēwos, Iyāsu decide di farsi monaco e si reca a Dabra Libānos dove riceve l'abito monastico dalle mani dell'abate Marḥa Krestos († 1497). Qualche tempo dopo la sua monacazione, Iyāsu conosce Habtā Maryām del quale – dopo un contrasto iniziale – diviene devoto discepolo e dal quale non si separa più. Poi Habta Māryām manda Iyāsu al re Nā'od (1494-1508) incaricandolo di consegnare al monarca il «libro» di Cristo. Giunto al cospetto del re, Iyāsu gli consegna il «libro» dei misteri rivelati da Cristo al suo maestro e ammonisce il sovrano: «Vi sono alla tua porta dei Giudei che mettono in discussione la nascita di Cristo: uccidi gli empi...»; il monarca accetta il libro (il messaggio) e consegna a Iyāsu due croci, una per lui e l'altra per il suo maestro. In seguito Iyāsu compie vari miracoli ma, per suggerimento divino, rientra nello Scioa e raggiunge Dabra Libānos proprio nel giorno della morte di Habta Māryām (22 novembre 1497). Recatosi poi in un eremo sito «ad oriente di Dabra Libānos», Iyāsu fonda una chiesa nel nome del Paraclito; è possibile che si tratti della chiesa del monastero di Ǧar Sellāsē, che non è nominato nella Vita ma al quale la

tradizione collega il monaco Iyāsu (monastero scioano tuttora attivo). Dopo nuove visioni prodigiose avute nel corso degli ultimi anni della sua vita, Iyāsu contrae la peste da un messo inviatogli per annunciargli la morte del re Nā'od (sappiamo che questo sovrano morì il 7 nahase 1500 dell'era etiopica, corrispondente al 31 luglio 1508). Così il 16 teqemt successivo (corrrispondente al 13 ottobre 1508), Iyāsu si spegne a Dabra Libānos all'età di 40 anni. Viene sepolto nella stessa tomba del suo maestro habta Māryām (usanza questa che sappiamo non essere allora infrequente).

Oltre ai numerosi riscontri cronologici legati ad avvenimenti e personaggi di quel tempo, le due Vite contengono anche notevoli accenni dottrinali (specie per quanto concerne le vedute sulla vita ultraterrena) che interessano gli studiosi della chiesa etiopica, istituzione la cui evoluzione si era progressivamente differenziata, nel corso dei secoli, da quella della matrice alessandrina.

L'edizione del volume in esame non è soltanto accurata, ma anche gradevole: la traduzione italiana è fluida, mentre il testo etiopico adottato (con l'aggiunta in nota delle varianti ricavate dai vari codici utilizzati) è stato ricopiato a mano da un provetto calligrafo (il geometra Kidane Berhane). Si è così ottenuto un nuovo manoscritto caratterizzato dalla sua elegante scrittura; ogni facciata di questo nuovo manoscritto è stata poi riprodotta nella pagina sinistra (pagine pari del volume), mentre la traduzione italiana appare a fronte, nella pagina destra (pagine dispari). Con tale accorgimento è stato possibile evitare quell'insieme di inconvenienti che oggi, in Europa, rendono difficile la stampa (e la correzione) di un lungo testo in caratteri etiopici.

Ognuna delle due Vite è accompagnata da una introduzione e seguita da un indice dei nomi propri e da un indice delle citazioni scritturali (accessori indispensabili per orientarsi in questo genere di documenti). Infine l'Autore ha provveduto ad aggiungere un'accurata e nutrita bibliografia delle opere da lui consultate nel corso del suo lavoro.

Prima di chiudere questa nota, ci siano consentite alcune osservazioni.

Parlando dell'educazione ricevuta da Habta Māryām fanciullo ad opera di *abbā* Samuele, l'agiografo precisa che questo Samuele fu, «come *abbā* Bāmoy [secondo un manoscritto: Amon Bāmoy], educatore di forti», mentre Habta Māryām fu «come Giovanni il Piccolo, docile e pio». In proposito l'Autore del volume si limita a rinviare al Sinassario etiopico (nella traduzione di Budge), ma forse non sarebbe stato inutile segnalare al lettore che l'agiografo fa riferimento a due santi monaci d'Egitto. Infatti, secondo le tradizioni egiziane, Ammon (anbā Ammūn), discepolo di Sant'Antonio, sarebbe stato il padre del monachesimo nel deserto di Nitria (Scete) e, in particolare, il maestro di Yūhannis Colobos (Giovanni il Piccolo), noto eremita egiziano che morì nel deserto di Clysma (Mar Rosso) e che è più volte ricordato anche nel Sinassario etiopico.

Infine, tanto l'agiografo di Habta Māryām (p. 115) quanto quello di Iyāsu (p. 215) menzionano esplicitamente «l'affare dei Giudei» avvenuto nel primo anno di regno di Nā'od, un «affare» al quale già avevano accennato tanto la breve cronaca di quel sovrano, quanto la Vita di Marḥa Krestos, nono abate di Dabra Libānos. L'Autore – come altri, del resto – ritiene che questi accenni alludano ad una persecuzione contro i Falascia (i cosiddetti Ebrei Neri o

Giudei di Abissinia) i quali «si dicevano cristiani, ma in cuor loro negavano che Cristo fosse stato generato da Maria». Chi scrive questa nota ha però da tempo il dubbio che «l'affare dei Giudei» possa invece riferirsi agli ultimi stefaniti (dal nome del monaco Estifānos), movimento eretico a sfondo politico che negò a lungo, durante quasi tutto il secolo XV, ogni venerazione a Maria. Sembra infatti difficile trascurare il fatto che 'Ezrā, l'ultimo grande stefanita, trascorse gli ultimi nove anni della sua vita proprio alla corte di re Nā'od, probabilmente «sotto osservazione» di quel sovrano, per misura di cautela preventiva.

Ultima osservazione. Nel momento di chiudere questa recensione, abbiamo casualmente letto in una laconica nota dello studioso Getatchew Haile (*Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Tel-Aviv 14-17 April 1980, p. 202, nota 8) che, a quanto risulta da un documento inedito, il confessore di re Nā'od si chiamava Habta Māryām. Così si spiega come il monaco protagonista della predetta Vita si fosse permesso di inviare al sovrano un monito particolare circa il delicato «affare dei Giudei».

SALVATORE TEDESCHI

Veronica SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften* 2: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt (= Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XX 5). Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1989, S. 200.

Il presente Catalogo continua la prestigiosa serie di VOHD, mantenendone l'alto livello scientifico ed editoriale, ad opera dell'A., nota etiopista, particolarmente per la pubblicazione di altri volumi della stessa VOHD. Nel libro sono descritti i mss. etiopici della *Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* di Monaco, collezione che, comprendendo 114 pezzi, è la seconda, per il numero di tali codici, della Repubblica Federale Tedesca, dopo quella della *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* di Berlino (p. 7). Nel catalogo, abbiamo: Sommario (p. 5); Prefazione (con una breve storia circa la formazione della collezione: pp. 7-9); I. Elenco delle abbreviazioni: 1. Integrazione alla bibliografia di VOHD XX 4 (pp. 10-12). 2. Abbreviazioni (pp. 13-15). II. Trascrizione (pp. 16-17). III. Descrizione dei mss. (pp. 19-171). IV. Indici secondo data e contenuto (pp. 172-173); Indice analitico (pp. 174-196); Concordanza tra la numerazione di questo catalogo e la segnatura dei manoscritti (pp. 197-199); Indice dei codici miniati (p. 200).

La lettura di questo prezioso strumento di lavoro ci suggerisce alcune eventuali integrazioni. Nella bibliografia (pp. 10-12) potevano figurare O. RAINERI, *Libri di uso prevalentemente liturgico tra i mss. Cerulli Etiopici della Vaticana, Ephemerides Liturgicae*, (= EL) 1986, 172-186; ID., *Miniature e disegni nei mss. Cerulli Etiopici della Vaticana, Ibid.*, 462-481; ID., *I mss. etiopici della Biblioteca Ephemerides Liturgicae in Roma, Ibid.*, 334-339.

Per i mss datati v. il lavoro di S. UHLIG, *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Stuttgart 1988.

Sulla Bibbia cfr. *Novum Testamentum aethiopice*: The Synoptic Gospel. Critical Edition by R. ZUURMOND, I, *Edition of Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989. Per l'esegesi biblica, cfr. K. PEDERSEN, *Traditional Ethiopian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms*, Doct. Thesis. Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989; R. COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation*, Cambridge 1989. Circa gli Apocrifi: D. D. BUCHHOLZ, *Your Eyes will be Opened*. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter, Atlanta, Georgia 1988.

Riguardo a liturgia (rituali e uffici): HABTÄMICHA'EL KIDANÄ, *L'Ufficio divino etiopico*. Studio storico-critico con particolare riferimento alle ore cattedrali. Tesi dott. difesa al PIO il 23. 2. 1990. Per inni e preghiere, cfr O. RAINERI, *La dottrina degli Arcani del Messale Etiopico Vaticano*, EL (1981) 550-555; ID., *L'Inno Etiopico Malke'a Querbān*, EL (1985) 300-308; ID., *L'Inno mariano Beṣe' et anti del Sebḥata fequr*, OCP (1986) 421-431; ID., *L'effigie di Maria, Patto di Misericordia*, EL (1989) 92-109.

Per l'agiografia, O. RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Mâryâm e di Iyâsu, santi monaci etiopici*, OCA 235, Roma 1990.

Sui testi magici, cfr. M. KROPP, *Der dritte Talisman des Askäla-Mâryâm Dassetä, Jahrb. des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* (1989) 342-357.

A proposito della *Confessio Fidei Claudii* e di Job Ludolf si veda T. MRKONJIĆ, *Il teologo Ivan Paštrić (1636-1708)*, Tesi dott. della Pont. Fac. Teol. San Bonaventura, Roma 1989; circa Giusto da Urbino V. N. TROZZI, *Il P. Giusto da Urbino e l'ascesa di Teodoro II al trono d'Etiopia, Africa* (Roma 1988) 213-230.

O. RAINERI

Siegbert UHLIG, *Äthiopische Paläographie* (= Äthiopistische Forschungen Herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 22) Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH. Stuttgart 1988, S. 848+530 illustrazioni e tavole.

L'A. (che ebbi il piacere di conoscere a Roma anni fa, quando stava raccogliendo materiale, per questo suo lavoro, nelle collezioni di mss. etiopici della Biblioteca Vaticana e dell'Accademia dei Lincei) ha già pubblicato diversi studi sulla paleografia etiopica, oltre che su altri campi dell'etiopistica (v. p. 31). Questa *Äthiopische Paläographie* corona i suoi studi sull'argomento, valorizzando nello stesso tempo quelli precedenti (v. p. 41 e sgg.), i quali ultimi, in verità, si sono rivelati insufficienti e incompleti, tanto che, non di rado, noti studiosi, nella datazione dei mss., si sono scostati dalla realtà anche di uno o più secoli (v., ad es., p. 129).

All'inizio del libro, sono dedicate decine di pagine, sia all'indice generale, presentazione dell'Ed., prefazione dell'A., abbreviazioni (pp. 5-36), sia all'introduzione (1.: definizione, concetto, uso, limitazione temporale, funzione, materiale e questioni aperte della paleografia etiopica; pp. 37-54), sia alla metodologia (2.: metodo di ricerca, risultati, delimitazione dei periodi, datazione ecc.; pp. 55-72). L'A. passa poi ad esaminare i diversi periodi storici,

dal punto di vista della paleografia. I: monumenti epigrafici fino alla seconda metà del 14° sec. («scrittura alta e slanciata, forme trapezoidali e triangolari, poche lettere per riga, pochi i grandi ornamenti e molti i piccoli e i segni di cesura»; «differente lunghezza delle aste in determinati segni sillabici, D *śāles* con due lineette trasversali al piede», ecc.); II: fine 14° - metà 15° sec. («tendenza alle forme tozze, aste più larghe, curve ampie»; «Occhielli uniti in M, YE con curva più corta, *egzi'abeḥēr* senza legatura»); III: metà 15° - metà 16° sec. («scrittura rotonda, compatta e più piccola, tendenza a una grafia più meccanica, perdita d'importanza dei segni di cesura»; «tratti-ponte più inclinati, R e F con linea arcuata a sinistra, occhielli scostati in M», pp. 300-424); IV: metà 16° - seconda metà 17° sec. («scrittura alta e slanciata, segni sillabici di uguale altezza, grafia serrata, foglio spazioso a tre colonne»; «L con aste terminanti parallele, occhielli scostati in tutti gli ordini di M», pp. 425-544); V: metà 17° - seconda metà 18° sec. («scrittura uniforme, angolosa, unciale, grandi segni sillabici»; «grandi occhielli-vocali, occhielli chiusi in *ḫāmes*, L con aste destre arcuate, ansa sinistra di Ś grande e angolosa», pp. 545-653); VI: metà 18° - metà 19° sec. («modo di scrivere irregolare e rapido, tendenza a una scrittura separata, larga e tozza, alcuni grandi ornamenti»; «teste dei segni sillabici allungate, occhielli aperti di *ḫāmes*, L con l'asta destra arcuata, GE con curva larga e pendente verso sinistra», pp. 654-767); VII: scrittura tozza dei secc. 19° e 20° («forma tozza marcata, serrata, uso di calamo largo»; «M con orlo superiore rotondo, L a punta, con gamba destra accostata, P *sādes* in forma moderna», pp. 768-806); VIII: corsivo moderno, dalla seconda metà del 19° sec. («aste inclinate e arcuate a destra, forme alte e rotonde, carta come materiale da scrivere»; «YĀ con ganci ad angolo acuto»; «'E, GE con trattino aggiunto»; «gancio volto in alto in BE», pp. 807-826).

Il libro prosegue con le seguenti appendici: I: Termini frequentemente ricorrenti (pp. 827-30); II: Mss. ed epigrafi utilizzati (pp. 831-38); III: Sommario sui periodi della scrittura etiopica (pp. 839-40); e termina con l'indice dei nomi (pp. 841-48).

I libri esaminati, in questa *summa* della paleografia etiopica di S. Uhlig, rappresentano un po' tutti i generi della letteratura etiopica. Forse sarebbe valsa la pena prendere in esame qualche altro «testo magico», che figura, se non erro, solo a p. 279. Vi sono parecchie centinaia di «rotoli magici», catalogati e non, di cui alcuni antichi e redatti accuratamente; la testimonianza di questo particolare tipo di mss. può dare un apprezzabile contributo anche per lo studio della paleografia (della collezione di 652 rotoli magici «Sandro Angelini di Bergamo», da me presentata in «*Proceedings of the 8th International conference of Ethiopian Studies*», University of Addis Ababa, 1984, ed. by Taddese Beyene, 2° vol., Addis Ababa 1989, pp. 539-46, è ora uscito: O. RAINERI, *Catalogo dei rotoli protettori etiopici della Collezione Sandro Angelini*, Roma 1990).

Noto alcuni... *lapsus calami* da correggere: p. 24, «CREvOr... Classe dir scienze...» (per *di*...); p. 25, «DrSchnOrDev... Origine et developpement de l'ecriture ethiopienne» (per... *développement de l'écriture éthiopienne*); p. 27, «LefCodEtVat... Su un codice etiopice...» (per... *etiopico*...); p. 28, «LerÉvÉth... L'Évangeliare...» (per... *L'Évangéliaire*...); p. 29,

«PalHébrMéd... Colleques Internationaux...des la Recherche...» (per... *Colloques*...*de la*...).

Sono certo che tutti gli studiosi accoglieranno con gioia questa opera che onora chi l'ha realizzata e colma lodevolmente una grave lacuna dell'etiopistica.

Detto questo, credo fare cosa utile alla ricerca, segnalando che frattanto nel fondo Vat. Aeth. sono entrati altri codici non ancora catalogati. Avendoli esaminati, ne do' un elenco provvisorio.

300 (*gebra ḥemāmāt* = «Atti della Passione», lezionario per la Settimana santa: tempo di Menilek); 301 (lettere, in amarico, di vari personaggi - tra cui l'*alaqā* Gabra Sellāsē, autore della storia di Menilek pubblicata dal Coppet, e Naguššē -, agli etiopisti Casimiro Mondon-Vidhailet, Marius Chaîne e altri); 302 (lettere di Menilek, della regina Ṭāytu, di Takla Hāymānot re del Kaffa, del re Tēwodros, di *rās* Makonnen...); 303 (Miracoli di N.S.G. Cristo); 304 (libretto-amuleto: *lefāfa ṣedq* = benda della giustificazione); 305 (libretto-amuleto, a fisarmonica: *lefāfa ṣedq*; grafia minutissima e molto curata); 306 (piccolissimo libricino-amuleto, a fisarmonica: *mafteḥē śerāy* = scioglimento dell'incantesimo); 307 (rotolo magico); 308 (frammento: Marco 4,35-5,20; antico); 309 (bellissimo, miniato: *dersāna mikā'ēl* = omelie di san Michele, per tutti i mesi dell'anno; scritto nel 1885); 310 (*hāymānota abaw* = la fede dei padri); 311, 312, 313 (rotoli magici); 314 (*qeddāsē* = messale, con menzione del re Iyāsu II - 1730/55 -, e del metropolita Yoḥannes - ca 1750 -); 315 (scritti magici e divinatori); 316 (mutilo all'inizio e alla fine: omelie di san Basilio, sant'Atanasio, Giacomo di Serug...; antico); 317 (*qeddāsē* = messale); 318, 319 (rotoli magici); 320 (*kidān zanageh* = testamentum matutinum; *sanē golgotā* = preghiera della Vergine sul Golgota; *malke'a iyasus krestos* = effigie di G. Cristo); 321 (*malke'a gabra manfas qeddus* = effigie di Gabra Manfas Qeddus...); 322 (ff. 8, frammento del *maṣḥafa genzat* = «libro del sudario»); 323 (*ta'āmmera māryām* = miracoli di Maria, *ta'āmmera iyasus* = miracoli di Gesù).

Nella Biblioteca Vaticana si trova inoltre il fondo «Comboni», che comprende i seguenti mss. etiopici, pure non catalogati: A 1 (4 Vangeli); A 2 (Lettere di san Paolo); A 3 (Apocalisse e Atti degli Apostoli); A 4, 5, 6, 7 (*dāwit* = salterio); A 8 (irreperibile); A 9, 10, 11 (*dāwit*); A 12 (irreperibile); A 13, 14 (*dāwit*); A 15 (Lettere di san Paolo); A 16 (*dāwit*); A 17 (irreperibile); A 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 (*dāwit*); A 26 (irreperibile); A 27 (*dāwit*); A 28 (Vangelo di Gv); A 29, 30, 31, 32 (*dāwit*); A 33 (*temherta hebu'āt* = *doctrina arcanorum*; vangelo di Gv; *maqdem* dei miracoli di Maria); A 34, 35 (*dāwit*); A 36 (irreperibile); A 37 (Gv 11, 6-19, 29); A 38, 39 (vangelo di Gv); A 40 (*dāwit*); B 1, 2 (*genzat*); B 3 (*ziq* = antifonario); B 4 (irreperibile); B 5, 6 (*ṣoma deggʷā*); B 7 (*qeddāsē*); B 8 (*ziq*); B 9 (brani del N. Testamento); B 10 (*ziq*); B 11 (*sanbat amin* = fede della domenica o *mazmur*; *mawāśe't*); B 12 (*kidān; zayenaggeś; liṭon*); B 13 (*ziq*); B 14 (*mawāśe't*; anafore di Dioscoro...); B 15 (*ziq*); B 16 (*zemmārē*); B 17 (*zemmārē; za'astar'ayo; ziq...; arde'et; abušāker*); B 18, 19 (*ziq*); B 20 (*mazmur*, simile al precedente B 11); B 21 (*ziq*); B 22 (*ar'esta qeddāsē; malke'a querbān* = effigie dell'eucaristia); B 23 (*ziq*); B 24 (*maṣḥafa qēdar*); B 25 (la anafora della Madonna); B 26 (*zemmārē*); B 27, 28 (la anafora della Madonna); B 29 (ir-

reperibile); B 30 (*kidān*; Ia anafora della Madonna; anafora di san Giovanni ev., degli apostoli e di Dioscoro); C 1 (*ṣalota 'eṭān* = preghiera dell'incenso; *meśṭira ṭemqat*); C 2 (*maṣḥafa taklil* = rituale del matrimonio); C 3 (*temherta ḫebu'āt; anqaṣa berhān; weddāsē māryām; maṣḥafa nuzāzē*); C 4 (*dāwit*); C 5 (*ṣalota 'eṭān*); C 6 (*mazgaba 'eṭān*); C 7 (*maṣḥafa qēdar; maṣḥafa ṭemqat*); C 8 (*ṣalota 'eṭān; mesṭira ṭemqat...*); C 9, 10 (*ṣalota nesseḥa*); C 11 (*maṣḥafa nuzāzē; maṣḥafa qēdar; malke'a ḫawāryāt; a'emāda mesṭir* = colonne del mistero – catechismo –; *malke'a yoḥannes; senna feṭrat*); D 1 (*maṣḥafa hāymānot*; miracoli di Gabra Manfas Qeddus); D 2 (*a'emāda mesṭir*); D 3 (*maṣḥafa me'edān*); D 4 (spiegazione del *pater noster* e dell'eucaristia – amarico –); D 5 (*a'emāda mesṭir* – tigrino –); D 6 (*a'emāda mesṭir*); D 7 (*maṣḥafa tawāḥedota qeddus sellus* – amarico – ...; *o'egzi'eya iyasus krestos...; 'eqabanni...*); D 8 (*a'emāda mesṭir*); D 9 (*a'emāda mesṭir; ṣalotā ba'enta arwē* = preghiera contro il serpente); D 10 (*a'emāda mesṭir*); E 1 (*asleṭṭi* = lezionario, per tutti i giorni della settimana); E 2 (vangelo di Gv); E 3, 4 (*asleṭṭi*); E 5 (*sebḥata nageh* = lode del mattino; *bāḥra ḥassāb* = mare del computo); E 6 (letture dal N. Testamento per varie feste dell'anno); E 7 (*sa'ātāt* = *horologium*); E 8 (*asleṭṭi*); E 9 (*kidān; liṭon*; Ia anafora della Madonna); E 10 (*sa'ātāt; sebḥata fequr* = lode del diletto); E 11 (*asleṭṭi*); E 12 (*māḫlēta ṣegē* = cantico del fiore); E 13 (*nagar za-12 arde'et*, per tutti i giorni della settimana); E 14 (*zātti bēta krestiyān...*; *liṭon*); E 15 (*mazmura dengel* = salterio della Vergine; *māḫlēta ṣegē; saqoqāwa dengel* = lamento della Vergine); E 16 (*fetḥa zawald; temherta ḫebu'āt; egzi'abeḥēr zaberhānāt* = Signore delle luci; *sanē golgotā*); E 17 (*malke'a ḥemāmāt* = effigie della passione); E 18 (*temherta ḫebu'āt; malke'a mikā'ēl* = effigie di Michele); E 19 (*malke'a madḫānē 'ālam* = effigie del Redentore del mondo); E 20 (*ēkos...* – preghiera magica –; *temherta ḫebu'āt; egzi'abeḥēr zaberhānāt; kidān; ba'enta qeddesāt salāmāwit...; mazmura dengel; malke'a śe'el* = effigie del dipinto; *esēbbeḥ ṣaggāki* = celebro la tua grazia); E 21 (*fetḥa zawald; kidān...; temherta ḫebu'āt; agzi'abeḥēr zaberhānāt; ba'enta qeddesāt; śer'āta qeddāsē* = ordinario della messa; anafora di nostro Signore; Ia anafora della Madonna); E 22 (Gv 1,1-7; *kidān zanageh; sanē golgotā; egzi'abeḥēr zaberhānāt; ṣalot ba'enta arwē meder*); E 23 (Ia anafora della Madonna; *kidān zanageh; temherta ḫebu'āt; liṭon*); E 24 (*sanē golgotā; temherta ḫebu'āt*); E 25 (*maṣḥafa arde'et* = libro dei discepoli); E 26 (*māḫlēta ṣegē; saqoqāwa dengel; nagś*); E 27 (*malke'a weddāsē* = effigie delle lodi – di Maria –); E 28 (*ba'enta śellā-sēka* – inno alla Trinità –; *malke'a ēdom; na'ā na'ā giyorgis; ba'enta gabra manfas qeddus...* = per il santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus e altri santi; *o'ab ba'enta krestos*); E 29 (*sanē golgotā; temherta ḫebu'āt; lessāna sabe'* = lingua degli uomini); E 30 (*temherta ḫebu'āt; egzi'abeḥēr zaberhānāt*); E 31 (*sanē golgotā; temherta ḫebu'āt; egzi'' zaberhānāt*); F 1 (*ta'āmmera iyasus* = miracoli di Gesù); F 2 *dersān, ta'āmmera, malke'a madḫānē 'ālam; malke'a śellāsē*); F 3 (*ta'āmmera māryām – maqdem –*); F 4 (*weddāsē māryām* – commento amarico –); F 5 (*maṣḥafa alēfāt* – raccolta di invocazioni e preghiere –; *malke'a takla hāymānot; maṣḥafa matargʷem; maṣḥafa ṣegē...*); F 6 (*weddāsē māryām* – spiegazione –; *malke'a śe'el; sebḥata fequr; malke'a gubā'ē; malke'a māryām, iyasus, madḫānē 'ālam...*); F 7 (Vang. di Gv; *malke'a madḫānē*

'ālam; malke'a, ta'āmmera mikā'ēl...); F 8 (*malke'a abuna aragāwi; argānon*); F 9 (*maqdema ta'āmmera māryām; ta'āmmera mikā'ēl; nagara hāymānot*); F 10 (*malke'a śellāsē, mikā'ēl, gabre'ēl, gabra manfas qeddus, māryām, madḫānē 'ālam, takla hāymānot*); F 11 (frammento del Cant.; *malke'a śe'el, madḫānē 'ālam, tēwodros, kidāna meḥrat; warḥa ṣegē; lessāna sabe'*); F 12 (*kidān zanageh; temḥerta ḫebu'āt; malke'a felsatā; sebḥata fequr; weddāsē dengel*); F 13 (*sanē golgotā; temḥerta ḫebu'āt; lefāfa ṣedq; mangada samāy*); F 14 (*malke'a māryām, iyasus; yeweddesewwā mala'eket lamāryām*); F 15 (*māḫlēta ṣegē*); F 16 (*malke'a mikā'ēl*; commento a *weddāsē māryām*); F 17 (*weddāsē māryām; weddāsē wagenāy*); F 18 (*malke'a śellāsē*; *qennewāt -ba'alādor badānāt... -*); F 19 (*malke'a māryām, iyasus*); F 20 (irreperibile); F 21 (*malke'a rāgu'ēl, fānu'ēl*); F 22 (*sanē golgotā* – Ia parte, spiegazione –); F 23 (*malke'a fānu'ēl*); F 24 (*sanē golgotā*); F 25 (*maqdem* dei miracoli di Maria); F 26 (*malke'a iyasus*); F 27 (*malke'a sāmu'ēl, gabra manfas qeddus; arbā'etu ensesā; sebḥata fequr*); F 28 (*malke'a māryām, iyasus, mikā'ēl*); F 29 (*temherta ḫebu'āt; sanē golgotā*); F 30 (*malke'a abrehā wa'aṣbehā*); F 31 (irreperibile); F 32 (*sanē golgotā; temherta ḫebu'āt*); F 33 (*malke'a takla hāymānot, giyorgis*); F 34 (*sanē golgotā*); F 35 (*malke'a māryām, iyasus*); F 36 (*malke'a mikā'ēl, giyorgis, takla hāymānot, rufā'ēl, gabra manfas qeddus; ṭabiba ṭabibān*); F 37 (*ṭabiba ṭabibān; malke'a pēṭros wapāwlos, fāsiladas, galāwdēwos, kirqos, esṭifānos, marqorēwos, tēwodros yoḥannes* – ev. –, *giyorgis*); F 38 (*malke'a māryām, iyasus*); F 39 (*ṭabiba ṭabibān*); F 40 (*malke'a śellāsē*); F 41 (*malke'a māryām; tafaśśeḥi māryām*); F 42 (*malke'a śellāsē; nagś...*); F 43 (*malke'a madḫānē 'ālam; sa'ātāt; qeddāsē; malke'a śellāsē; ṭabiba ṭabibān*); F 44 (*malke'a amānu'ēl*); G 1 (*dersāna sanbat*); G 2 (*dersān za'abbā yā'qob zaśerug... ba'enta sanbata krestiyān...*); G 3 (*arde'et*); G 4 (*sayfa malakot* = spada della divinità); G 5 (*lefāfa ṣedq*); G 6 (*malke'a mikā'ēl, māryām, iyasus, giyorgis*); G 7 (irreperibile); G 8 (*alēfāt*); G 9, 10 (*lefāfa ṣedq*); G 11 (*sanē golgotā; ṣalot ba'enta germā mogas; lefāfa ṣedq...*); G 12 (irreperibile); G 13, 14, 15 (*lefāfa ṣedq*); G 16 (*ḥawel* – calendario –; *weddāsē māryām* – commento –); G 17 (*sanē golgotā*); G 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (*lefāfa ṣedq*); G 33 (*senna feṭrat; lefāfa ṣedq; sanē golgotā*); G 34 (*lefāfa ṣedq*); H 1 (miracoli di Maria – framm. –; 7 miniature – antiche –); H 2 (*gadla giyorgis*); H 3 (*yoḥannes afa warq* = Giov. Crisostomo); H 4 (*dersāna mikā'ēl*); H 5, 6 (*gadla kiros*); H 7 (8 fogli raccogliticci); H 8 (*maqdem* dei miracoli di Maria; Ia anafora della Madonna; *malke'a māryām, iyasus*); H 9 (*rā'eya māryām* – amarico –); H 10 (preghiere magiche); H 11 (*sanē golgotā*) O 1 (irreperibile); O 2 (icona: s. Giorgio, Maria V., Trinità, Crocifissione); O 3 (irreperibile); O 4 (miracoli di Gesù; miscellanea); O 5 (8 miniature: s. Giorgio, Maria V., *hosā'enā*, santo tra 4 leoni; Salomone; Vergine col Bambino; Vergine e un santo; s. Giorgio e il drago; angelo...); O 6 (*ḥassāba kawākebt* = computo delle stelle); O 7 (icona: Annunciazione, Trinità, Adamo ed Eva...); O 8 (icona: Ascensione, Vergine col Bambino, Trinità, Risurrezione); O 9 (icona: cattura di Gesù, Crocifissione, Vergine, *kʷer'āta re'esu*); O 10 (*ḥassāba kawākebt; 'awda nagaśt...*); O 11 (*mafteḥē śerāy*); O 12 (irreperibile); O 13 (*ḥassāba kawākebt*); O 14 (miscellanea – parte in amarico –); O 15 (*mafteḥē śerāy*); O 16 (icona: Coronazione di spi-

ne, Crocifissione, s. Michele, Risurrezione); O 17 (*maṣḥafa bārtos*); O 18 (*ḥassāba dāwit*); O 19 (preghiere magiche); O 20 (*lessāna sabe'*); O 21 (*marbabta salomon* = rete di Salomone; *malke'a fānu'ēl*); O 22 (*lessāna sabe'; malke'a madḫānē 'ālam*); O 23, 24 (*lessāna sabe'*); R 1a,b,c,d; 2a,b,c,d,e; 3a,b; 4a,b,c,d; 5a,b,c,d,e; 6a,b,c,d,e; 7a,b,c,d,e; 8a,b,c; 9a,b,c,d (rotoli magici).

O. RAINERI

Rochus ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels.* General Introduction. Edition of the Gospel of Mark by R. Z. (= Äthiopistische Forschungen, Herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 27) Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1989, (Part I: pp. xv + 288; Part II: pp. 406).

Sono trascorsi già diversi anni, da quando il Dr Rochus Zuurmond mi parlò del suo coraggioso progetto di preparare l'edizione critica dei vangeli in *ge'ez*, ma, nel considerare l'immane lavoro necessario all'attuazione di un'opera tanto poderosa e delicata, il suo libro, comprendente l'Introduzione generale e il Vangelo di Marco, favorevolmente mi sorprende, per quanto ha saputo realizzare in questo tempo. L'A., col volume in oggetto e con quelli in preparazione (Matteo e Luca), sta colmando una parte assai considerevole della lamentabile lacuna rappresentata dalla carenza di una edizione critica completa della Bibbia in etiopico.

La prima parte del libro è costituita dalla «Introduzione generale al vangelo in *ge'ez*». Dopo l'Indice, la Dedica e la Prefazione (pp. v-xv), si prosegue con: 1 Edizioni a stampa (dalla I[a]: Roma 1548; p. 1); 2 Manoscritti (p. 3); 3 Contenuto di un ms. etiopico dei vangeli (introduzioni: evangelisti, lingua originale, i 72 discepoli...; lettera di Eusebio a Carpiano, canoni di Eusebio, *tituli*, testi..., biografie, data e origine; pp. 6-31); 4 Punteggiatura e divisione del testo (p. 32ss); 5 Testo del vangelo in Etiopia (p. 37ss); 6 *Versio Antiqua* (testo A: p. 48ss); 7 Testo alternativo in Matteo (testo B: p. 68ss); 8 Testo C (p. 73ss); 9 Testo D (p. 82ss); 10 Revisione della volgata alessandrina (testo E: p. 86ss); 11 Il nuovo *textus receptus* (testo M: p. 89ss); 12 L'origine della versione etiopica (l'evidenza dalla trascrizione; arabo, latino, armeno, copto, siriaco?, greco; *stemma*; p. 90ss); 13 Considerazioni di critica testuale (p. 134ss); 14 Scelta dei mss. per l'edizione (p. 138ss); 15 Alcune note sui libri liturgici etiopici (p. 143ss); 16 Letture usate per stabilire il tipo di testo (p. 155ss); 17 Esempi del testo, in colonne sinottiche, con commento (Mt 1,18-20; *excursus* in Mt 1,20; Mt 5,17-24; *excursus* in Mt 5,17; Mt 27,55-58; Mc 15,40-43; *excursus* in Mc 15,42; Lc 1,1-4: p. 171ss); 18 Liste (p. 220: «Milan: Fratri Minori Cappucini» = «... Frati... Cappuccini»; «Reggio nel'Emilia» = «Reggio Emilia»): A. Cataloghi (p. 221: «Collezioni non catalogate»... 0/4. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei...»: v. invece S. Strelcyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei...*, Roma 1976; «0/5. Vaticano, Collezione Cerulli»: v. O. Raineri, *Libri*

di uso prevalentemente liturgico tra i mss. «Cerulli Etiopici» della Vaticana, Ephemerides Liturgicae C/2, 1986, 171-85, che da notizia di tutti i 328 mss. del Fondo Cerulli, il quale studioso, a precisazione di quanto scritto in *RSE*, XXXI, 1987, p. 247 e *Ibid.* XXXII, 1988, p. 18, redasse personalmente la descrizione, ora a disposizione del pubblico, dei soli mss. 1-239); B. Edizioni a stampa (p. 224: «Testamentum Novum... in Linghe Ge'ez...» = «... Lingua...»); C. Manoscritti (p. 242ss: per «Ms. No. 88... Roma Ac. d. Lincei C 135...», v. la descrizione in S. Strelcyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens... Lincei... cjt.*, pp. 337-8; a quelli citati, si possono aggiungere: «Cerulli Etiopici 212», con i 4 vangeli, e «Comboni A 1», sempre della Bibl. Vat., ms. et. di pp. 282, cm. 35×25,5, pure tetraevangelo, che riterrei non posteriore al XV sec.; p. 251: «... Musea della Missione Cattolica...» = «... Museo...»); 19 Bibliografia (p. 257ss); «Cerulli... Il Libro Etiopica...» = «... Etiopico...»; «Chaine... Inventaire... éthiopiense...» = «Chaîne... éthiopiens...»; Dillmann... Codices... Vol. III... Museo Brittannico...» = «Britannico...»; p. 273: Nembro... en lingua ge'ez...» = «... in lingua...»; p. 275: «Raineri... Vita dei Guisti» = «Giusti»; p. 278: «Wright... '*Incunables*'...»: detto art. non ha per autore il Wright, bensì S. Strelcyn, il quale scrisse anche *'Incunables' éthiopiens de la Collection Faïtlovitch (Université de Tel-Aviv) et de l'Instituto Orientale di Napoli, RSE*, XXVII, 1978-1979, 63-121; 20 Riassunto in tedesco (p. 279ss).

La seconda parte del libro comprende «L'edizione del vangelo di Marco»: 21 Piano dell'edizione (p. 5s); 22 Il testo (p. 7ss); 23 L'*Apparatus* (p. 15ss); 24 *Prolegomena* all'ortografia *ge'ez* (p. 25ss); 25 Appendice del testo critico (p. 31ss); 26 Abbreviazioni (p. 33ss; «GM Gabriele da Maggiora's *Vocabolaria*» = «... *Vocabolario*...»); 27 Descrizione dei manoscritti usati (p. 42ss; segnalo il ms. «Vaticano Etiopico 308», di 1 foglio, con Mc 4,35-5,20, frammento che presenta caratteristiche paleografiche molto antiche); Vangelo di Marco (p. 85ss: Sommario dei mss. e «Famiglie»; *Tituli* e *Kephalaia*, Testo e *Apparatus*); Appendice critico-testuale (p. 301ss: A. Introduzione; B. Categorie generali; C. Lista I: Varianti ortografiche più frequenti; D. Lista II: Varianti grammaticali più frequenti; E. Lista III: grafia di alcuni nomi propri; F. *Apparatus* di critica testuale); Epilogo: Il testo A e l'*apparatus criticus* del Nuovo Testamento greco (p. 335: introduzione e collazione); Indici delle parti I e II (p. 398: Nomi; p. 402: Argomenti).

Nel nostro «Gospel of Mark» (p. 45, n. 15 – Parte I –), a proposito di Mt 1, 16ss («Giuseppe uomo/promesso sposo di Maria»), è citato un passo del *gadla abuna habta māryām* [ed. ora dallo scrivente: *Atti di Habta Māryām († 1497) e di Iyāsu († 1508), santi monaci etiopici, OCA 235*, Roma 1990; v. p. 60s]; se si considera che le citazioni scritturistiche costituiscono, quasi sempre, l'anima dei libri etiopici, specialmente di quelli di uso liturgico e devozionale, si comprende facilmente quanto sia importante, per lo studio dei testi biblici etiopici, sviluppare la ricerca anche in questa direzione.

O. Raineri

Apocrypha

Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung, herausgegeben von Wilhelm SCHNEEMELCHER. 5. Auflage der von Edgar HENNECKE begründeten Sammlung. II. Band, *Apostolisches Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1989, pp. viii + 704.

È l'opera che Edgar Hennecke aveva concepito e attuato all'inizio del secolo e che ora è completamente rifatta per aggiornarla alla scoperta di nuovo materiale (per es. di Nag Hammadi) e al progresso degli studi. Non solo il primitivo mondo cristiano, ma tutto il tardo antico riceve luce da questo genere letterario.

Possiamo infatti leggere quei testi con sempre maggior profitto. Scopriremo allora, per es., che negli *Atti di Andrea* la narrazione della morte dell'apostolo è simile a quella della morte di Socrate nel *Fedone* platonico (p. 104); che gli *Atti di Giovanni*, nati entro il secolo terzo, oltre ad avere un passo dove pregare è detto «piegare le ginocchia» (p. 145), contengono già l'immagine, familiare alla tradizione siriaca, dell'attracco sicuro in porto (p. 180). Al contrario, dovremo tentare di spiegare come mai nei contemporanei *Atti di Paolo* non si trovino tracce di cristologia del Logos (p. 213). Leggendo poi la più tardiva *Apocalissi di Paolo*, la descrizione diversificata e viva delle pene infernali giustificherà anche ai nostri occhi la domanda, che si è posta Silverstein, se Dante non la conoscesse (cf. p. 646).

Ma oltre a ciò (e si potrebbe esemplificare a lungo) si deve sempre più ritrovare negli apocrifi quella *Parallelerscheinung*, rispetto a quella degli scritti canonici e patristici (p. 5), che costituisce la manifestazione della religiosità popolare, da più parti oggi rivalutata.

Questo secondo volume, la cui responsabilità globale, come di tutta l'opera, è di W. Schneemelcher coadiuvato da specialisti, è suddiviso in due parti: 1) Apocrifi «apostolici». 2) Apocrifi apocalittici e affini.

La prima parte inizia con il capitolo XIII (la numerazione dei capitoli continua quella del volume precedente) che contiene un'introduzione generale di W. A. Bienert agli apocrifi apostolici.

Il seguente capitolo XIV tratta dei testi, *Kerygma Petrou* (W. Schneemelcher), *Lettera ai Laodicesi* (Schneemelcher), *Carteggio Seneca-Paolo* (C. Römer) e *Lettera dello pseudo-Tito* (A. de Santos Otero).

Il capitolo XV è dedicato agli *Atti di Andrea* (J.-M. Prieur), *di Giovanni* (K. Schäferdick e Ruarì òh Uiginn), *di Paolo* (R. Kasser), *di Pietro* (Schneemelcher) e *di Tommaso* (H. J. W. Drijvers).

Il capitolo XVI si occupa del testo di Nag Hammadi, *Atti di Pietro e dei dodici Apostoli* (Schneemelcher).

Il capitolo XVII, redatto integralmente da A. de Santos Otero, è consacrato a una quarantina di Atti apostolici tardivi, di cui non si dà la traduzione testuale.

Il XVIII affronta le *Pseudoclementine*, cioè il *Romanzo di Clemente* (J. Irmscher) e i *Kerygmata Petrou* (G. Strecker).

La seconda parte, di apocalittica e affini, ha nel capitolo XIX un'intro-

duzione di Ph. Vielhauer e G. Strecker. Quindi tratta dell'*Ascensione di Isaia* (C. Detlef Müller) e di *Apocalissi di Pietro* (C. Detlef Müller).

Il capitolo XX comprende il *Quinto e il sesto di Esdra* (H. Dünsing e A. de Santos Otero), gli Oracoli sibillini (U. Treu) e il *Libro di Elkasai* (L. Irmscher).

Il capitolo XXI si occupa delle Apocalissi tardive: *Apocalissi coptognostica di Paolo* (W.-P. Funk), *Apocalissi copto-gnostica di Pietro* (A. Werner), *Apocalissi di Paolo* (H. Dünsing e A. de Santos Otero), *Apocalissi di Tommaso* (A. de Santos Otero).

Ogni testo, per lo più tradotto integralmente e commentato, è preceduto da un'introduzione e da una bibliografia ragionata.

Schneemelcher e collaboratori, oltre a ricorrere direttamente alle fonti primarie, hanno anche tenuto conto di edizioni e traduzioni precedenti, come dei saggi nelle varie lingue. Notiamo, per esempio, il rinvio frequente ai lavori di Erbetta e Moraldi per l'italiano, di Junod e Kaestli per la lingua francese, di Mc Namara per gli apocrifi nella Chiesa irlandese, ecc.

Così questi apocrifi neotestamentari apostolici e apocalittici, redatti originariamente in greco, in latino, in copto, in siriaco, in armeno, in etiopico, ecc. vengono messi a disposizione di chi legge il tedesco, corredati da saggi introduttivi, da commenti seri e approfonditi e da indici scritturistico e analitico.

Ci piace sottolineare l'onestà scientifica del lavoro che riconosce più di una volta non potersi ancora risolvere questo o quel problema di filologia e di storia e che la risposta a quesiti anche importanti richiede ulteriore studio. In tal modo segnala punti cruciali e sollecita nuove ricerche.

Siamo dunque ammirati di questo volume che completa un'opera destinata ad essere autorevole punto di riferimento circa l'apocrifo del Nuovo Testamento.

V. Poggi S.J.

Byzantina

Nicolas Cabasilas, *La Vie en Christ*, vol. I. I, introduction, texte critique, traduction et annotation par Marie-Hélene Congourdeau (=*SC* 355), Paris 1989, pp. 368.

Quest'opera di Cabasilas, divenuta oramai un classico della spiritualità ed una sintesi originale della teologia bizantina, viene riproposta dalle *SC* con una buona traduzione francese. L'edizione di questo primo volume è opera di M.-H. Congourdeau che introduce anzitutto la personalità ed il mondo culturale e storico di Cabasilas, evidenzia la tradizione manoscritta della *Vita in Cristo*, ed infine offre al lettore i primi quattro libri dell'opera.

Per stabilire il testo greco Congourdeau ha lavorato su sette manoscritti-prototipi, rappresentanti ben 26 manoscritti (cartacei). Oltre all'ottimo *Paris. gr. 1213* (metà del XV sec.; questo manoscritto era stato già usato in prece-

denza da U. Neri nella sua ottima edizione di questa stessa opera di Cabasilas anni addietro), Congourdeau ha considerato anche un nuovo testimone, il *Monac. Bayer. Suppl. gr. 624* (pp. 57-8), anch'esso del XV sec.

Una nota che ha avuto molto spazio nelle pagine introduttive è la ripresa dell'annosa questione sulla *status* di N. Cabasilas; le due vecchie tesi dello stato religioso/ecclesiastico o di quello laico dell'autore della *Vita in Cristo* sono state riproposte e, a nostro avviso, anche se Congourdeau propende per lo stato laicale di Cabasilas, resta ancora un'ambiguità in quanto non sembra che vi siano testimonianze stringenti tali da poter opinare per l'uno o l'altro *status*. Il lettore troverà attraente il testo dell'opera del Bizantino – la traduzione francese è molto buona [il testo di G.-T. Dennis a pag. 70 è *Dumbarton Oaks Texts IV* del *Corpus Fontium Hist. Byz. VIII* pubblicato a Washington nel 1977; vi sono delle discontinuità di abbreviazioni nelle note: *Bapt.* e *De bapt.* per il *De Baptismo* di Basilio, dell'*Ep. ad Ephes.* di Ignazio e della *Enarr. in Ps.* di Agostino è difficile trovarne l'edizione citata; il *De Virg.* del Nisseno (pag. 95, n. 18) deve riferirsi all'edizione di M. Aubineau in *SC* 119 e non 199, come detto a pag. 154, n. 26] – che rappresenta un'ottima sintesi teologica prodotta dal pensiero bizantino verso il tramonto dell'impero.

Il pensiero di Cabasilas attinge in gran parte dalla sacramentaria, e questi primi quattro libri dispiegano la pienezza «misterica» (un sacrum convivium) della vita divina nell'uomo e della vita umana in Dio (lib. I), il battesimo e la inerente crismazione (lib. II-III), il mistero dell'eucaristia (lib. IV). È, dunque, un pensiero che si propone a tutti i battezzati, non privilegiando nessun uditore, né stato all'interno della chiesa; tutti sono invitati, chiamati a vivere la percezione esistenziale di Dio (ciò che Congourdeau felicemente chiama «le courant esthétique»), la pienezza della vita divina dataci in Cristo. Opportunamente si fa notare come Cabasilas trae i suoi tesori dal Crisostomo, da Cirillo di Gerusalemme (le *Catechesi Mistagogiche* sono una piattaforma tematica per l'esposizione del Nostro), da Gregorio Nisseno; ancora rilevante, tuttavia, è l'apporto della teologia paolina che innerva tutta la teologia battesimale di Cabasilas ed è presente non poco nella stessa esposizione sull'eucaristia che molto risente del retroterra liturgico. Se notoriamente Cabasilas è anti-messaliano e, sovente, trasmettitore di tesi palamite, lapidaria è la sua fede calcedonense che riesce a condensare anche nella più pura ortodossia terminologica (IV, 26, pag. 287).

V. RUGGIERI

Herbert HUNGER, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, München 1989, pp. 174, con 46 foto b/n.

La cultura dello scritto nella civiltà bizantina è il tema di questo libro che pur nella sua piccola mole ha una peculiarietà tutta sua. L'Autore, H. Hunger, è fra le figure più significanti in quell'area di studio che è la comprensione della linguistica e della letteratura bizantina. Da una siffatta persona non ci si può aspettare dunque che una raffinata, anche se breve,

decantazione donata al grande pubblico della sua personale sintesi sulla esperienza culturale che il bizantino – in tutte le sue distinzioni sociali – aveva della e nella sua relazione col libro (= codex). Il libro, nel mondo bizantino, è un punto di arrivo per chi lo scrive e diventa al tempo stesso una partenza per chi comincia a leggerlo ed usarlo. Quanta fosse radicata questa «presenza del libro» nella mentalità bizantina non tocca a noi ripeterlo in questa sede; il «rotolo-volume» è un elemento quasi costante nell'iconografia bizantina, dagli albori. Da questa *Urstruktur* mentale H. Hunger s'avvia a presentare tutte quelle sfaccettature di vita sociale, di impegno tecnico ed organizzativo che la produzione e l'uso del libro apportava nella storia quotidiana del bizantino. Il lettore non ha bisogno d'essere uno specialista di bizantinistica per avventurarsi nella lettura di queste pagine. Il linguaggio è tecnico ma semplice ed essenziale, condotto con discrezione tale da donare gusto alle tante scene di vita che si aprono davanti nello scoprire il mondo del libro a Bisanzio. Partendo dalla presentazione del materiale – papiro, pergamena, carta – ci si inoltra nel mondo della codicologia, delle rilegature, del restauro. Qui il «libro» viene analizzato nei suoi vari tipi: il miniato e le sue caratteristiche, i libri storici e liturgici, i libri privati per lettura individuale e per la pietà personale. Quando si passa al processo dello scrivere, il lettore trova tutte quelle informazioni necessarie che le fonti ci hanno tramandato sugli strumenti dello scrivere, sui gruppi di persone che si sono «avventurate» nella faticosa impresa di scrivere e/o copiare un testo, sulle tecniche di scrittura. Dai primi inizi della scolarità fino alle tecniche criptografiche: il lettore trova, in queste pagine di Hunger, il riferimento costante del bizantino alle prese con la sua penna. Alla lettura, alle biblioteche (imperiale, patriarcale, private), alla fine della cultura del libro a Bisanzio e delle prime raccolte di questi codici in Occidente sono dedicate le ultime pagine, condensate, ma anch'esse illustrative del piacere e della ricercatezza che un libro dava a chi lo maneggiava e lo possedeva.

V. RUGGIERI

Herbert HUNGER – Ihor ŠEVČENKO, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes* Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς *und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine*, (= Wiener Byzantinische Studien, B. XVIII), Wien 1986, pp. 307.

I Curatori di questa opera, H. Hunger e I. Ševčenko, da anni perseguono criticamente ed indefessamente quell'insight sulla cultura letteraria bizantina che solitamente chiamasi *Sprachniveau – level of style*. Ecco che la frase finale del titolo del libro assume la sua importanza nel dispiegare agli occhi del lettore la causa formale, intenzionale del libro. Si va a toccare ancora più in dettaglio il trapasso verso una Schrift-Koine quando, come accade con l'opera di Blemmides e la sua metafrasi, noi guardiamo ambo i testi scorrenti su letti linguistici separati e percepiamo – grazie alla poderosa conoscenza filologico-

linguistica di Hunger – quelle variazioni verso una accentuata koine linguistica, nel nostro caso del XIV secolo. Ševčenko ha curato il testo di Blemmides, mentre Hunger il testo metafrastico, opera questa di Galesiotes e di Oinaiotes (ambo i Curatori danno una traduzione del testo greco, inglese per Blemmides e tedesco per la versione metafrastica). Veniano al testo di Blemmides.

Il testo greco è stato stabilito da Ševčenko su tre manoscritti: il *Sinaiticus gr. 28* della fine del XIII secolo (il migliore dei tre), il *Vat. gr. 1764* del XIII sec. ed infine il *Marcianus gr. Z 445*, probabilmente scritto fra il 1358 e 1368. Il testo ha conservato anche qui la sua divisione in 14 capitoli, come a suo tempo, nel 1827, lo stabilì A. Mai nella sua editio princeps. Mai allora adottò la versione del Vaticanus, ripresa in seguito nell'edizione del 1906 di K. Emminger; su quest'ultima Ed. Kurtz fece delle buone emendazioni nel 1922. L'apparato delle fonti concessoci da Ševčenko presenta una lista alquanto completa delle citazioni letterarie o quasi; il Curatore non ha ritenuto comunque opportuno apportare gli altri testimonia (exempla citati da Blemmides, loci paralleli, le initationes). A parte questa fatica, irta in vero di difficoltà, un grande apporto di Ševčenko in questo libro è la traduzione del testo. È la sua la prima traduzione che appare del testo originale del Blemmides, e di questo tentativo è da lodare la tenacia e la fluidità linguistica ed associativa che possiede Ševčenko nell'entrare in questa prosa allusiva, questo stile compresso del discorso di Blemmides. Che questo testo fosse difficile, lo si denota varie volte quando la stessa metafrasi su un passaggio ne equivoca il senso o lo perde del tutto. Pur vero, riconosce Ševčenko, che da una posteriore lettura del testo metafrastico a volte si vanno a captare quelle nuances che la prosa originale di Blemmides teneva astrette nella compressione del testo.

Hunger affronta la stesura metafrastica di Galesiotes e Oinaiotes usando otto manoscritti (lo stemma a p. 28). Diciamo subito che il pregio peculiare dell'analisi testuale di Hunger parte da una assimilazione profonda della prosa stilisticamente, grammaticalmente e sintatticamente diversificata nella tradizione manoscritta per arrivare non solo (pp. 20-28) a delle dipendenze nella stessa tradizione manoscritta (il *Laurentianus gr. 9, 32* da una parte [*a*], ed il *Marcianus gr. 505* con il *Vaticanus gr. 112* dall'altra – questi ultimi due pur avendo una medesima origine non dipendono l'un dall'altro –), ma a padroneggiare nell'analisi della scrizione metafrastica (pp. 179-206). A. Mai, nella sua edizione, maneggiava i due *Vaticani* pur conoscendo dell'esistenza del testo nel *Paris. gr. 3030* e nel *Vindob. Phil. gr. 14*; costui, comunque, non sapeva del *Laurentianus* (metà del XV sec.), certamente il migliore. Stringata è l'analisi che Hunger conduce sugli autori della versione metafrastica, sul loro metafrasare il testo di Blemmides e sul confronto di questa loro impresa con la prosa che essi stessi hanno usato in altre circostanze. Corretto mi sembra il dubbio finale sull'identità problematizzata di Giorgio Galesiotes. V'erano due G. Galesiotes, un autore ed un copista (pp. 33-4), ed Hunger, dopo aver puntualizzato gli accordi e disaccordi, lascia una risposta ad una ricerca ulteriore. Dopo la stesura del testo greco del Metafraste, segue la traduzione tedesca. Per apprezzare più da vicino il μεταφρασθεὶς πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον (accordo di fondo della versione metafrastica), bisogna volgersi alla sezione terminale del volume, lì ove Hunger illumina, dopo la comparazione

fra il testo di Blemmides e il testo metafrastico per ciascun numero del testo, i vari tipi di alterazione nella struttura lingusitica (pp. 206-304). È da questa stretta comparazione e dalla lettura sinottica dei testi che il lettore trova il senso dell'impresa del Metafraste. Il caso della definizione del Signore (imperatore-re) nel testo II.8 di Blemmides come «a Ruler (Βασιλεύς) is the foundation of the people» – qui ove si gioca sull'assonanza βασιλεύς e βάσις τοῦ λαοῦ viene redatta dal Metafraste come «Signoria (governo, astratto in βασιλεία) è la immobile roccia (fondamento) del popolo», perdendo l'assonanza di sopra. Il discorso di Blemmides è un λόγος ἠθικός ove il lettore s'aspetta la rappresentazione vivente del regale (βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς come vivente Statua Imperiale). Nel discorso retorico di Blemmides è piuttosto di «stile spirituale» del Signore che si parla, ove «spirituale», scevro da connotati «religiosi», designa la *statura* dell'uomo interiore, colui che ha il dono della sprezzatura. «Lodo coloro che regnarono dei Romani d'un tempo (segnandosi) nostra serenità (ἡ γαληνότης ἡμῶν» [IV. 59]) segna un momento delicato nella concisività di Blemmide allorquando puntualizza le qualità del Regnante. Ma d'esso, della sua statua vero ornamento è la verità [VII.110]: Blemmides ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπικοσμείτο τὸν βασιλικὸν ἀνδριάντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παραδείγματος ἐπικόσμησιν: Metafraste [VII.109] ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπικοσμείτο τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν προκεῖσθαι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπόδειγμα.

La ripresa del titolo è resa dal personale βασιλεύς del Metafraste, ma preme ancora notare l'assonanza stilistica perduta dalla prosa del Blemmides: ἐπικοσμείτο-ἐπικόσμησιν che attentamente si ritrova in VII. 121: Blemmides ἁρμοδιώτατον ἄρα κόσμησα [ripresa della radice precedente] τῷ κρατούτι [è la Statura del regnante] τὸ ἀληθευτικόν [ripresa variata di ἀλήθεια di VIII. 110]; Metafraste ἁρμοδιώτατον ἄρα καλλωπισμὸς [persa la radice] ἡ ἀλήθεια [ripetitivo di II. 110] τῷ βασιλεῖ [personalizzato e visibile di VII. 109].

L'edizione del Logos di Blemmides e del Metafraste che Ševčenko e Hunger ci presentano è senza alcun dubbio di grande valore per esperire quella variazione del livello stilistico messo in opera nella tarda cultura di Bisanzio. Se l'intenzione di Galesiotes ed Oinaiotes era, seguendo l'andante dell'incipit del *Laurentianus*, μεταφρασθεὶς πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον crediamo che il lavoro magistrale dei due Curatori possa essere additato, nella ricerca sul livello stilistico della prosa bizantina, come un κοινὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπόδειγμα.

V. RUGGIERI

TH. ST. NIKOLAOU, *Αἱ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ δικαίου ἰδέαι τοῦ Γ. Πλήθωνος Γεμιστοῦ*, (= Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται, 13), Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Salonicco 1989, pp. 154.

Secondo gli intendimenti dell'a., puntualmente espressi nelle pagine introduttive al volume (pp. 27-29), l'opera in questione vuole offrire uno studio sintetico concernente le teorie che sulla politica e sul diritto formulò Giorgio Gemisto Pletone.

Dopo un primo capitolo, nel quale mette a punto la situazione politica e culturale di Bisanzio nei secoli XIV-XV (pp. 31-46), l'A. passa ad esaminare la περὶ πολιτείας teoria dell'illustre filosofo di Mistrà (pp. 47-102), e, quindi, la sua teoria περὶ δικαίου (pp. 103-125). All'esauriente riassunto del libro in lingua tedesca (pp. 127-134) segue l'indice dei nomi propri (pp. 135-138) ed una postilla dal titolo *Zum Stand der Forschung über G. Plethon Gemistos ausgehend vom Werk Fr. Schultzes* (pp. 139-153), sul conto della quale l'a. formula alcune precisazioni nella nota concernente la 2ª edizione di questa sua opera. Al volume precede l'indice generale e la lista delle abbreviazioni bibliografiche.

Benché le considerazioni che l'a. formula intorno alle teorie di G. Pletone sulla πολιτεία e sul δίκαιον siano qui intenzionalmente espresse per sommi capi (l'A però si dilunga a dismisura quando si riferisce alle corrispettive teorie di filosofi antichi, specie di Aristotele e di Platone), il presente lavoro può offrire agli studiosi motivi di ulteriore approfondimento e di discussione.

A. FYRIGOS

Costantino STILBES, *La prolusione del Maestro dell'Apostolo*, testo critico, trad. e commentario a cura di Lia Raffaella CRESCI. Messina, Edizioni Sfameni 1987, pp. 134.

Così suona l'*inscriptio* della didascalia: «... Il discorso descrive gli incarichi didattici attraverso i quali è passato l'autore, i tempi di permanenza in essi e le fatiche profusevi; inserisce sia direttamente sia indirettamente come fattore importante la circostanza d'aver compiuto nei precedenti insegnamenti sino a quello delle lettere un percorso circolare continuo e senza balzi, non come colui che al momento rivestiva la carica di maestro ecumenico, fatto assurgere di colpo all'insegnamento del Vangelo. Gioisce della promozione, si duole per gli affanni passati, presenti e futuri e per la persistente mancanza di ricompensa e retribuzione e conclude con una conversazione morale sulla pazienza. Lo stile della composizione rifugge quasi ovunque l'asprezza e l'ampollosità espressive, volgendosi ad una opportuna ricerca di maggiore solennità». L. R. Cresci ripropone il testo della «Prolusione del Maestro dell'Apostolo» - questo era stato già nel 1971 trascritto da J. Diethart - con un'ottima introduzione sulla personalità di Stilbes e sul *Sitz im Leben* accademico nella capitale poco prima del 1204. La versione greca è basata su un solo manoscritto, l'*Oxon. Baroccianus gr. 25*, cartaceo della fine XIII-inizî XIV secolo, alla cui redazione hanno lavorato mani diverse. La Curatrice fornisce al lettore inoltre una buona traduzione italiana ed un ricco commentario al testo greco. La sua traduzione è stata fatica di non poco conto, considerando lo stile retorico dello Stilbes, e di ciò non possiamo non apprezzare l'utilità. Si trova in questo testo, secondo quanto annunzia la stessa *inscriptio*, il *cursus honorum* della Scuola Patriarcale a Bisanzio. È vero che le informazioni raccolte dagli storici sul *didaskaleion* di S. Sofia non sono del tutto esaurienti; Stilbes, dal canto suo, ci aiuta a capire la struttura del pentatlon formativo

del maestro all'interno della scuola stessa, una struttura ritmata secondo una regola (*nomos*) ecclesiastica (43,1). La metodologia usata dalla Cresci conduce il lettore a situarsi in quell'ambito culturale bizantino ove vissero Michele Italico, Tornicio, Michele di Salonicco e colleghi e dove la didascalia venne portata gradualmente «a qualificarsi piuttosto come 'un genere' della retorica profana che come prodotto omiletico non chiuso all'apporto profano». Una serie di indici (*nominum, fontium, graecitatis, Rariora et Byzantina*) chiude il volume.

V. RUGGIERI, S.J.

Erich TRAPP – Johannes DIETHART – Georgios FATOUROS – Astrid STEINER – Wolfram HÖRANDNER, *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie*, (= *Byzantina Vindobonensia* B. XVIII), Wien 1988, pp. 222.

La presente opera è un insieme di cinque differenti contributi volti tutti ad espletare ed accrescere il mondo lessicografico di Bisanzio. Quando qui si parla di lessicografia, ben inteso, il lettore dovrà fare riferimento al tesoro linguistico bizantino dei secoli IX-XII.

Il contributo di E. Trapp a carattere soprattutto esplicativo sul progetto *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Literatur, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts* (pp. 11-46) – un'opera a cui lo stesso Trapp sta lavorando da parecchi anni – arreca al lettore le ragioni di un siffatto progetto, i testi che verranno presi in considerazione, la metodologia stessa dell'impresa. Il titolo stesso [«Stand und Perspektiven der mittelgriechischen Lexikographie») manifesta l'intenzione di Trapp nella collaborazione di questo presente libro. L'autore introduce anzitutto i *Lessica* usati fino ad oggi; dal *Glossarium Graecobarbarum* di J. Meursius (1614) fino ai 9 tomi (ora 10) del *Lexico* di Kriaras si apre così una discussione pacata, benché critica, sulla deficienza metodologica e lacune testuali di questi passati *Lessica* [da notare che Kriaras si dibatteva soprattutto con materiale del tempo dei Comneni, mentre l'intento del nuovo progetto include la letteratura del IX fino al XII secolo]. La seconda parte del contributo di Trapp consiste nell'introdurre tutta quella raccolta di materiale non pubblicato del ben noto filologo E. Miller, una *Wörtersammlung* catalogata come *Par. Suppl. gr. 1214-18*, il quale pensava ad un'amplificazione del Du Cange; qui Trapp propone materiale appartenente alla lettera *alpha*, con sue personali aggiunte da edizioni, manoscritti o altri lessici. Nella terza parte si espone il progetto del Nuovo Lessico che si estende fra gli anni 800-1100 (già annunziato al congresso di Vienna [1981] ed a Washington [1986]; i *Lemmata* della *eta* già in *JÖB* 35 [1985]), l'estensione del materiale preso in considerazione, la metodologia ed i problemi in cui si incorre alle prese con oltre 45.000 parole estratte a oltre 1.300 testi. I lettori e gli studiosi di bizantinistica non possono non attendere con ansia il frutto di questo più che ventennale lavoro di E. Trapp.

Il secondo contributo del libro appartiene a J. Diethart («Materialen aus den Papyri zur byzantinischen Lexikographie», pp. 47-69]. Il compito di Diet-

hart è di presentare delle voci scelte dal nuovo materiale papirologico che ancora non sono entrate nei dizionari papirologici stessi e come tale rimaste ignote ai più dei bizantinisti.

Il terzo contributo, quello di G. Fatouros («Die Benediktiner von S. Maur auf der Suche nach exotischen Wörtern bei Theodoros Studites», pp. 71-148; pp. 138-148 formano l'*Index Vocabulorum Exoticorum Theodori, a Maurinis praetermissorum*) riporta il minuzioso lavoro preparatorio che i Benedettini della Congregazione di S. Maur avevano iniziato per la loro programmata edizione delle opere dello Studita – questo nella prima metà dell'800. Il materiale, costitutito da oltre 500 parole, è tratto dal Fondo *Codices novissimi* del *Suppl. grec* parigino; si tratta di 23 manoscritti qui esaminati da Fatouros [*codd. suppl. gr. 507-509* riceve il numero di serie 15 a pag. 71, mentre a pag. 78 il *cod. suppl. gr. 284* il no. 16].

L'apporto di A. Steiner («Byzantinisches im Wortschatz der Suda», pp. 149-180) consiste soprattutto nell'estrarre materiale lessicografico dalla Suda, un materiale che non appartiene soltanto all'area filologica classica, ma che è di tipico stampo bizantino.

W. Hörandner («Lexikalische Beobachtungen zum Christos Paschon», pp. 183-202) contribuisce non solo con dell'ottimo materiale lessicografico, ma puntualizza alcuni quesiti sulla datazione del Christos Paschon. Con chiarezza ed acribia si riprende l'annosa questione a riguardo di una data antica (IV-V sec.) su quest'opera; questo *Cento* bizantino, pur presentando degli appigli terminologici che possono far pensare ad una data antica, resta proprio sulla base verbale, e metrica, un'opera del tempo dei Comneni.

Alla fine del volume M. Hinterberger ha creato per una maggiore utilità un indice alfabetico delle parole presentate dai vari contributi – ad eccezione di quelle studite, già indicizzate da Fatouros.

V. RUGGIERI

Canonica

Walter SELB, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht. II.* Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit), (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Antike Rechtsgeschichte. Nr. 6) Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1989, S. 310.

Le Prof. W. Selb publia le premier volume de cet ouvrage en 1981, en y traitant l'histoire du droit ecclésiastique des Nestoriens. Le prof. du P. I. O., le P. G. Nedungatt S.I., écrivait dans son c.r. (OCP (1984) 217-218) que l'A. a fait beaucoup pour combler les lacunes de l'histoire du droit canonique des Syro-orientaux, appelés par lui Nestoriens, mais mieux désignés par leur nom officiel de Chaldéens et Assyriens.

Sans diminuer l'importance toujours actuelle de l'article de feu J. Dauvillier (*Chaldéen (droit)*, dans DDC, III, Paris 1942, cc. 292-383) et les travaux excellents du Prof. Dr. H. Kaufhold, nous partageons l'éloge fait par G. Ne-

dungatt à l'A. et croyons qu'il le mérite aussi pour ce second volume qui traite de l'histoire du doit ecclésiastique ou canonique des Syriens occidentaux.

Pourtant, une interrogation nous vient spontanément à l'esprit quant à l'utilité d'un travail qui vient après plusieurs volumes publiés par feu A. Vööbus, notamment: *The Synodicon in the West-Syrian Tradition*, I-IV, édition et traduction anglaise, Louvain 1975-1976, dans CSCO 367-368 et 375-376, S. Syr. 161-164; et *Syrische Kanonessammlungen.* Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde, I, *Westsyrische Originalurkunden* 1, A § B, Louvain 1970, CSCO 307, subs. t. 35 et 317, subs. 38.

Mais un simple survol de la table des matières suffirait à nous persuader de la grande utilité de cette œuvre du Prof. Selb, qui lui a demandé un travail énorme.

La première partie de l'ouvrage, de 100 pages, est une Introduction et une étude des sources (pp. 73-173). La seconde, de 180 pages s'occupe des institutions (pp. 75-304). Tout cela est précédé non seulement par la table des matières en trois langues (allemande, anglaise et française), mais aussi par les différents index que nous aurions attendu à la fin: Liste générale des abbréviations, clé des abbréviations, index des sources citées, index des manuscrits cités et finalement index des personnes et des lieux.

Après une étude des sources canoniques de l'Église syro-occidentale depuis les débuts jusqu'à l'époque des Mongols, l'A. passe à la seconde partie pour traiter tout d'abord des débuts d'une Église Syrienne autonome, puis du développement de l'organisation territoriale de la même Église. C'est sur ces points que nous aurions aimé qu'on profite davantage des travaux du P. J.-M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'Église en Iraq*, Louvain 1971, CSCO 310, subs. 36; *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, Louvain 1977, CSCO subs. 54 et notamment Les diocèses du Maphrianat syrien (629-1860), dans *Parole de l'Orient*, V (1974) 331-393; VIII (1977-1978) 347-378.

Les données de ces ouvrages et des travaux du P. W. de Vries, de Macomber et d'autres auraient relativisé la poussée très antiochienne, voire byzantinisante de l'Église syrienne occidentale, survenue à une époque relativement tardive, notamment à partir du VIIIème siècle. Inspiré peut-être par telle tendance, l'A. développe deux chapitres, l'un plutôt historique et l'autre théologique, sur la prise de conscience des différences entre Syriens occidentaux et monophysites, soit alexandrins soit arméniens (pp. 191-193) et vis-à-vis des autres chrétiens habitant le même territoire, pour souligner l'identité nationale de l'Église syrienne (pp. 193-197). Sans méconnaître les efforts du prof. P. Kawerau, il faut dire qu'on a encore besoin de sérieuses études en ce domaine. Qu'il nous soit aussi permis de critiquer la terminologie que l'auteur a déjà employée dans le premier volume et répétée dans le second, malgré la critique du P. Nedungatt. Appeler les Églises, Syrienne, Nestorienne, Jacobite ou Orthodoxe en les considérant Églises orientales au sens strict, ainsi que les Églises Syro-Malabares et Syro-Malankares dites par lui leur filles (ihre Töchter, p. 75) et appeler les Églises Chaldéennes et Syriennes Catholiques des Églises unies ou uniates (Unierte, pp. 75-76) n'est plus acceptable de nos jours.

L'A. analyse ensuite les thèmes les plus importants du droit syrien occidental. Il parle du synode général, du patriarche, du maphrien, de l'évêque et du métropolite, du clergé diocésain, des revenus et des possessions ou biens ecclésiastiques, du mariage, des moines et des monastères, de la discipline pénitentielle, du droit et des hérésies, ou des problèmes soulevés par le confrontement dans le cas du baptême, de l'ordination et de la communion et, finalement de la relation entre Église et état pour conclure par une doctrine des sources canoniques. Une remarque que je lui fais encore est à propos du paragraphe *L'autorité synodale contre l'autorité patriarcale* (p. 199) que nous ne partageons pas, parce que nous pensons que la structure juridique ou canonique de l'Église, notamment dans la tradition syriaque orientale ou occidentale, est à la fois patriarcale et synodale, sans qu'il y ait une opposition irréductible entre les deux figures juridiques du patriarche et du synode. Les faits historiques qui suggéreraient le contraire peuvent s'expliquer différemment.

Ces remarques ne pourraient en aucune manière diminuer l'importance de cette œuvre excellente d'un savant éminent et d'un infatigable chercheur. Ce volume, ainsi que le premier, doit avoir une place honorable dans toutes les bibliothèques qui s'intéressent au droit canonique oriental et occidental.

J. HABBI

Andrews THAZHATH, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church: A Historico-Juridical Study* (Doctoral Dissertation at the Pontifical Oriental Institute. Faculty of Canon Law, Rome 1985) Kottayam 1987, pp. xlviii + 346.

The present work by Andrews Thazhath, deals globally with the juridical sources of the Syro-Malabar Church.

In the actual redaction of the work, a clear difference can be noted between the first chapter and the rest of the book with regard to methodology and the types of sources dealt with.

The treatise on "the Law of Thomas" in the first chapter, performs the useful function of giving an idea of the original *jus particulare* of the Christians of St. Thomas in India, which in turn provided the basis for successive juridical developments. This section, however, based as it is mainly on the secondary sources, is rather sketchy and does not include many a detail contained in the original sources therein referred to.

In chapters two to six, the sources are studied each one separately and in a chronological order. Such study of the sources, of course, can attain various levels of depth, from a mere listing of the sources to a full scale study with editing of a critical text where it is called for. What the author follows in the present work is a middle course, namely by introducing the sources with short annotations about the author, historical context, contents, etc.; which in fact is but realistic and appropriate in a work such as this to cover the juridical sources of a church in their entirety.

To present the Chaldean juridical sources the author had many excellent works to draw on such as J. Dauvillier's *Chaldéen* in DDC and W. Selb's *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, as well as editions of several important sources like the *Synodicon Orientale*, the Nomo-Canon of 'Abdisho, the canonical collections by Ibn at Taiyib, etc.

For the juridical sources of the modern age starting with the sixteenth century, the author has done a wide survey of the literature on the Church of the Christians of St. Thomas, as well as of the common sources of law for the Catholic Orientals. Specialized studies on the important juridical sources of the Latin period like the Synod of Diamper, the Statutes of Bishop Ros, the Statutes and Decrees of Archbishop Mellano, etc. as well as those on particular juridical themes or institutes such as on the hierarchy, the clergy, the laity, the archdeacon, matrimony, penance, feasts and fasts, temporal administration, etc. have been put to good use in this section. Besides, many more sources that had not been studied previously in their Syro-Malabarian juridical context are directly studied and integrated into the texture of the present work.

In the actual redaction of the work a few inaccuracies particularly of a historical nature can be noted. For example, the assertion that "We have missed many of these sources because of the 'burning service' of the Syriac books condemned by the Synod of Diamper" is true only in a limited sense. Practically almost all the books proscribed by the Synod of Diamper have survived elsewhere. The real loss might be only the many historical notes which probably had been part of the colophons of those burned manuscripts (cf. "L'autodafé" by J. B. Chabot). On the see of St. Thomas at Andranopolis, the *passio* and Odoricus Vitalis are not two independent sources (pp. 15, 36). The *passio* of the sixth century (cf. M. Bonnet, ed. *Supplementum codicis apocryphi* I, pp. xvi-xvii, 139) was cited by Odoricus vitalis in the twelfth century. Certainly the former is not later to the latter as the author says. Similarly the alleged testimony of Aloysius Cadamust cited on pp. 16 and 52 represents only a misreading of sources by J. F. Raulin (see my article in OCP 55 (1989) pp. 207-212). Another exemple is in the statement, "Mar Jacob, metropolitan of the St. Thomas Christians... pawned it (the copper plates) to a Muslim" (pp. 18, 115). Mar Jacob had been ordained a bishop, not a metropolitan, and he used to sign his name with the title of "the Bishop of India". The sources say that he pawned the copper plates "to a certain man living in the Serra" (cf. D. de Goes). What might be the author's source to identify that man as a Muslim! At Thazhekatu there is a lithic inscription, not a (copper) plate (p. 20). The feast of St. Cyriac is on July 15 (see Report of Bishop Ros in 1604, f. 88^{v}), not on July 5th (p. 61).

Another assertion that needs explanation is, "John of Persia and greater India... is gererally accepted as an error for John of Perrhe" (p. 68). The alleged identification of Persia here with Perrhe is only a hypothesis originally proposed by C. Lenormant (1852) and endorsed by H. Gezler (1898). This hypothesis has been, however, contradicted by other scholars such as E. Schwartz (1937) and E. Honigmann (1937/1939). Besides, there are other independent sources which attest to the participation at the Council of Nicaea of a bishop from the Persian empire, and albeit identifying him with Mar

John of Arbela (316-345). Again about the collaboration of an Indian priest, Daniel, in the translation of the Epistle to the Romans from Greek into Syriac, and about Ma'na of Rew-Ardasir sending Syriac works to India, the author says: "But these statements have no documentary evidence" (note 17 on pp. 68-69). The commentary of Ishodad of Merv (c. 800) for the first and the Chronicle of Seert (P.O. VII, 117) for the second, certainly can be considered strong evidence. Likewise, note 24 on p. 70 is an irrelevant and incorrect interpretation of the cited source, which actually is about the Greek patriarch of Antioch who used to appoint two Catholicoi, namely (*nimirum*), one for Romogyreos in India and the other for Babylonia (cf. PG. 132, col. 1087; PG. 120, col. 762: P. J. Podipara, *Hierarchy*, pp. 33-34).

These and similar inaccuracies in a pioneer work such as this covering a very large field of numerous and voluminous source materials are but excusable and negligible. They may, however, serve further researchers as sign posts of caution against similar pitfalls on the road of research. On the whole, therefore, this book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the field of juridical studies about the Oriental Churches in India. Scholars and students can find in it a remarkably complete inventory of the sources for further research, particularly for what remains yet to be realized, namely a thematical collection of the juridical sources of the Syro-Malabar Church.

J. Kollaparambil

Hagiographica

François Halkin (e codicibus eruit), *Hagiographica Inedita Decem*, (= *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 21), Turnhout-Leuven, 1989, pp. 166.

Con questo libro si offre al lettore un'opera postuma dell'infaticabile Bollandista, il P. Halkin. Si tratta di dieci testi agiografici greci, inediti, che Halkin aveva da tempo preparato, pur se in una forma editoriale scevra di note e di riferimenti. L'Autore aveva da tempo assunto il costume di presentare il testo greco, nudo come a dire, trascritto dal manoscritto, senza fermarsi ulteriormente sui commentari. In questo libro ciò che primeggia ed attira l'attenzione del lettore è il testo greco dei dieci racconti, privi di traduzione o di un sommario in francese. L'edizione dei testi segue i canoni dei volume della *Series graeca* del *Corpus Christianorum* e J. Noret, nella sua preziosa nota introduttiva, traccia il percorso della preparazione editoriale di quest'opera postuma del Bollandista. I testi pubblicati sono i seguenti:

- Memorandum sul profeta Zaccaria (BHG 1180c), estratto dall'*Athonensis Koutloumousion 23*, XII sec.; utilizza la profezia di Zaccaria con riferimenti ulteriori alle vite apocrife dei profeti;

- Martirio di S. Sebastiana (BHG 1619b), estratto dal *Mosquensis Syn. gr. 40*, XI sec. [in apparato anche *Athonensis Pantocratoris 531*, XII sec.]; un testo leggendario;

- Martirio della coppia Timoteo e Maura (BHG 1848z), estratto dal *Venetus Marcianus gr. 349*, XI-XII sec.; testo anch'esso senza alcun valore storico che completa, comunque, l'altra passione BHG 1849;

- Passione di S. Romano (BHG 1600z), estratto dal *Patmensis 187*, XIII sec.; testo d'un certo interesse per l'uso di formule liturgiche;

- Martirio di S. Giacinto d'Amastris (ora come BHG 756z), estratto dal *Constantinopolitanus* (olim *Chalcensis*), *Monês 100*, XI sec.; è questo il testo che forse Niceta il Paflagone aveva sotto mano per la sua opera (BHG 757); esso risulta scevro di miracoli incredibili, essenziale e ricco di un linguaggio e formulazioni religiose che forse si rifanno, come notava Noret, ad una produzione letteraria locale;

- Elogio del grande martire Procopio, opera del diacono Procopio (BHG 1582b), estratto dal *Palatinus Vat. gr. 317*, XI sec., con lezioni, in apparato quando necessitavano, prese dal *Vat. gr. 679*, anch'esso del sec. XI, ma mutilato nell'incipit; poco valore storico in questo esempio di éloquence hagiographique;

- Narrazione del monaco Pafnuzio a riguardo di S. Onofrio (BHG 1379h), estratto dall'*Athonensis Pantocratoris 53*, sec. XII; un racconto fresco dal linguaggio semplice;

- Vita di S. Arsenio (BHG 167y), estratto dal *Constantinopolitanus Monês 100*, XI sec.; un testo semplice in gran parte fondato sul dialogo diretto, risentendo così dell'influenza degli apoftegmata egiziani;

- Scoperta delle reliquie e miracoli di S. Fotina, la Samaritana (BHG 1541m), estratto dal *Florentinus, Bibl. Nat. Centralis, gr. 50*, XIV sec.; ci troviamo a Costantinopoli e la narrazione dei miracoli apporta informazioni nuove sulla toponomastica della città, scene di vita e di lavoro quotidiano fra le strade della capitale;

- Elogio del nuovo martire Niceta, scritta da Teodoro Mouzalon (BHG 2302), estratto dall'*Athonensis, Lavra Delta 80*, XIII sec.; scritto dal Mouzalon, grande logoteta e protovestiario (morto nel 1294), il racconto è situato ad Ancyra, oramai musulmana, ove Niceta accetta il martirio per la fede cristiana al tempo di Andronico II imperatore.

L'interesse più forte nasce dalla lettura dei testi riguardanti Giacinto, Fotina e Niceta d'Ancyra. Sfortunatamente la mancanza d'un *index graecitatis* non permette di rilevare a colpo d'occhio l'apporto che questi tre testi - ed altri passaggi dai testi su Onofrio e Arsenio in particolare - danno alla lessicografia medievale, alle formulazioni liturgiche, alle note topografiche, importanti, sulla capitale. Gli Editori sono da ringraziare per aver concesso alle stampe quest'ulteriore prezioso lavoro agiografico del compianto Bollandista.

V. Ruggieri

Historica

Ivan GOLUB, *Križanić*. Bibliofilska izdanja 16, niz Iskoni 3, Zagreb, Kršćanska Sadašnjost 1987, ill. tavv. in b. e n., pp. 264.

Da quando, nel secolo scorso, P. Bezsonov scroprì Juraj Križanić, detto alla latina Georgius Crisanius (1618-1683), missionario apostolico della S.C. di Propaganda Fide in Moscovia, su di lui e sulla sua opera si scrisse molto, tanto che l'abbondante bibliografia su di lui ne dà una visione di insieme abbastanza ricca. Questo libro di Golub rappresenta tuttavia una particolare novità, per il fatto che analizza il personaggio, cioè i tratti fondamentali del suo carattere, al fine di scoprire la forza motrice della sua ideologia, dallo stesso Crisanio definita come *intentio moscovitica.*

Dopo una breve biografia, le cui varie tappe hanno ciascuna il loro motto desunto dai documenti, l'A. analizza il personaggio secondo le sue proprie testimonianze, secondo i giudizi degli altri su di lui e secondo il carattere dei circoli che frequenta e dell'ambiente in cui vive e si forma.

Nella sezione conclusiva, servendosi anche delle scienze antropologiche, Golub vede Crisanio come un emotivo, per alcuni aspetti veramente geniale. Lo vede anche come figlio del suo tempo. Il barocco è l'epoca della ricerca di unità (*versus unum*) non solo nella scienza, ma anche nella fede e nella politica.

La doppia formazione dell'A., storica e biblica, si rispecchia anche in questo testo letterario di facile lettura e allo stesso tempo corredato di numerose note bibliografiche, utilissime per lo storico anche se talvolta ripetute.

Si tratta di edizione da bibliofili, con un certo numero di copie numerate (A-J e 1-333). Le illustrazioni riproducono stampe e manoscritti d'epoca.

T. MRKONJIĆ

SAMI KURI S. I., *Monumenta Proximi Orientis*, I, *Palestine – Liban – Syrie – Mésopotamie (1523-1583)*, (=Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu a Patribus eiusdem Societatis Edita, vol. 136. Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, vol. LI Missiones Orientales), Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, via dei Penitenzieri 20, 1989, pp. 138*, + 484.

È ormai un «corpus» ragguardevole d'oltre centotrenta volumi la collana *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* edita dall'Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu di Roma. E pur essendo rappresentate, nei volumi dedicati alle missioni, varie regioni della terra, dall'India all'Estremo Oriente, all'America Meridionale e Settentrionale, ecc., rimaneva ancora una grave lacuna. Mancava del tutto il Prossimo Oriente, dove pure Ignazio e i suoi primi compagni avevano sognato di recarsi, per familiarizzarsi con i luoghi santificati dal Salvatore e per aiutare spiritualmente la gente di quelle terre.

È dunque di buon auspicio dare finalmente il benvenuto a questo primo volume di *Monumenta Proximi Orientis*.

Il lavoro inizia con un indice generale cha dà un titolo e una numerazione progressiva a ogni documento (pp. 7*-9*). Seguono due carte geografiche fuori testo: la prima, delle comunicazioni marittime di allora; la seconda dell'area del Vicino Oriente.

Viene poi una bibliografia suddivisa in due parti, la seconda delle quali riguarda i lavori in lingua araba (pp. 21*-28*; 29*-31*). C'è poi l'elenco degli archivi in cui si trovano i documenti manoscritti qui editi (pp. 32*-33*), le indicazioni di fonti primarie a stampa (p. 33*) e la chiave di sigle o abbreviazioni (pp. 34*-35*).

Una breve *Préface* inquadra il volume nei nuovi *Monumenta Proximi Orientis* (p. 37*). È questo infatti il primo di due volume su Palestina, Libano, Siria e Mesopotamia. L'A. ne prepara un secondo sugli stessi territori nel periodo storico seguente. E annuncia una sezione dei *Monumenta* sull'Egitto. Non accenna però a una sezione sull'Etiopia, strettamente connessa con l'Egitto nel contesto cristiano-orientale e oggetto di spedizioni gesuite fin dal tempo di Ignazio. Non credo che l'esserci già il *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores*, vero *monumentum aere perennius* innalzato dal Beccari, esima l'Institutum Historicum S. I. dall'inserire l'Etiopia in questi suoi *Monumenta*.

L'*Introduction* di un centinaio di pagine si articola in cinque capitoli. Il primo è una panoramica storico-geografica del Vicino Oriente, dal 1516 sotto l'impero ottomano: come i Gesuiti ne vengano in contatto; quali siano all'epoca le vie di comunicazione, gli scali importanti e la maniera di viaggiare; i gruppi religiosi locali, dei Drusi, dei Giacobiti, dai Maroniti e la struttura di quest'ultima comunità, al cui vertice sta il patriarca.

Il secondo capitolo preannuncia le tappe della primitiva storia della Compagnia nel Vicino Oriente. Dal pellegrinaggio di Ignazio in Terra Santa (1523); al *pied-à-terre* che i gesuiti stabiliscono, dai tempi del Saverio nell'isola di Ormuz; all'idea di Antonio de Heredia di una residenza a Beirut (1553); ai progettati collegi di Gerusalemme, Costantinopoli e Cipro (1553); alla missione pontificia in Libano di Tommaso Raggio, Giovanni Battista Eliano e Mario Amato (1578); alla seconda missione di Eliano, insieme a Giovanni Bruno (1581). L'introduzione abbraccia anche i fatti che saranno documentati nel secondo volume, cioè il pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa (1581-1582) di Rodriguez e Dias; la prigionia in Arabia di Antonio Monserrate e Pero Pais (1590-1596), ecc.

Quindi l'A. penetra in dettaglio alcune di queste tappe. Il terzo capitolo si occupa infatti della missione ai Maroniti. Il quarto dei contatti di gesuiti con i patriarchi greco-ortodosso e giacobita di Antiochia.

Il quinto capitolo introduce i 166 documenti editi, in gran parte per la prima volta e conservati soprattutto (154 su 166) nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI). Degli altri, otto si trovano all'Archivum Secretum Vaticanum (ASV); tre alla Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) e uno all'Archivio di Stato italiano.

Finalmente, sono editi i 166 documenti (pp. 1-455). A quelli segue un intelligente rubrica, *Biographies*, con i dati personali di 24 personaggi (pp. 455-466). Un utile *Glossaire* spiega una quindicina di termini tecnici

orientali (p. 467) e l'indice analitico permette il reperimento di concetti e di nomi (pp. 468-483).

L'A. di questa raccolta documentaria è un gesuita originario delle zone di cui si occupa, un uomo che ha alternato le cure di governo (è stato superiore dei Gesuiti del Vicino Oriente) a quello di storico, producendo, tra l'altro, un solido lavoro sui Gesuiti in Libano dal 1830 al 1845 (cfr. OCP 1986, 462-463).

Volutamente sottolineo il fatto che la storia della Compagnia di Gesù nel Vicino Oriente sia ricostruita da chi, oltre ad appartenere alla stessa Compagnia, è membro a pieno titolo, per etnia, lingua e cultura, dell'Oriente Cristiano. Perciò, è nella situazione più favorevole per capire i numerosi testi arabi editi nel volume e per comprendere le comunità con cui, nella sua terra, i gesuiti vengono a contatto.

Si tratta del periodo costituzionale della Compagnia di Gesù, all'epoca del fondatore e dei suoi immediati successori nel generalato, da Giacomo Laynez a Claudio Aquaviva. Era dei tempi di Ignazio l'idea di fondare collegi nei punti nevralgici dell'Oriente, a Gerusalemme, a Costantinopoli e a Cipro; idea canonizzata da bolla papale e mai attuata (Documenti 4-8). Si delineano comunque, fin da quei tempi, le caratteristiche fondamentali dell'Ordine, e il suo rapporto con il Romano Pontefice che si serve dei gesuiti in missioni speciali, tipiche per l'impronta missionaria che dànno alla Compagnia di Gesù fino dai primordi. E tali missioni pontificie nel Vicino Oriente, simili alle contemporanee in Europa Settentrionale e Orientale, acquistano particolare rilievo con Gregorio XIII, il papa che manda Possevino a Giovanni III di Svezia e a Ivan IV di Moscovia così come invia Eliano ai Maroniti del Libano. Gregorio che ha sostenuto a tal punto il Collegio Romano da renderlo noto con il nome di Università Gregoriana, fonda altri collegi, come il collegio maronita, le cui origini si ricostruiscono su questi documenti.

Vi è pure, in questo volume, una serie di testi sulle vocazioni orientali alla Compagnia di Gesù, cui l'A. ha dedicato in altra sede un saggio. Ma due altri temi hanno qui le loro basi originarie: *Gesuiti e lingua araba. Gesuiti e stampa araba.* Il primo tema prende l'avvio mentre Ignazio vive ancora e trova i primi gesuiti arabisti in Gerolamo Mur e Giovanni Battista Eliano. Il secondo ha ancora in Eliano il pioniere che si occupa di caratteri tipografici arabi e fa stampare in arabo professioni di fede e catechismi.

Eliano poi, che «veste da maronita» dà ai confratelli un antichissimo esempio di inculturazione.

L'A. non è reticente su aspetti meno edificanti della storia della Compagnia di Gesù. Eliano va in cerca di manoscritti maroniti da purgare e sammai da bruciare. Fra lui e il P. Tommaso Raggio vi sono frizioni e malintesi. Tuttavia, senza misconescere aspetti negativi della personalità e dell'opera di Eliano, l'A. concorda sostanzialmente con il giudizio che esprime su Eliano il famoso e dotto patriarca maronita Stefano Duwayhî (Docc. 161-162).

L'edizione dei testi, supporto indispensabile ed efficace della ricostruzione storica e parte principale dell'opera, è in generale accurata. Ogni documento è descritto paleograficamente, sunteggiato e caratterizzato. Alla fine dell'edizione si menzionano eventualemente i testi conservati o perduti, cui

quello edito allude, oppure altri, dello stesso contesto, la cui edizione sia omessa per mancanza di spazio.

Quanto poi all'introduzione generale l'avrei voluta sostanziata di rimandi, sia ai documenti qui editi che a bibliografia anche più ampia di quella citata. Lo stesso dico per le citate *Biographies* (pp. 455-466) le cui interessanti notizie non citano fonti.

Ci sono alcuni errori di lettura dei manoscritti, specialmente per quanto riguarda l'italiano d'epoca. Per esempio: *diporsa* per *diporta* (p. 106); *conteghi* per *contenghi* (p. 160); *il quel frate* per *il qual frate* (p. 251); *molge* per *mogl(i)e* a p. 342. Uno dei più tipici fraintendimenti è quello di p. 241; la lezione *conzà*, documentata sia pure senza accento nel manoscritto, non è grafia errata di *conto* o *conta* come l'A. vorrebbe ma è l'unica che faccia senso. È un infinito sincopato per *conzare* o *conzar*, corrispondente al toscano *acconciare*. Si tratta appunto di *acconciare* o *annodare* con garbo il turbante.

Per la traslitterazione dell'arabo, avrei preferito si usasse esclusivamente quella dell'orientalismo scientifico, che non contempla altre vocali se non *a*, *i*, *u*.

Con tutto ciò, non rinnego ammirazione e plauso per questo repertorio documentario che costituisce un utile strumento di lavoro per la storia della Compagnia di Gesù, la storia della Chiesa e dello stesso Vicino Oriente. E mi auguro di vedere presto continuato questo discorso con i seguenti annunciati volumi.

V. Poggi S.I.

J. H. G. W. Liebeschuetz, *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest*: Change in the Late Roman Empire. (=Collected Studies Series: CS310), Variorum Reprints, London 1990, pp. xiv + 336.

Sono venti saggi dello stesso A. che ci ha dato tra l'altro una pregevole monografia su Antiochia. Erano già apparsi in pubblicazioni periodiche o collettive tra il 1959 e il 1988. L'unità della raccolta, come afferma il sottotitolo, si basa sul fatto che i saggi riguardano tutti la crisi del tardo Impero. Ma, all'interno di questa prospettiva unitaria, oltre a una prima suddivisione, *Paganism to Christianity* che contiene i primi nove saggi del volume e alla seconda, *Government, City and Army from the 4th to the 6th Century*, che comprende gli altri undici, si possono qua e là individuare altri raggruppamenti attorno a persone, regioni o argomenti. Ci sono, per esempio, i due saggi sul Crisostomo (IV e V), nei quali l'A. rileva l'importanza della Vita di Martirio, segnalata e ricuperata dal bollandista F. van Ommeslaeghe, per tentare una spiegazione più coerente della caduta in disgrazia del Crisostomo. Così pure, nella seconda parte, ci sono i due saggi su Sinesio di Cirene (XIV e XV), nel primo dei quali la lettera 95(94) è messa a profitto per riempire lacune nella biografia di Sinesio e nell'altro si tenta di precisare la data della

consacrazione episcopale dello stesso Sinesio e, conseguentemente, la cronologia della sua vita.

I saggi VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XVI, XX, trattano della Siria. L'XI, il XII e il XVI di Antiochia. Uno del *sirarco* (XI) e due del *pagarco* (XVII e XVIII). Il X saggio è dedicato a governo e amministrazione del tardo Impero. Il XIX si occupa di generali, federati e *bucellari* dell'esercito romano, attorno all'anno 400.

La maggioranza dei saggi della raccolta interessa, direttamente, come si vede, l'Oriente Cristiano. Perfino nei due saggi sul pelagianesimo (VI e VII) ci sono spunti orientali. L'unico che non riguardi neppure indirettamente l'Oriente Cristiano è quello sulla religione di Tito Livio (I); mentre il saggio sulla religione dei *panegirici latini* tocca anche l'Oriente, se non altro indirettamente, per il fatto che il genere cade gradualmente con la proclamazione del Cristianesimo religione di tutto l'Impero (II). Il saggio sull'atteggiamento di Ammiano e di Giuliano circa la divinazione studia appunto in Oriente un aspetto del sussulto anticristiano del paganesimo che muore (III).

Del resto, vari aspetti dell'Oriente Cristiano ricevono luce da questi saggi scritti da chi ha conoscenza approfondita di personaggi, problemi e regioni «chiave». Tanto che più di una asserzione di queste pagine è per lo studioso dell'oriente Cristiano salutarmente provocatoria, come la constatazione dell'A. che manchi purtroppo una monografia su Severo di Antiochia (XVI, p. 84) o che non sia ancora abbastanza studiata la travolgente conquista araba di territori orientali cristiani (XVI p. 89, n. 142).

Per noi è dunque prezioso questo n. 310 dei Collected Studies.

V. Poggi S.J.

Oronzo Mazzotta, *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento Meridionale.* (= Scriptorium, 2) «Bibliotheca Minima», Novoli-Lecce 1989, pp. XVI + 126, + 12 fotografie in bianco e nero, 4 planimetrie, 32 illustrazioni di manoscritti ed una cartina geografica del Salento.

Pregevole è l'intento di questo breve libro di O. Mazzotta: l'Autore non pretende aggiungere nuovi contributi alla storia monastica greca del Salento Meridionale, ma intende divulgare le acquisizioni ed i dati fondamentali raccolti sulla storia del monachesimo greco in questa terra.

Il libro è diviso in due parti: nella prima presenta il sorgere e l'evoluzione storica del monachesimo greco; nella seconda elenca i manoscritti di sicura provenienza salentina. La prima parte copre la storia di questo monachesimo bizantino, poi sviluppatosi in epoca normanna, e l'Autore redige un'adeguata lista di monasteri delle diocesi del Salento meridionale. In questa parabola storica, stimolante è quanto si legge sul monastero di S. Nicola di Casole che rappresenta in pieno la ricchezza e l'influenza culturale che un monastero poteva avere a quel tempo. Converrebbe far notare in questa parte storica (a p. 11) la presenza dei Saraceni già negli anni 30 del IX secolo (cfr. *Vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXᵉ siècle*, ed. da F. Dvornik [Parigi, 1926] 58, 13 ss.), e citare (a p. 16), almeno in nota,

il contributo lucido di P. Lamma (*Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel sec. XII*, voll. 2 [Roma, 1957-9].

La seconda parte, come si diceva, presenta i manoscritti, e O. Mazzotta, raggruppandoli per biblioteche che attualmente li posseggono, compila un utile catalogo dei manoscritti – su 200 considerati generalmente come otrantini solo un terzo sono qui elencati – di certo usciti da mano di copista otrantino: quei manoscritti cioè di cui si conosca copista, luogo e data di trascrizione, o uno di questi elementi.

V. RUGGIERI, S.J.

Mgr. Joseph NASRALLAH, *Notes et Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Patriarcat Melchite d'Antioche*. II. Jérusalem 1986. En vente chez l'Auteur, 17 rue du Petit-Pont 75005 Paris et aux Éditions Peeters, B.P. 41 B – 3000 Louvain. Pp. 118.

Come già nel 1965, quando aveva raccolto suoi articoli apparsi in POC, così anche ora l'A. riunisce in questo secondo volume articoli pubblicati in POC nel corso del decennio 1969-1979.

Il primo articolo è sull'enciclopedista melchita Nicone della Montagna Nera, autore di *Pandette* tradotte in arabo sotto il titolo di *al-Hâwî al-Kabīr*. Sua è pure una raccolta di regole monastiche riassunte nel compendio arabo *al-Ḥâwî al-saġîr*.

Il secondo articolo della raccolta è una panoramica di vescovi e asceti di Emesa. I vescovi sono: Anatolio, che firma a Nicea; Eusebio di Emesa, esegeta di cui l'A. rivendica la necessità di studiarlo più a fondo per assolverlo dall'accusa di sabellianismo; Paolo II, che partecipa, nel seguito di Giovanni di Antiochia, al concilio di Efeso; Pompeiano, presente al sinodo di Antiochia del 445; Uranio, accusato a Efeso II di usurpazione di sede, ultimo vescovo calcedonese di Emesa che conosciamo. Gli asceti sono Abramio, di cui Cirillo di Scitopoli scrive la *Vita*; Tommaso, impropriamente detto «folle per Cristo», mentre a ragione è detto così l'altro asceta di Emesa, Simeone; Romano il Melode, sommo cantore.

Il terzo articolo, sul patriarca melchita di Antiochia, Simeone II Abû Šayba, morto fuori sede dopo il 1235, vede in lui un tipico esempio di patriarca melchita di Antiochia dell'epoca crociata, sospetto insieme a Bisanzio, a Roma e all'Islam. Infatti la condanna da parte del papa Onorio III lo avrebbe spinto, all'epoca di tentativi di riunione tra Bisanzio e Roma, piuttosto verso la seconda che verso la prima Roma.

Il quarto articolo è dedicato alla tradizione araba basiliana presso i Melchiti. Tra le opere ascetiche di Basilio, le grandi e le piccole Regole, pur influenzando la vita monastica melchita, non divengono automaticamente le regole canoniche di quella. Solo nel secolo XVIII i religiosi cattolici melchiti ricorrono alle regole di Basilio tradotte in arabo. Circa l'influsso innegabile sulla cristianità melchita dell'omiletica basiliana, l'A. deplora giustamente la mancanza di un inventario completo degli omeliari basiliani in lingua araba.

Meno evidente è l'influsso dell'opera dogmatica di Basilio. Al contrario, il suo influsso nel dominio canonico è documentato dal successo di raccolte canoniche come *al-ṭibb al ruḥânî*, importante nella legislazione canonica melchita. Per la liturgia l'A. ricorda il codice di Kacmarcik, studiato da Macomber e da Samir (cfr. OCP 1977, 308-334; 1978, 74-106, 342-390; 1979, 308-358).

Il quinto articolo si occupa di Gregorio Ibn al-Fudayl al-Tuggâr, vescovo melchita di Aleppo, locum tenens di Michele Sabbāġ, patriarca melchita di Antiochia deposto, mentre questi ricorre al patriarca di Costantinopoli Geremia II contro la sua deposizione. L'A. studia l'attività letteraria di Gregorio e scopre la fonte di una serie di domande bibliche che Gregorio si è appropriate.

Il sesto articolo, il più breve, è su Acri, dagli inizi del Cristianesimo fino alle Crociate.

Chiudono la raccolta delle *Notes de lecture* che riprendono tre recensioni: del libro di Bidder su Lalibela, di Doresse sui papiri di Kenoboskion e di Chaumont sull'Armenia dall'inizio dell'epoca sassanide alla conversione degli Armeni al Cristianesimo. Le tre recensioni erano state pubblicate a suo tempo nella *Bibliotheca Orientalis* di Leiden.

Ci sono sempre rilievi interessanti negli scritti dell'A., specialista della storia e della letteratura melchita. È utile perciò averne sottomano raccolte come questa.

V. POGGI S.J.

Islamica

Massimo CAMPANINI (a cura di), *L'intelligenza della fede*. Filosofia e Religione in Averroè e nell'Averroismo. (=Quodlibet 5. Ricerche e strumenti di filosofia medievale. Collana diretta da M. Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri e Massimo Parodi) Pierluigi Lubrina Editore, Bergamo 1989, pp. 216.

L'A., studioso di filosofia e di arabismo, ha voluto cimentarsi con problemi dibattuti attorno al grande musulmano commentatore di Aristotele, soprattutto del rapporto fra ragione e fede, al di là di una pretesa miscredenza di Averroè e di una sua ipotetica teoria della doppia verità. E lo ha fatto traducendo, per il lettore italiano, testi originali dello stesso Averroè, beninteso del *Fasl al-maqâl*; dell'*Incoerenza dei filosofi* con cui al-Ghazâlî aveva provocato Averroè, del *De aeternitate mundi* di Boezio di Dacia, collega di Sigieri di Brabante a Parigi; del *De erroribus philosophorum* dell'antiaverroista Egidio Romano; e del *De immortalitate animae* dell'averroista Pietro Pomponazzi. Oltre a ciò l'A. riporta nel volume testi secondari su Averroè e l'avveroismo, di M. Allard, O. Argerami, A. Badawi, G. Federici, L. Gardet – G. Anawati, R. Hissette, P. Kristeller, O. Leaman, B. Nardi, E. Rosenthal, E. Tornero. A questa scelta di scritti antichi e di studi recenti, l'A. premette una lunga introduzione (pp. 9-67).

Tra gli estremi dell'interpretazione di Renan, o di un Averroè che non si cura di confermare la religione con la filosofia, paradossalmente ripresa dal musulmano Badawi (p. 37) e quella del gesuita ucciso a Beirut, Michel Allard, secondo il quale l'epistemologia averroista è equivoca (ibid.) l'A. propone una soluzione intermedia accogliendo, con qualche ritocco, la tesi di Anneliese Maier: la presunta teoria averroista della doppia verità non è altro che autonomia o, per lo meno, distinzione della ricerca razionale dalla fede. «La distinzione può essere rovesciata, attribuendo agli averroisti una *probabilitas* della religione che si traduce in verità solo grazie alla fede, contro a una certezza della filosofia che è di per sé stessa verità» (p. 40). L'A. conclude: «Gli aristotelici radicali sono davvero averroisti in quanto ammettono un duplice modo di accostarsi alla verità: quello razionale e quello soprarazionale» (p. 49).

V. Poggi S.J.

Nağmaddīn aṭ-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī, *'Alam al-ğadal fi 'ilm al ğadal, Das Banner der Fröhlichkeit über die Wissenschaft vom Disput.* Herausgegeben von Wolfhart Heinrichs. (= *Bibliotheca Islamica* gegründet von Helmut Ritter im Auftrag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Ulrich Haarman und Anton M. Heinen, Band 32). In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1987, S. 1h + 284 + 30.

Nucleo centrale di questo 32° volume della *Bibliotheca Islamica* è l'edizione critica, in base a 2 manoscritti conservati a Istanbul, *Şehit Ali* 2315 e *Murad Molla* 30, dello *Stendardo di gioia nella scienza della disputa* di Sulaymān B. 'Abdalqawiy Nağmaddīn al-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī († 1316).

L'A. che ha già studiato la ḫātimah o conclusione di questo testo e ha preparato uno studio bio-bibliografico su Nağmaddīn al-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī, ne dà ora l'edizione, per la sua importanza quanto alla storia della dialettica islamica. Infatti Nağmaddīn, a detta di Ṣuyutī, sviluppa per l'appunto il metodo dialettico, *'ilm al-ğadal*, o scienza della disputa. Non che la dialettica nasca soltanto allora nel mondo islamico. Infatti, se già Sayfaddîn al-Amidî († 1233) aveva scritto un *K. al-ğadal*, anche al grande 'Aš'arī, morto nella prima metà del secolo X°, è attribuito l'*Adab al-ğadal*, o *ars disputandi*. Del resto, *ğadal* è anche il termine con cui i traduttori arabi rendono le *Topiche* di Aristotele. Ma Nağmaddīn codifica le regole della dialettica fondandole, da buon musulmano, sul testo coranico.

Dopo aver dunque dedicato le pp. ṭ-lḥ alla tradizione manoscritta, con uno studio in arabo che è sintetizzato in tedesco nelle pp. 9-30, l'A. dà l'edizione del testo arabo nelle pp. 1-245 della numerazione araba.

Dopo la *muqaddimah* e una chiarificazione essenziale della dialettica o *ğadal*, l'opera ne tratta in cinque parti, quattro capitoli e quindici sezioni. Quindi si appella singolarmente a 54 sure coraniche, dalla *surat al-baqarah* alla *surat al-kafirūna*, per concludere con una lunga ḫâtimah.

All'edizione segue una bibliografia di scritti in arabo in lingue occidentali (pp. ar. 247-252) e una serie di indici, coranico (pp. ar. 255-262), di tradizioni canoniche (p. ar. 263), onomastico (pp. ar. 264-267), analitico (pp. ar. 268-273), di opere citate (pp. ar. 274-275) e generale (pp. ar. 266-283).

Un'edizione dunque utile all'islamologia in genere e alla storia della dialettica islamica in particolare, tanto più che manca nella stessa nuova edizione dell'*Encyclopédie Islamique* la voce *ğadal.*

V. POGGI S.J.

Gian Maria PICCINELLI (a cura di), *Il sistema bancario islamico.* Presentazione di Francesco CASTRO. Estratto da *Oriente Moderno* n. 1-9 (gennaio settembre 1988) Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma 1989, pp. X + 704.

Dopo la Presentazione di F. Castro (pp. VII-X), direttore della duplice ricerca all'interno della quale si è concretato questo volume, il curatore redige una diffusa *Introduzione* (pp. 1-44). Vi tratta della proibizione coranica della *ribâ* o interesse (Cor. II, 278-279) e del sistema bancario e assicurativo islamico che vuole prescindere dalla *ribâ*, conformandosi in tutte le operazioni bancarie alle prescrizioni della *šari'a* o legge divina dell'Islam. Da tali premesse è dedotta con naturalezza la nozione di «banca islamica». Il curatore, avrebbe potuto anche dedicare un pò di spazio all'aspetto diacronico o alla storia del sorgere di tale banca islamica e al suo rapporto con il sistema bancario funzionante da tempo in paesi islamici. Difatti il banchiere o *gahbad*, che prestava a interesse ai musulmani, fu spesso ebreo o cristiano, ma non esclusivamente. E sotto il califfo abbaside al Muqtadir si ebbe, all'inizio del quarto secolo dell'Egira, una vera e proprio banca di stato. Dopo l'*Introduzione*, l'opera vera e propria si suddivide in tre parti: 1) Accordi internazionali, modelli di banche islamiche e loro statuti, 2) in paesi arabi e 3) in paesi non arabi. E questa parte documentaria, versione italiana di testi già editi in altre lingue, con riferimento a 92 istituti bancari e assicurativi, dislocati da Gedda alle Bahamas, da Londra a Ginevra, costituisce un prezioso dossier italiano di una presenza bancaria islamica nata appena nel 1962 ma diffusasi in brevissimo tempo e in notevole proporzione in tutto il mondo.

V. POGGI S.J.

Patristica

BASILE de CÉSARÉE, *Sur le baptême.* Texte grec de l'édition U. NERI. Introduction, traduction et annotation par JEANNE DUCATILLON (*SC* no. 357), Paris 1989, pp. 330.

Vari autori hanno in passato investigato sull'autenticità basiliana o meno di quest'opera. Il testo trádito sembrava per alcune ragioni estraneo alla pro-

duzione del Cappadoce; J. Gribomont, ed ultimamente U. Neri hanno chiarito, diremmo, con una stringata analisi testuale e storica l'appartenenza del *De Baptismo* a Basilio di Cesarea. J. Ducatillon, a cui si deve questa buona edizione francese, ha ricalcato i ragionamenti di questi ultimi studiosi e condividendo le analisi condotte da P. Humbertclaude, propende nel datare quest'opera al 366. Ducatillon, infatti, si basa sul «tono riposato» dell'opera, indice di una relativa pace ideologica fra Basilio ed Eustazio, vescovo di Sebaste, pace che certamente va a cessare qualche anno più tardi.

Il *De Baptismo* è diviso in due libri: il primo si dispiega in tre capitoli, mentre il secondo, usando il metodo domanda-risposta, a sua volta ne presenta tredici. Chi pensa, comunque, di voler trovare in questo libro informazioni sul rituale liturgico del battesimo o anche una teologia strettamente battesimale resta fuorviato perché Basilio segue ben altro intento. Il pubblico a cui Basilio si rivolge è monastico (1525b, p. 104), probabilmente coloro che avevano delle responsabilità in comunità monastiche, e l'intenzione sua primaria era di mantenere nell'orbita della chiesa tutto quel movimento monastico e teologico, generoso ma anarchico, creato da Eustazio. Il libro I, centrato sulla realtà evangelica del battesimo (chiare sono in Basilio le distinzioni fra il battesimo di Giovanni e quello di Gesù), si allarga sull'evento postbattesimale dell'eucaristia, ma si dilunga a più riprese sul tema di «essere discepoli prima d'esser battezzati». In questo libro il lettore trova una coerenza logica fra temi che si dispiegano e si complementano; nel secondo libro, invece, più breve, oltre a puntualizzazioni sull'evento-battesimo, Basilio entra a dialogare su temi quali l'obbedienza-disobbedienza, legge-comandamenti, scandalo. Il lavoro di J. Ducatillon è meritevole anzitutto perché presenta questa prima e buona traduzione francese, ed inoltre perché la sua lunga introduzione ha il pregio di situare il lettore in quell'ambito ideologico così mosso ed eterogeneo della seconda metà del IV secolo. Ducatillon si è servita del testo greco stabilito da U. Neri (Basilio di Cesarea, *Il Battesimo* [Brescia, 1976]) con delle leggere variazioni di lettura (p. 73). Nel presentare il contenuto tematico ed ideologico del *De Baptismo*, Ducatillon ha messo bene in evidenza come lo spiritualismo platonico, sia per contatto diretto, sia anche per il tramite del neo-platonismo, abbia contribuito all'elaborazione dei principi ascetici del *De Baptismo.* Ancora nell'Introduzione, e sempre puntuale il riferimento nelle note a pié pagina del testo, è da rilevare tutta la presenza dello stoicismo, anch'esso attivo nel pensiero dell'opera. Tutto questo fondo filosofico Basilio è riuscito felicemente a rivedere e correggere nell'ottica della Sacra Scrittura. Un colpo d'occhio all'indice scritturistico, posto alla fine del volume, fa subito vedere la conoscenza e l'uso che Basilio faceva del Nuovo Testamento, soprattutto, e dell'Antico, servendosi per quest'ultimo della versione dei Settanta. La traduzione francese è molto corretta: è reso sempre come legato alla realtà dell'immersione (plonger dans le baptême); i sensi temporali fra discepolato e battesimo sono ben chiariti: καὶ τότε del Libro I, cap. I (già chiarito a pag. 68; 1513b, pag. 104) e καὶ οὕτως del Libro I, cap. II (1525c). Il tradurre un testo che spesso risente dello stile orale ha richiesto una perizia accurata che J. Ducatillon ha mostrato possedere nell'adempiere questo lavoro.

V. Ruggieri

Giorgio FEDALTO, *Rufino di Concordia tra Oriente e Occidente* (345 c.-410/411) Città Nuova Editrice, Roma 1990, pp. 174.

Lo storico del Cristianesimo G. F. sottolinea in questa biografia l'aspetto di tramite che Rufino di Concordia esercita tra Oriente e Occidente e ridimensiona in base agli studi recenti la polemica di Gerolamo con Rufino a causa di un presunto origenismo di lui. Per spiegare come nacque in Rufino l'interesse per l'Oriente che lo spinse a trascorrere 8 anni ad Alessandria d'Egitto e 16 anni tra la Mesopotamia e la Palestina, Fedalto ricorre ai precedenti di Ilario di Poitiers e di Eusebio di Vercelli, al passaggio nell'Italia settentrionale dell'esiliato Atanasio e ai casi di altri occidentali che si spostano in Oriente come i contemporanei e quasi conterranei di Rufino, Gerolamo ed Eliodoro di Altino. A questo proposito è anche opportuno sottolineare come fa l'A. che Cromazio di Aquileia insistette direttamente perché Rufino rientrato dallo Oriente traducesse la Storia Ecclesiastica di Eusebio da Cesarea.

Quanto alla polemica con Gerolamo l'A. ricerca accuratamente il punto di vista dell'uno e dell'altro e ricorda come all'effimera riconciliazione segue un'apologia di Rufino, mentre Gerolamo riprende la polemica perfino dopo la morte del rivale. Anche alla morte di Rufino, avvenuta in Sicilia, la cui data esatta è ignota, Fedalto dedica alcune pagine, concludendo il volumetto con un utile cronologia biografica e letteraria di Rufino.

V. POGGI S.J.

FIRMUS de CÉSARÉE, *Lettres*, introduction, texte et traduction, notes et index par Marie-Ange CALVET-SEBASTI et Pierre-Louis GATIER [*SC, 350*], Paris 1989, pp. 206.

Fermo, vescovo di Cesarea in Cappadocia nella prima metà del V secolo, è, come giustamente lo chiamano gli Autori della presente opera, un «petit Cappadocien». È detto così in riferimento alle grandi figure di Basilio e Gregorio di Nazianzo, senza minimamente detrarre dalla personalità di Fermo la sua qualità di scrittore aulico «attico» in seno alla cristianità antica. L'opera di M.-A. Calvet-Sebasti e P.-L. Gatier riguarda l'epistolario di Fermo, o, meglio detto, ciò che in una raccolta epistolare è tramandato come suo. Questa raccolta epistolare si trova nell'*Ambr. B 4 sup.* (*gr. 81*), manoscritto del X secolo che ci ha preservato il testo delle lettere in una redazione molto vicina all'originale. È vero che già nel 1709 L. A. Muratori aveva, nei suoi *Anecdota Graeca*, pubblicato le lettere di Fermo da questo manoscritto – dal Muratori stesso ben conosciuto nella sua qualità di Prefetto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana –, ma aveva omesso l'epistola 43 della presente edizione. I due curatori hanno dunque essenzialmente lavorato sull'*Ambr. B 4 sup.*, sul testo stesso del Muratori, sull'edizione in *PG* 77 (1431-1512), ed infine si sono avvalsi dell'ottimo lavoro dottorale di C. Pascal (del 1977) sulla corrispondenza epistolare di Fermo.

Dopo una lunga introduzione sul genere epistolare nell'antichità e nella primitiva Cristianità, gli Autori introducono la figura del vescovo Fermo collocandolo nella storia religiosa, ideologica e politica del suo tempo. Una tabella prosopografica (pp. 52-61), molto utile, precede il testo e la traduzione. Alla fine c'è un indice alfabetico di tutte le parole del testo greco. Seguono gli indici onomastico e analitico per materia. Tipograficamente avremmo preferito che la numerazione delle pagine fosse continua; vi sono, infatti, lunghe assenze di numerazione (ad esempio le pp. 142-169) che, per quanto riguarda i riferimenti, possono creare equivoci.

Questa edizione ricostruisce al vivo un personnagio a lungo dimenticato dalla ricerca, un vescovo che al tempo del concilio di Efeso (le *Lettres* devono datarsi fra la fine del 430 e il 432) era forte assertore del partito cirilliano e di consequenza antinestoriano. La sua figura, tuttavia, si illumina ancora di più attraverso atti amministrativi, propri al suo ufficio, che lo rendono per più titoli vero figlio della sua città (Cesarea). Fermo si batte per il bene della comunità locale, ammonisce i suoi preti e chorepiscopi; amministra con fermezza la disciplina della Chiesa, pur avendo la bontà di un padre premuroso; la sua Chiesa è per lui «la nostra madre Chiesa» (ep. 4, pag. 76; ep. 39, pag. 58). Lo storico ritrova nell'epistolario vari temi ricorrenti: del restauro dei monumenti antichi (ep. 17, pag. 108) – la nota fa riferimento all'epigrafia –, dell'aumento del numero delle città (ep. 16, pag. 106), della carestia a Cesarea e nella Cappadocia (ep. 12, pag. 96) probabilmente nella primavera del 432, dell'immagazzinamento di viveri per l'esercito lungo le grandi vie (ep. 12, pag. 98); della *Basiliade* (ep. 43, pag. 166), l'ospizio creato da Basilio alle porte di Cesarea, della fuga degli schiavi, servi della gleba (ep. 43, pag. 166 ed ep. 36, pag. 152).

L'opera è da lodare: i due Autori ci hanno trasmesso una buona restituzione del testo greco, dal quale è possibile ammirare il classicismo di Fermo, singolare connubio di cultura e di attico savoir-faire.

V. Ruggieri S.J.

Eva Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius RUFINUS: Historia Monachorum* sive *De Vita Sanctorum Patrum*. (= Patristische Texte und Studien im Auftrag der patristischen Kommission der Akademien der Wissenschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Herausgegeben von K. Aland u. E. Mühlenberg Bd 34) Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1990, pp. XXV + 424.

L'A. si occupa della redazione latina della *Historia Monachorum* attribuita a Rufino e prima di darne un'edizione critica affronta i vari problemi filologici previi.

Dopo la abbondante bibliografia elencata nelle pp. XI-XX, è affrontato il problema del testo su cui Rufino avrebbe lavorato. Sembra trattarsi del testo greco. Ma la redazione greca a noi nota risale ai secoli IX-X, mentre esiste una versione siriaca dal greco fin dal secolo VI. Si capisce come sarebbe

opportuna l'edizione critica di tale versione siriaca dal greco. Non resta per ora che studiare da vicino il testo greco edito da Preuschen e da Festugière. Ne risultano errori, doppioni, contraddizioni interne, lacune. Segno evidente che il testo greco a noi noto è una compilazione di elementi che già esistevano. Forse che le fonti originarie ne erano le *Vite di Timoteo* menzionate da Sozomeno? (pp. 3-23).

Circa la paternità rufiniana l'A. riprende l'argomentazione di Rosweyde che nel 1615 ha dato la prima edizione critica della *Historia Monachorum*. Ma vi aggiunge la conferma linguistica della congruenza tra testi della HM e testi sicuramente di Rufino (pp. 39-46). Quindi, dal confronto fra brani di edizione del testo greco e passi corrispondenti del testo di Rufino, è chiaro che Rufino non è semplice traduttore (pp. 49-67). Segue un interessante *excursus* sul latino della HM (pp. 68-89). L'Autrice elenca quindi 372 manoscritti contenenti se non altro parzialmente l'HM. Ventotto di questi, raccolti in 8 famiglie, stanno alla base della sua ricostruzione testuale (pp. 91-103). L'edizione critica del testo occupa con gli apparati le pp. 243-387. La seguono gli indici scritturistico, patristico, personale, geografico, un glossario, un indice terminologico e due indici di locuzioni peculiari.

È un opera di alto impegno scientifico che rende grandi servizi nel campo filologico e storico.

V. Poggi S.J.

Russica

Cesare G. De Michelis, *I nomi dell'Avversario. Il «Papa Anticristo» nella cultura russa.* Con un'appendice documentaria, Torino, Albert Meynier Editore, 1989, pp. IV + 114 + 27 tav.

The Pope as Antichrist: a somewhat unpalatable theme for many Roman Catholic readers but handled with originality by the author, himself belonging to the Protestant tradition and ordinary professor at the II Università of Rome. The author confines himself to examining manifestations of the theory of the Pope as Antichrist as conceived by Protestant polemic and which entered into Russian culture around the time of the Jesuit Possevino's famous visit with Ivan IV (1582). Thus the author is forced to devote only slight attention to the more autochthonous Russian forms of the legend of the evil pope which may be found in documents dating from as early as the *Chronicle of Nestor* (Petr Gugnivyj or the Stammerer) or the heretical pope Formosus who appears in the much later *Povest' o novgorodskom belom klobuke.* The Protestant idea popularized in Muscovite Russia is traced by the author to the anti-papal pamphlet handed to Ivan the Terrible by an "haereticus quidam" but finds successive avatars in the following centuries culminating in our own: a Protestant anti-papal tractate published at Talinn in 1908 and an equally venemous piece of propaganda written during the height of Stalinism "Finansovyj kapital v mantii papy." ("Financial capital

under the cloak of the Pope"). The reception of an idea of originally western Protestant provenance is ambivalent and depends on the reception of the Reformed faith itself in Russian culture. Here the author quotes Golitsyn who wrote: "non possono i russi parlare senza dimostrarsi cattolici, o trapassare nel protestantesimo; ma in quest'ultimo caso cessano d'essere Russi (p. 3)".

The author divides the main body of his short work into three chapters in which he discusses grosso modo 1) Protestant influences at the court of Ivan IV during Possevino's visit 2) the Old Believers and Peter the Great as Antichrist 3) manifestations of the Pope as Antichrist theory in our own century. He ends with an appendix in which he includes several important documents: two texts by Possevino in the Italian translation of his nephew, an Italian translation of the Russian text describing Possevino's visit found in the *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij s deržavami inostrannymi* 1871, and a reproduction of the work which the author claims was that presented by English merchants to the Orthodox Tsar. According to De Michelis this was the *Antithesis Christi et Antichristi* by Simon Du Rosier published at Geneva in 1578 and replete with an illustration of the Pope as a wolf which according to our author caught the imagination of Ivan and provoked his famous outburst. Our author's rather pejorative depiction of Possevino as a "cinico e baro" Jesuit and his affirmation that the popular image of Peter the Great as Antichrist would seem to claim a Protestant origin invite discussion but not necessarily agreement.

One virtue of this original and enjoyable work is not clarity and the author's prose often makes rather murky reading. A final remark about the Italian translation of the Russian text given in the appendix: why are the names of the apostles Mark, Peter and Paul and Sts. Nicholas and Barnabas given in their Italian forms while on the other hand Andrew appears as "Andrej", Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom as respectively "Grigorej Teologo" and "Ioann Zlatoustyj" and Pope Gregory XIII himself appears as "Papa Grigorej"?

C. SIMON, S.J.

ΒΛΑΣΙΟΥ ΙΩ. ΦΕΙΔΑ, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωσσίας (988-1988)*, 3η Ἔκδοσις. (Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος), Ἀθῆναι 1988, pp. 466.

Vlasios J. FEIDAS rappresenta oggi in Grecia uno dei migliori storici della Chiesa. Occupa degnamente quella cattedra di Storia Ecclesiastica nella Facoltà di Teologia dell'Università di Atene resa illustre negli anni 1914-1923, dal grande storico Crisostomos Papadopoulos, poi arcivescovo di Atene.

Feidas è uno di quegli storici che non si accontentano di «registrare» gli avvenimenti riguardanti la Chiesa, ma che vedono in essi lo svolgersi del piano salvifico di Dio. Si tratta di uno studioso capace di passare con naturalezza dalla storia alla teologia della storia.

Nel mondo greco sono diventati classici i suoi studi sulla Pentarchia e sulla storia ecclesiastica:

- *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν πατριαρχῶν*. I. *Προϋποθέσεις διαμορφώσεως τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*. Ἀθῆναι 1969. II. *Ἱστορικοκανονικὰ προβλήματα περὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν (451-553)*, Ἀθῆναι 1978.
- *Ἐκκλησιαστικη Ἱστορία*. I. *Ἀπό τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς ἐποχης μέχρι τῆς Εἰκονομαχίας*, Ἀθῆναι 1978. II. *Ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰκονομαχίας μέχρι τῆς Ἁλώσεως (726-1453)*, Ἀθῆναι 1978.

Il presente lavoro di Feidas, che, per un verso, si potrebbe considerare un'opera «minore», per l'ambiente greco, tuttavia, assume una grande rilevanza.

Esso non è altro che la ripresa aggiornata, e in qualche punto ampliata della voce «Chiesa Russa» preparata per l'*Enciclopedia Religiosa ed Etica*, vol. X, (Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία), voce abbastanza esauriente che praticamente costituiva per il lettore greco l'unica visione d'insieme sulla storia della Chiesa Russa. Tanto è vero che, in seguito, si è sentito il bisogno di presentarla in volume separato, che ebbe due edizioni. La terza, che presentiamo, è stata curata in occasione del Millenario del Cristianesimo russo e, come appare nel titolo, la trattazione dovrebbe arrivare fino al 1988. L'Autore certamente non ha potuto prevedere gli straordinari cambiamenti che sarebbero successi negli anni immediatamente seguenti. Bisogna dire, però, che il periodo che va dal 1917 in poi è trattato in maniera molto succinta anche per un libro sintetico come il presente. Bisogna ricordare, tuttavia, che questo lavoro va completato con un altro dello stesso studioso: Ἡ πρώτη ἐν Ρωσσίᾳ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱεραρχία καὶ αἱ Ρωσσικαὶ Πηγαί, Ἀθῆναι 1966.

Il metodo seguito è quello di Fliche-Martin nell'*Histoire de l'Église*. Presenta, cioè, i vari periodi della storia della Chiesa Russa per tematiche: gerarchia, diffusione del cristianesimo, monachesimo, teologia, arte sacra... Naturalmente insiste con compiacenza sulla lotta della Chiesa Russa contro la propaganda «eterodossa» e contro l'«Unia». A riguardo bisogna notare che non sempre l'Autore è obiettivo e al disopra delle parti. Valido l'assioma di Marrou: «l'histoire est inséparable de l'historien», tuttavia di fronte ad un problema così complesso lo storico dovrebbe essere meno condizionato da apriorismi di natura confessionale.

Dicevamo che per l'ambiente greco quest'opera assume una grande importanza. I motivi sono evidenti. Della storia della Chiesa Russa si era occupato in passato, in maniera egregia, Gregorio Papamichail specialmente con l'ultimo suo voluminoso Studio: «Massimo il Greco, il primo illuminatore dei Russi» (in greco) pubblicato nel 1951. Avendo studiato all'Accademia Teologica di Pietroburgo, Papamichail conosceva bene il russo e poteva attingere direttamente alle fonti russe. Tuttavia, mancava un manuale sintetico: il lavoro di Feidas colma questo vuoto.

Esiste pure un altro motivo, secondo noi ancora più importante. La Chiesa Greca, che ha coscienza di essere diretta erede della tradizione bizantina, non riesce sempre a celare la sua insofferenza per il fatto che la Chiesa

Russa tagliò gradualmente il cordone ombelicale che le teneva unita alla «Grande Madre Chiesa» di Costantinopoli.

Così per es., il protopresbitero del Patriarcato di Costantinopoli, Ioannis Romanidis, si lamenta che oramai i Russi parlino di «teologia russa», di «iconografia russa», di «musica religiosa russa» e che, dopo la domenica di Tutti i Santi, la Chiesa russa senta il bisogno di festeggiare anche tutti i santi «russi». Certo gli «slavofili», egli dice, hanno reagito all'occidentalizzazione della Russia, però proprio in base al loro slavofilismo, hanno rinunziato sia alla loro eredità romana (= bizantina), sia agli influssi occidentali, per rimanere semplicemente fedeli alla loro tradizione slava, che considera il cristianesimo slavo superiore a quello romano (bizantino). Cfr. Ρωμαῖοι ἢ Ρωμηοί Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, 1, Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶ ἔργα, Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν Ἡσυχαστῶν τριάς α', vol. I, a cura di I. S. ROMANIDIS, Tessalonica 1984, pp. 84-86.

Ora Pheidas, sebbene non senza ragione si compiaccia dell'importanza che ebbe Costantinopoli nella nascita e nello sviluppo del cristianesimo russo, presenta con serenità l'ingresso della Chiesa Russa nella sua maggiore età con la conseguente presa di coscienza della propria identità. Questo fatto rappresenta uno dei principali meriti dell'opera di Pheidas, e non è poco!...

Concludendo vorremo far notare alcune lacune nella bibliografia per altro assai vasta. Ci limitiamo a rilevare l'assenza di alcune opere ben note della storiografia ecclesiastica russa quali: Nikita STRUVE, *Les chrétiens en U.R.S.S.*, Seuil, Paris 1963; Dimitry POSPIELOVSKY, *The Russian Church under the Soviet regime*, 2 v., St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood-New York 1984. (Nella prefazione di quest'opera J. Meyendorff scrive: «Il presente libro merita di diventare il normale riferimento di esauriente comprensione della storia ecclesiastica moderna russa»). Pheidas non cita neppure Jane ELLIS, *The Russian Orthodox Church*, London 1986.

Le suddette osservazioni non infirmano, comunque, l'importanza dell'opera. Essa, infatti, costituisce per il lettore greco un contributo imprescindibile e necessario sull'argomento.

Yannis SPITERIS OFM Cap

Mille ans de christianisme russe: 988-1988. Actes du Colloque Internationale de l'Université Paris X-Nanterre: 20-23 janvier 1988, YMCA-Press, Paris 1989, pp. 334.

Twenty-eight contributions are collected in this volume which were presented by their authors, both lay and clerical, Orthodox and Roman Catholic, at the series of conferences held in Paris at the beginning of 1988 to commemorate the widely publicized millenium of Russian Christianity of 1988. The articles deal mostly with Russian Christian themes, particularly Russian Church History, Literature, Philosophy, Theology, Spirituality and Hagiography. One contribution, however, deals with the religious architecture of Moldavia, while another handles Russian Church music. Among the contibuting

authors two professors of the Pontifical Oriental Institute are represented, Fathers Špidlík and Podskalsky, with articles dealing with Russian Spirituality and Theology.

The actual scientific value of many of the coferences included varies. Three of the most noteworthy are Dimitri Obolensky's brief and objective aperçu of early Russian Church History entitled "Aux sources du christianisme russe", Jean-Paul Arrignon's study of Russian dioceses from their origins until the middle of the twelfth century based to a large degree on the work of the Polish scholar Andrzej Poppe, and the longer summary of Russian Ecclesiastical history offered by the internationally renowned Orthodox scholar and priest of the Orthodox Church in America, Jean Meyendorff. While this reader is generally in agreement with the opinions which our noted author expresses in his study, he would however venture a less positive appraisal of the Byzantine policy regarding the use of local languages in the liturgy especially in view of what is known regarding the enforced Hellenization of the Southern Slavs – a point made by Ludolf Müller in a recent study (Ludolf Müller, *Die Taufe Rußlands* (München 1987), p. 51).

Both the beginning and end of this book excite one's interest. The essays are preceeded by a message of congratulations sent by a well known Soviet scholar famous for his work on the old Russian chronicles, Dimitri Likhatscev, of the Accademy of Sciences of the USSR. His message contains a panegyric of Russian Christianity which would have been impossible to print a few years ago, praising the Church above all for its past social activity: "Nous devons à l'Église chrétienne nos principes moraux et tant d'actions en faveur des pauvres et des malheureux, des orphelins et des prisonniers, ainsi que la protection des persécutés..." The last essay, written by Nicolas Lossky of the Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe Saint-Serge in Paris discusses the "new Russian martyrs" of the twentieth century, victims of the Revolution and its aftermath "dont certains sont Orthodoxes, Catholiques, Baptistes, Pentecôtistes, d'autres non chrétiens" who in the truly ecumenical spirit of the author "entrent dans la communion de tous les Saints de la terre de Russie".

This volume ends with a helpful list of the contributors and their major publications. The double system of transliteration used in the essays and their footnotes is sometimes misleading and may pose a problem for the uninitiated reader.

C. Simon S.I.

Slavica

Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo PICCHIO dicata, M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, H. Goldblatt curantibus, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo 1986 [ma 1987], 2 voll. pp. LIX + 841.

Uscita con la data del 1986, anche se in realtà è stata pubblicata solo nel 1987, la presente miscellanea raccoglie un numero imponente di contributi –

ben 64 se si eccettua il profilo bio-bibliografico del festeggiato a cura di H. Goldblatt che a sua volta si legge come un vero e proprio saggio critico – a testimonianza del rilievo che l'opera e la figura di Riccardo Picchio rivestono oramai da molti anni nel campo degli studi slavistici. La grande varietà dei temi trattati in questi due volumi riflette la molteplicità degli interessi di Picchio, al quale – giova ricordarlo – insieme ai suoi fondamentali studi sulle letterature slave medievali e premoderne dobbiamo anche una serie di lavori di estremo interesse su vari autori russi polacchi e bulgari dell'epoca moderna.

Diversi fra i contributi più interessanti dei due volumi affrontano delicate questioni di critica del testo e di filologia. Fra questi vanno segnalati lo studio di A. Giambelluca Kossova sull'*Encomio di Cirillo* di Clemente di Ocrida, in cui viene messa in dubbio l'esistenza di una seconda redazione di questo testo, e quello di M. Capaldo che dimostra come l'omelia per Giovanni Evangelista attribuita a Giovanni Esarca sia in realtà una compilazione di fonti greche, nonché i saggi di F. Thomson e W. Veder, dedicati rispettivamente ad altre due opere attribuite a Clemente e allo *Slovo někoego kalugera*, con cui si apre l'*Izbornik* del 1076. H. Goldblatt esamina l'episodio delle «lettere russe» nella *Vita Constantini*, mentre passando all'area russa troviamo i saggi di M. Colucci che analizza il *Choženie za tri morija* di Afanasij Nikitin, C. De Michelis che indaga la complessa tradizione del pamphlet antiprotestante di Ivan il Terribile e D. A. Frick che illustra una copia finora sconosciuta della prima edizione della *Grammatica* di Meletij Smotrickij.

In ambito più propriamente letterario ricorderò, per la letteratura bulgara, il breve panorama sugli inizi dell'attività letteraria nel IX secolo nei centri di Pliska e Preslav, delineato da I. Dujčev e la fine analisi della ricezione della *Storia slavobulgara* di Paisij proposta da P. Dinekov. Vari sono anche i temi di letteratura russa trattati nei due volumi: dalle pagine di V. Pucko sul significato culturale della cristianizzazione della Rus' kieviana e sui suoi riflessi letterari e da quelle di D. S. Lichačev sullo *Slovo o polku Igoreve* si giunge fino ai saggi di R. Łużny sulla Russia secentesca e la tradizione letteraria del Rinascimento europeo, e di P. Lewin sul teatro scolastico ucraino fra '600 e '700.

Fra i contributi di carattere linguistico spiccano il saggio di H. Keipert sull'influsso della tradizione grammaticale latina su Adodurov e l'originale articolo di F. V. Mareš che fornisce un approfondito studio sui nomi del picchio nelle lingue slave; questioni storiche vengono invece trattate, fra gli altri, da R. S. Lopez che pubblica tre documenti latini riguardanti le attività dei Genovesi nelle terre dell'Orda d'Oro, e da A. Tamborra che presenta un breve testo sulla Moscovia da attribuire probabilmente a Juraj Križanić.

Ad alcuni aspetti della questione della lingua presso gli Slavi, una delle prospettive di ricerca su cui più si è accentrata la riflessione critica del festeggiato, sono infine dedicati i saggi di P. Garde (rapporti fra Šiškov e Karamzin), O. Nedeljković (bilinguismo slavo ecclesiastico-serbo di Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović) e G. Dell'Agata (funzionamento dello slavo ecclesiastico in quanto lingua letteraria dell'intera comunità slavo ortodossa).

Al di là del rilievo dei singoli contributi, compresi ovviamente anche quelli cui non si è potuto qui nemmeno accennare, questa miscellanea testi-

monia nel suo insieme l'attuale fase di crescita della filologia slava, uno sviluppo al quale Riccardo Picchio ha dato un apporto decisivo. E se in molti dei saggi contenuti nei due volumi ritornano motivi e idee, spunti e proposte critiche di cui la slavistica intera gli è debitrice, ciò rende l'omaggio di questa miscellanea ancora più significativo.

G. ZIFFER

Spiritualia

Raoul MANSELLI, *Il soprannaturale e la religione popolare nel Medio Evo,* (= Religione e Società, 13) Ed. Studium, Roma 1985, pp. 150.

La religione popolare interessò incessantemente il Professor Manselli; lo attestano i suoi numerosi lavori di cui essa costituiva il tema dominante. Dopo la sua improvvisa morte nel 1984, questo volume è curato per la stampa dalla sua collaboratrice Edith Pasztor. La religione popolare, al parere dell'autore, è un momento ineliminabile della vita del Medio Evo, ma, proprio per questo, è necessario rivolgerle tutta l'attenzione che merita, in quanto tende a essere trascurata e dimenticata al confronto di figure grandiose di papi, di asceti o di teologi.

T. Š.

Antonio QUACQUARELLI, *Il triplice frutto della vita cristiana: 100, 60 e 30 (Matteo XIII-8, nelle diverse interpretazioni),* Bari 1989², pp. 127.

Questo libro è la seconda edizione dell'opera del prof. A. Quacquarelli che apparve per la prima volta nel 1953. L'Autore prende come punto di partenza la parabola del seminatore i cui semi, quelli caduti sul fertile terreno, vanno a produrre secondo il 100, il 60 ed il 30, in accordo col detto della parabola. Il testo del vangelo di Matteo (la parabola è data in greco nella triplice redazione sinottica a pp. 10-11) non allude a nessuna speculazione cabalistica, né millenaristica, ed il valore numerico, nell'economia significante della parabola, ha un valore di proporzione, di esemplificazione del frutto che la vita cristiana porta lungo il suo corso. Questa semplicità della parabola ha avuto, tuttavia, lungo il corso del pensiero cristiano, una multiforme interpretazione, e Quacquarelli entra in questa storia interpretativa del rapporto numerico con estrema maestria e chiarezza espositiva pur se in brevi pagine. Partendo dai primi accenni nei Padri Apostolici, ove la parabola, benché conosciuta, non è letta in riferimento alla proporzione numerica, Quacquarelli entra nell'età patristica (orientale ed occidentale – è interessante notare in quest'epoca come differente è l'interpretazione orientale, iniziata col Crisostomo, centrata ad interiorizzare il rapporto numerico inteso come disprezzo più

o meno totale delle ricchezze e del mondano –), nel Medioevo, nei suoi più rappresentativi esponenti ed arriva fino all'età moderna (ultimo è Cornelio a Lapide, dell'inizio del XVII sec.).

L'Occidente latino presenta, all'interno della sua evoluzione di pensiero, una tensione intima ed al tempo stesso bipolare sulla interpretazione della triade numerica. Abbiamo qui, e Quacquarelli lo sottolinea criticamente, un processo delicato e sentito sul concetto di merito: a) la prevelenza della tesi di 100 ai martiri, 60 ai vergini e 30 ai coniugati (fase più antica dell'interpretazione ove i martiri hanno la pienezza); b) la prevalenza di 100 ai vergini, 60 ai vedovi e 30 ai coniugati. All'interno di queste due fasi interpretative, l'Autore introduce (pp. 37-42) una nota metodologica e simbolica quale quella del contare con le dita che tanto ha avuto di senso nel pensiero della cristianità sulla parabola evangelica presa in esame. È stimolante per il lettore vedere come, iniziando da Girolamo, una volta terminata la fase «storica» del martirio nella cristianità (i martiri erano al 100 inizialmente), l'ideale della perfezione viene incarnato dai vergini, un'assunzione che troveremo sino agli albori dell'età moderna. In questa ultima epoca, ma è da riconoscere che il processo iniziò già con S. Tommaso, si ritorna alla vena naturale e semplice dell'interpretazione dei Padri Apostolici, lasciando cadere quelle stratificazioni culturali che le epoche medioevali avevano accumulato sul tesoro semplice della parabola.

L'opera del Quacquarelli ha, crediamo, il grande pregio della limpidezza espositiva, ed ancora oggi offre al lettore la chance di seguire attentamente, percorrendo i testi, un processo interpretativo, quello sul merito, che tanta importanza ha avuto ed ha nella storia della chiesa.

V. Ruggieri

Schenuda III. Papst der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche, *Allem gewachsen, weil Christus mich stärkt.* Stufen des Glaubens in koptischer Frömmigkeit (= Texte zum Nachdenken. Hgb. von G. Wehr. Begründet von G. und Th. Sartory. Bd 1669) Herder, Freiburg i. Br. 1990, S. 158.

Sono qui tradotti in tedesco cinquanta brevi testi spirituali di papa Scenuda terzo, il patriarca copto ortodosso di Egitto. Sono pieni di saggezza, di familiarità con la Bibbia, di allusioni a passi del Vangelo, a parabole raccontate da Gesù e immersi nell'atmosfera degli antichi apoftegmi monastici. Basta citarne alcuni titoli per intuirne la ricchezza interiore: pace dello spirito; rapporto con gli altri; spiritualità del digiuno; croce e vita quotidiana; Pentecoste; virtù di carità, umiltà, sapienza; scorrere del tempo.

A gustare i testi immediati e sapidi il Lettore è introdotto da una trentina di pagine che trattano di Nasir Gayid Rafail, divenuto patriarca della Chiesa Ortodossa Copta nel 1971, con il nome di Scenuda III. Quest'uomo che aveva una formazione universitaria e aveva rivelato doti eccellenti di parlatore e di leader ancora prima di farsi monaco, una volta a capo della minoranza copta aveva preoccupato l'Islam maggioritario e detentore del po-

tere. Nel 1981, fatto inaudito nella storia dei rapporti tra musulmani e cristiani in Egitto, il presidente Sadat aveva sospeso dalle sue funzioni il patriarca Scenuda. Lo relegò in un monastero dove non era possibile visitarlo senza speciali permessi. La condanna fu revocata soltanto dal presidente Mubarak nel 1985. Oltre a questi dati biografici dell'A., si trovano nel libretto notizie utili sulla Chiesa Copta Ortodossa, il suo credo, il suo anno liturgico, un chiaro specchietto di corrispondenza tra le feste copte e le date del calendario gregoriano e infine una tavola cronologica della storia ecclesiastica copta. Mancano invece per i brani i riferimenti alle opere da cui siano stati estratti o le date in cui furono pronunciati.

La paternità della scelta e del corredo introduttorio documentario è del Centro Copto-Ortodosso di Waldsolms.

Plaudiamo incondizionatamente all'iniziativa dell'Editrice di inserire questo interessante volumetto nella sua collana di tascabili. È iniziativa di vero e concreto ecumenismo.

V. POGGI S.J.

Tomáš ŠPIDLÍK, SJ, *Preghiera semplice del cuore*. Edizioni Piemme, Casale Monferrato 1989, pp. 42.

Con parole semplici, l'A. mostra la necessità della preghiera, radicata nella natura umana come il canto per l'usignolo (p. 9), quindi esamina diverse definizioni della preghiera che rispondono ad altrettante obiezioni. Così il colloquio con Dio è vertice della preghiera meditativa e segna il ritorno allo stato «dialogale» con Dio come stato naturale dell'uomo (p. 23). Le imprecazioni dei salmi, pietra d'inciampo per non pochi, acquistano nuova dimensione nella prospettiva dei Padri, che li considerano indirizzati contro i diavoli e contro i pensieri cattivi (p. 16). Quanto alla preghiera del cuore, tutti i ragionamenti devono scendere dalla testa nel cuore, cioè essere assimilati affettivamente (p. 23). Quando questo stadio è avanzato, il corpo può dormire, ma il cuore continua a vegliare (p. 30; cf. Cantico 5:2). Qui sta la risposta all'ingiunzione della Scrittura di pregare senza sosta (1 Tess 5:17), purché si capisca il cuore quale centro in cui tutte le facoltà dell'uomo sono integrate come nel punto focale (p. 36). La preghiera incessante diviene l'attenzione dell'anima per essere alla completa disposizione di Dio. Una volta che il cuore è purificato, i sentimenti del cuore possono prendersi come ispirazioni divine (p. 36), anche se non deve mancare la direzione spirituale. Qui s'incrociano S. Ignazio di Loyola e la tradizione orientale (p. 38). La preghiera di Gesù, meglio, la preghiera a Gesù, cerca di attuare proprio questa unità psicosomatica, raggiungendo un'armonia equilibrata di corpo e di anima (pp. 34, 38). Insomma un piccolo libro che è un gioiello, perché dà una sintesi profonda che tutti possono capire, utilissimo anche per lettura spirituale.

E. G. FARRUGIA, S.J.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

Χρίστου Θ. Κρικώνη, *Θεοδώρου Β' Λασκάρεως περὶ Χριστιανικῆς Θεολογίας Λόγοι*, (= Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 49) Πατρ. Ἵδρ. Πατ. Μελετῶν, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, σσ. 230.

Κυριάκου-Μπέη Δ. Λιβαδᾶ, *Ἡ περὶ ἐλευθερίας θεωρία τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους*, Ἀθήνα 1986, σσ. 192.

Καλλιόπη Α. Μπουρδάρα, *Τὸ δίκαιο στα ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα*, Ἀντ. Ν. Σάκκουλας, Ἀθήνα 1987, σσ. XV + 166.

Vincenzo Poggi S.J., Direttore Responsabile

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